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CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES

ON THE

GALLIC WAR;

AND

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE

GREEK PARAPHRASE;

WITH

ENGLISH NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY, PLANS OF BATTLES, SIEGES, ETC.,

AND

HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL INDEXES.

BY

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TO

THE REV. HENRY ANTHON, D.D.,

RECTOR OF ST. MARK'S CHURCH, IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,

THIS WORK

IS

Inscribed,

AS A BROTHER'S TRIBUTE TO SINCERE PIETY, DISTINGUISHED ABILITIES, AND SOUND AND UNOSTENTATIOUS LEARNING.

PREFACE.

The present edition of Cæsar is on the same plan with the Sallust and Cicero, and, it is hoped, will prove equally acceptable. As Cæsar's Commentaries are generally placed in the hands of students at an early period of their career, the explanatory notes have been specially prepared for the use of beginners, and nothing has been in fact omitted, that may tend to facilitate the perusal of the work. The Greek paraphrase is but little known in this country, and the first book, therefore, has been given partly as a literary novelty, and partly as an easy introduction to Greek studies. Considerable use has been made of it, as will be seen by the notes appended to this volume, in elucidating passages of the Latin work that are in any respect obscure, or the meaning of which has been disputed among previous commentators. It has also been found of importance on several occasions in settling the text. From whose pen the paraphrase proceeds is a matter of great uncertainty: it has been assigned by some to Maximus Planudes, by others to Theodore Gaza, while

by a third class the author has been regarded as altogether unknown. Planudes, it is conceived, will be found, on a careful investigation of the matter, to have the best claim. The style of the paraphrase deviates, it is true, in more than one instance, from classical usage, yet still the discrepance is not so marked as to occasion any difficulty to the learner, and may very easily be rectified by any competent instructer.

The wood-cuts, giving plans of battles, sieges, &c., cannot but prove useful. They are executed with great ability by that talented artist, Mr. A. J. Mason

C. A.

Columbia College, Jan. 18, 1838

LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF CÆSAR.

DR. BARTON.—HENRY ARLINGTON.

Dr. B. WHAT odd-looking volume is that over which you are poring so attentively, Henry Arlington? Something very rare and curious, I suppose, to draw you off from our Oriel College election.

H. A very singular book, indeed, Dr. Barton, which I discovered yesterday, by mere accident, among the treasures of the Bodleian. It is Berger's treatise "*De naturali pulchritudine Orationis*," in which the Commentaries of Julius Cæsar are lauded to the skies, as a model of all that is excellent in writing.

Dr. B. I know the work well, and admire your patience in cultivating an acquaintance with it. Were I troubled with sleepless nights, I would certainly take to reading Berger, after retiring to my couch, in the full expectation of speedy and lasting relief.

H. I think you are too hard upon him, doctor. Amid a mass of heavy reading, I have found several things to arrest my attention and reward me for the labour expended upon his work. You surely do not regar Cæsar's Latinity as of inferior merit.

Dr. B. Quite the reverse, Henry. No writer equals Cæsar in elegant simplicity, and in that transparent clearness of style which forms the great charm of historical narrative. Lord Bacon, whom Berger not unaptly calls "*Britannorum Socrates*," has well expressed his wonder, that a mind rendered so "turbid" by ambition as Cæsar's was, should express itself in writing with so much calmness and serenity. My only objection is, that Berger pushes his theory much farther than either you or I will concede, when he undertakes to find, in the Commentaries of Cæsar, all the excellences of composition that are noted and praised, in a later age, in the treatise of Longinus.

H. I am entirely of your opinion, my dear doctor; and, having now satisfied my curiosity respecting Berger's work, will show you another,

of a different character, which I obtained this morning from Parker's. It is the second part of the "Fasti Hellenici," by Clinton of Christ Church. Are his dates in the case of Roman authors worthy of reliance?

Dr. B. Most undoubtedly. No scholar of the present day has conferred a more signal service on the literary chronology of Greece and Rome than this very able writer, or has contributed more essentially to raise the classical reputation of his country on the continent of Europe But come, Henry, as Cæsar has been thus far the theme of our conversation, how would you like that we take up his life and literary character, passing briefly over the former, and dwelling more at large upon the latter?

H. There is no one thing that would delight me more, Dr. Barton and I trust you will forgive me, if I occasionally interrupt you by a question or two, when any point seems to me to require any additional illustration on your part.

Dr. B. I shall consider all such interruptions, my dear Henry, as the surest proof that my remarks are not uninteresting, and shall be more pleased the oftener they occur. Let us proceed, then, to our task. Of all those whom history has honoured with the title of great, no one, perhaps, deserved it more than the subject of our present remarks. A descendant of the celebrated Julian house, which traced its fabulous origin to Æneas, he was born in the year of Rome 654, and exactly a century before the advent of our Saviour. In his early boyhood he was an eyewitness of the civil wars between Sylla and Marius, the latter his maternal uncle; and when he attained to the beginning of manhood, or the age of seventeen, Sylla, who was then supreme, could not forgive him for being the nephew of Marius and the son-in-law of Cinna. He even issued against him a decree of proscription, which he was only induced to revoke by the solicitations of the vestal virgins and the influence of the Julian family.[1]

H. Was it not on that occasion, doctor, that Sylla said he saw many Mariuses in Cæsar?[2]

Dr. B. It was; and the remark does credit to his sagacity and knowledge of character, while it shows plainly, that, even at this early period of life, the young Roman had given some peculiar indications of latent talents and ambition. Having escaped from the proscription of Sylla he retired from the capital, and sought a retreat in Asia, where he com

1. *Sueton. Vit. Jul.* c. 1 Plutarch's account differs from this, but is less accurate

2 "*Cæsari multos Marios inesse.*" *Sueton. ib*

menced his military career in the suite of Thermus,[1] the Roman governor, from whom he received the civic crown on the capture of Mitylene.[2] The death of Sylla, however, recalled him to Rome, and we find him soon engaged in conducting a prosecution against Cornelius Dolabella, charged by him with extortion in his province, but successfully defended by Hortensius and Cotta.[3]

H. Was not this a bold step, doctor, for a young man to take against a person who stood so high as Dolabella? for, if I remember correctly, the latter had both held the consulship, and enjoyed the honours of a triumph.[4]

Dr. B. Not at all bold, Henry, but one, on the contrary, of common occurrence. The young patricians were fond of accusing distinguished individuals, not so much from a patriotic motive, as in order to acquire for themselves the reputation of eloquence. After the acquittal of Dolabella, Cæsar made a voyage to Rhodes, and became a pupil of Apollonius Molo, a distinguished teacher of the art of oratory.

H. Ah! Was not this same Molo the preceptor of Cicero?

Dr. B. He was. Cicero heard him at Rome, B. C. 87, and afterward at Rhodes, B. C. 78, so that you perceive these two eminent men were almost fellow-pupils of the same instructer.[5] Passing over the story about the pirates,[6] which you can find in the pages of your Plutarch, and the services which he rendered to the Roman allies in Asia against the encroachments of Mithridates, though possessing himself no actual military command, we come to the period of his second return to Rome, when he found Pompey at the head of the senate and republic. Since Cæsar's known attachment hitherto to the party of Marius operated as an obstacle to his ambition, he now went over to the dominant faction of the day, and united with Cicero in advocating the passage of the Manilian law, the object of which was to clothe Pompey with extraordinary powers for ending the Mithridatic war.

H. I cannot see the policy of this step on Cæsar's part. He was only strengthening the hands of one, who, he must have known, would one day prove his most formidable rival.

1 "*Stipendia prima in Asia fecit, M. Thermi prætoris contubernio.*" *Sueton. Vit Jul.* c. 2. Compare *Aurel. Vict.* c. 82.

2. *Sueton. ib.—Liv. Epit.* lib. 89.

3. *Cic. Brut.* 92.—*Val. Max.* 8, 9, 3.—*Plut. Cæs.* c. 4.

4. "*Consularem et triumphalem virum.*" *Sueton.* l. c.

5. *Clinton's Fasti Hellenici,* part 2 p. 147.

6. Plutarch places the story of the pirates earlier in point of time, making Cæsar to have been taken by them during his first visit to Asia. But consult Suetonius, *Vit. Jul.* c. 4 and Crusius *ad loc.*

Dr. B. Pardon me, Henry; it was a stroke of consummate policy The Manilian law, and the high prerogatives conferred by it upon a single individual, introduced divisions and dissensions among the leading men at Rome, and could not but tend to favour secretly the pretensions of those, who, like Cæsar, wished one day to raise themselves above the laws of their country. The same principle of action governed his conduct, when, not long after this, he exerted his endeavours, along with other equally ambitious men, to have the tribunes of the commons, whose power Sylla had wisely curtailed, restored to all their former privileges,[1] for he well knew that he would find, in most of them, so many ready tools for the accomplishment of his designs upon the liberty of his country.

H. But how did the people, with whom Marius had ever been a favourite, relish Cæsar's abandonment of the principles of that leader?

Dr. B. You err, Henry, in common with many others, as to this part of Cæsar's history. At his first entrance into the political arena, when the influence of Pompey was paramount, any professed adherence to the principles that governed the party of Marius would have been fatal to Cæsar's advancement in the state. When, however, he felt himself more securely established in public favour, the mask was dropped. The memory of Marius, notwithstanding all his enormities, was still cherished by the Roman populace, for he had, in one sense, been their champion against the party of the senate, and Cæsar now neglected no opportunity of flattering the multitude, by showing respect to the name of their former leader. When quæstor, he had the boldness, on delivering a funeral eulogium upon his aunt Julia, to produce before the view of the people the images of Marius, which had not been seen since the dictatorship of Sylla.[2] And, when elevated to the office of ædile, he caused the statues and trophies of the conqueror of the Cimbri to be restored to their former places.[3] From this period he was suspected of aspiring to absolute power, and was even accused of it in the senate; but his largesses among the populace, and the splendour of his public shows, found him too many friends and devoted partisans for the senate to venture on his condemnation.

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1 "*Auctores restituendæ tribuniciæ potestatis, cujus vim Sulla deminuerat, enixissime juvit.*" (*Sueton. Vit. Jul.* c. 5.) The final restoration was made by Pompey and Crassus, when consuls, A. U. C. 684. Compare *Vell. Pat.* 2, 30.—*Liv. Ep.* lib. 97.—*Cic. Verr.* 1, 15.

2. *Plut. Vit. Cæs.* c. 5.

3. *Sueton. Vit. Jul.* c. 11. Plutarch's account is somewhat different: *εἰκόνας ἐποιήσατο Μαρίου κρύφα, καὶ νίκας τροπαιοφόρους, ἃς φέρων νυκτὸς εἰς τὸ καπιτώλιον ἀνέστησεν.* Compare *Vell. Pat* 2, 43.

H. This reminds me, doctor, of the timidity of the senate, when his defence of the accomplices of Catiline, and his conduct generally, in relation to that affair, caused him to be more than suspected of a participation in the conspiracy.

Dr. B. Yes, the senate were afraid of the people without, who, with loud cries, were demanding their favourite. His life, however, was actually in danger from the Roman knights that stood around the senate-house as a guard, and he was mainly saved by the interference of Cicero.

H. You made some allusion, a moment ago, to his lavish expenditures. Where did he obtain the means for supporting these?

Dr. B. By borrowing. He is said, before he enjoyed any public office, to have owed 1300 talents, over £300,000.[2] And when, after his prætorship, which was not long subsequent to the period just mentioned by me, he set out for a government in Spain, he himself confessed that he was, what would be in our own currency more than £2,000,000 worse than nothing!

H. These debts, of course, were never paid.

Dr. B. His extortions in Spain enriched him to such a degree, that he not only liquidated this almost incredible sum, but even had wealth sufficient remaining to shield himself from a public prosecution, and to purchase the services of a large number of partisans. So much for the tender mercies of Roman magistrates in the management of their provinces!

H. And for the purity of justice at home. But do tell me, doctor, where were Pompey and Crassus at this time?

Dr. B. Cæsar had reconciled them,[3] and thus obtained their united aid for the attainment of the consulship. He attached the former also still more strongly to himself, by giving him his daughter Julia in marriage. We have now reached an important era in the history of the ambitious Roman whose career we are delineating, and this was the government of Gaul, which he obtained not long after the union of his daughter with Pompey. The Vatinian law gave him this province for

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1. Suetonius states, that his life was threatened by the equites, even while he was in the senate-house: that the senators sitting near him moved away in alarm, and that only a few remained by him to afford protection: "*Vix pauci complexu togaque objecta protexerint.*" (*Sueton. Vit. Jul.* c. 14.) Plutarch's account is followed, however, in the text. Consult Crusius, *ad Sueton.* l. c.

2. *Plut. Vit. Cæs.* c. 5.—*Appian. B C.* 2, 8. Crassus had to become surety for him before he could leave Rome for his government. *Plut. Vit. Crass.* c. 7.—*Id. Vit Cæs.* c. 11. The computation in the text makes the Attic talent of silver 241*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Compare *Knight, Prolegom. ad Hom.* § 56, and *Boeckh's Public Economy of Athens* vol. i., p. 25.

3. *Sueton. Vit Jul.* c 19.—*Plut. Vit. Cæs.* c. 13.—*Id Vit. Crass.* 14

five years, and, at the expiration of this period, his command was continued for five years longer. The Gallic war, then, in all its branches, continued for the space of nearly ten years,[1] and, during that time, Cæsar is said to have reduced by force or by the terror of his arms eight hundred cities, to have subjugated three hundred communities or nations, to have defeated in battle at different periods three millions of men, and to have slain one third of this number, and led another third into captivity.[2]

H. An exaggerated account, most probably.

Dr. B. Of course, as such statements always are. Yet still, from the known valour of the Gallic race, and the cold-blooded cruelty with which, according to Cæsar's own account, many of his victories were followed up, the carnage of the whole war must have been appalling in the extreme. In the midst of his conquests, as may well be imagined, the Roman commander neglected no opportunity of amassing the most extensive riches, and, with this view, plundered both the temples of the Gallic deities, and the land of allies as well as enemies. Everything, in fact, that might serve to augment his power, appeared to him just and honourable; and Cicero relates, that he had often on his lips the well-known passage of Euripides, that, if justice is to be violated, it ought to be for sovereign power. Do you know the lines to which I allude, Henry?

H. It occurs in the "Phœnissæ," in the speech of Etcocles to his mother:

> Εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρὴ, τυραννίδος πέρι
> Κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν·—[3]

But was no notice taken by the Roman senate of the course of conduct in which he thus openly indulged?

Dr. B. His enemies at Rome were by no means inactive, and an effort was made to have commissioners sent by the senate, for the purpose of investigating the charges preferred against him; but the splendour of his numerous victories, the favour of the people, and the large sums which he privately distributed, caused every attempt of the kind to prove ineffectual.

H. I have seen it remarked somewhere, Doctor Barton, that the sol

1. The civil war broke out, according to Suetonius, before the expiration of the second period of five years. So *Plutarch*, c. 15, *ἔτη γὰρ ουδὲ δέκα πολεμήσας περὶ Γαλατίαν, κ. τ. λ.*

2. *Plut.* l. c.—*Id. Vit. Pomp.* c. 67.—*Appian. B. Celt.* fr. p. 73.—*Plin. H. N.* 7. 25 Compare, however, the remarks of *Bayle, Dict. Hist.* s. v. *César*.

3. *Eurip. Phoeniss.* v. 534, *seq.*

diers of the republic became eventually, by reason of his strong personal influence, the soldiers of Cæsar.

Dr. B. The remark is perfectly correct. His soldiers became strongly attached to him, in consequence of the care that he ever evinced for their comfort and emolument. He seemed, indeed, to be merely the depositary of the riches which he accumulated from day to day, and to set a value on these only as they furnished him with prizes for valour, and with recompenses for military merit. His character in this respect bears a striking resemblance to that of the celebrated Napoleon. Though perhaps, after all, the motive of each will be found to have been a purely selfish one; for he who labours to accomplish a certain end must, in order to succeed, have instruments fitted for his purpose, and under his absolute control. If soldiers be devoted to their leader, he is already more than half victorious.

H Talking of Napoleon, doctor, I have lately seen a French work which purports to contain his military criticisms on the campaigns of Cæsar.[1] Do you regard it as possessing any claims to authenticity?

Dr. B. I am surprised at your question, Henry. The work to which you refer is a miserable affair, which bears the impress of falsehood on its very front. The criticisms which it contains are below contempt, and never could have emanated from the great leader of modern times. They are the puny offspring of some anonymous scribbler. Let me give you, in their stead, the remarks of another writer, that are far more worthy of your notice. I will read them to you from the volume before me.[2] "Though the Commentaries on the Gallic War comprehend but a small extent of time, and are not the general history of a nation they embrace events of the highest importance, and detail, perhaps, the greatest military operations to be found in ancient story. We see in them all that is great and consummate in the art of war. The ablest commander of the most warlike people on earth records the history of his own campaigns. Placed at the head of the finest army ever formed in the world, and one devoted to his fortunes, but opposed by prowess only second to their own, he and the soldiers he commanded may be praised almost in the words in which Nestor praised the heroes who had gone before him;[3] for the Gauls and Germans were among the bravest nd most warlike nations then on earth. In his clear and scientific details of military operations, Cæsar is reckoned superior to every one, except, perhaps, Polybius. In general, too, when he speaks of himself,

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1. *Précis des Guerres de Jules César, par l'Empereur Napoleon, Paris*, 1836.
2 *Dunlop's Roman Literature*, vol. ii., p. 171, *seq*.
3. *Dunlop. Rom. Lit.* vol. ii., p. 177.

it is without affectation or arrogance. He talks of Cæsar as of an indifferent person, and always maintains the character which he has thus assumed; indeed, it can hardly be conceived that he had so small a share in the great actions he describes, as would appear from his own representations. With the exception of the false colours with which he disguises his ambitious projects against the liberties of his country, everything seems to be told with fidelity and candour."

H. Do you think that he is as accurate in his account of German as of Gallic manners?

Dr. B. I do not. He had remained so long in Gaul, and had so thoroughly studied the habits and customs of its people, for his own political purposes, that whatever is delivered concerning that country may be confidently relied on. But his intercourse with the German tribes was only occasional, and chiefly of a military description. Some of his observations on their manners, as their hospitality, the continence of their youth, and the successive occupation of different lands by the same families, are confirmed by Tacitus; but in other particulars, especially in what relates to their religion, he is contradicted by that great historian. The researches of modern writers have also thrown some doubts on the accuracy of Cæsar's German topography.[1]

H. With regard to the eighth book of the Commentaries on the Gallic war, is there not some doubt which of the two be the author, Hirtius or Oppius?

Dr. B. There is; but I believe that a careful examination of the point will lead to a conviction that the book in question came from the pen of Hirtius.

H. Is this the same Hirtius that fell at Mutina?

Dr. B. The same. Either from affection or gratitude, he was always attached to the party of Cæsar; but, after the death of the dictator, he declared against Antony. Being created consul along with Pansa, he set out with his colleague to attack Antony, who was besieging Brutus in the city of Mutina, the modern Modena; and, as you well know, they gained a victory over their opponent, but Hirtius was killed in the battle, and Pansa died a few days after of his wound.

H. You made some remarks, doctor, in the commencement of this conversation, respecting Cæsar's style; allow me to ask what you would regard as its most distinguishing characteristic?

Dr. B. Its perfect equality of expression. There was in the mind of Cæsar a serene and even dignity. In temper nothing appeared to agitate or move him; in conduct, nothing diverted him from the attainment

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1. *Dunlop. Rom. Lit.* vol. ii, p. 177.

of his end. In like manner, in his style, there is nothing swelled or depressed, and not one word which is not chosen with a view to its ultimate effect, without any view towards embellishment. The opinion of Cicero, who compared the style of Cæsar to the unadorned simplicity of an ancient Greek statue, may be considered as the highest praise, since he certainly entertained no favourable feelings towards the author; and the style was very different from that which he himself employed in his harangues or philosophical works, or even in his correspondence The same writer thinks, that this exquisite purity was not insensibly obtained, from domestic habit and familiar conversation, but from assiduous study and thorough knowledge of the Latin tongue.[1]

H. Still, however, notwithstanding its purity and elegance, do you not think that the style of Cæsar is somewhat deficient in both vivacity and vigour?

Dr. B. I do, Henry. And you will also occasionally find a term introduced that militates even against the acknowledged purity of his language. But still, if we consider, that these memoirs were hastily drawn up during the tumult and anxiety of campaigns, and were noted down, from day to day, without care or premeditation, we shall be very easily inclined to pardon a deficiency of vigour on the one hand, and an occasional deviation from purity on the other.

H. The remark which you have just made, doctor, reminds me of a question that occurred to me the other day relative to Cæsar's *Ephemeris*, or Diary. Do you think that this work and the Commentaries are the same or different productions?

Dr. B. I am inclined to think with Bayle,[2] that they are distinct works, and that the *Ephemeris*, or *Ephemerides*, may have been a journal of Cæsar's life. There are, it is true, several objections to this opinion, which are urged with great ability by Fabricius, Vossius, and others. But still the opposite side of the question appears by far the more reasonable one. Servius quotes the *Ephemerides*, as does also Plutarch, and Frontinus and Polyænus seem to refer to them, since they relate many of Cæsar's stratagems not mentioned in the Commentaries, and must, in all probability, have read them in the other work. The circumstance quoted by Servius[3] from the Ephemerides is a very remarkable one. He states, that Cæsar, on one occasion, was made prisoner by the Gauls, and, being hurried along, was met by a Gallic chieftain, who exclaimed in an insulting tone, when he beheld him in this state, "Cæ-

1. *Brutus*, c. 72.—*Dunlop*, *Rom. Lit.* vol. ii., p. 180.
2. *Dict. Hist.* &c., s. v. César.
3. *Ad. Virg. Æn.* lib. ii., v. 743.

sar, Cæsar." Now, according to Servius, this proper name *Cæsar* happened to mean, in the Gallic tongue, "*let him go*," and the consequence was, that the persons who held Cæsar prisoner, and who, it seems, were ignorant of his rank, mistook the words of the Gallic chief for an order to release him, and, in consequence, allowed him to escape.

H. Rather a whimsical story, doctor.

Dr. B. Quite so, Henry; and if Celtic scholars had only viewed it in this light, they would have been saved a great deal of trouble in endeavouring to find a Gaelic word sounding like *Cæsar*, and signifying, to quote the language of Servius, *dimitte.* But we have said enough at present respecting the life and writings of the Roman commander. His other productions will form the subject of a conversation when we meet again in Michaelmas term. Farewell.

C. JULII CÆSARIS

COMMENTARII

DE

BELLO GALLICO.

ENGRAVINGS.

C. JULII CÆSARIS

COMMENTARII

DE

BELLO GALLICO.

BOOK I.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. General description of Gaul.

Chap. 1. Divisions and description of Gaul.

II. The war with the Helvetii.

Chap. 2. The Helvetii, dissatisfied with their existing settlements in Gaul, and instigated by Orgetorix, form the design of migrating, and seeking a larger and more commodious territory in the same country They have also in view, as an ulterior object, the sovereign control of Gaul. 3. Preparations for this step. Orgetorix appointed to superintend them. He forms a secret plan for self-aggrandizement with two influential nobles in two other states. 4. The plot discovered. Orgetorix put to his trial. Rescued by his retainers. Death. 5 The Helvetii go on notwithstanding with their preparations for removing. 6. Two routes present themselves. 7. Cæsar resolves to prevent their intended march through the Roman province. They send ambassadors requesting permission to pursue this route. 8. Works erected by Cæsar. Answer in the negative given to the Helvetian ambassadors. The Helvetii attempt to force the passage of the Rhone Are repulsed. 9. They obtain permission from the Sequani to pass through their territories. 10. Plans of Cæsar to prevent their progress. 11. Complaints of the Gauls respecting the injuries they were suffering from the Helvetii. 12. The Tigurini are defeated by the Romans near the river Arar. 13, 14. Ambassadors sent to Cæsar by the Helvetii. His answer to them. 15. The cavalry of the Gallic auxiliaries defeated by the Helvetii. The march of both armies

16–20. Cæsar complains of the dilatory conduct of the Aedui in supplying provisions. Liscus replies in extenuation, and discloses the ambitious designs and treachery of Dumnorix. Cæsar pardons the latter at the instance of his brother Divitiacus. 21, 22. P. Considius causes by his fears a favourable opportunity to be lost of attacking the Helvetii to advantage. 23–26. Engagement between the Romans and Helvetii. The latter entirely routed. 27, 28. They submit to the Romans, and are ordered to return to their own country. 29. Comparative estimate of the number of the Helvetii that left home, and of the number that returned after the war.

III. War with Ariovistus.

Chap. 30–32. A general assembly of Gaul called with Cæsar's permission. Complaints preferred to him against Ariovistus and the Germans. 33. Cæsar resolves to interfere. 34. Sends ambassadors to Ariovistus requesting an interview. Answer of Ariovistus declining one. 35, 36. A second embassy sent, with the demands of Cæsar. Answer of Ariovistus. 37, 38. Cæsar hastens after Ariovistus, and occupies Vesontio. 39. Remains at Vesontio for a few days to procure provisions for his army. The Roman soldiers are seized with a panic at the accounts which they receive of the great stature and courage of the Germans. 40. Cæsar's speech to them. 41. Good effects of this harangue. March. 42–46. Interview between Cæsar and Ariovistus. It is broken off by an attack of the German horse. 47. Negotiations renewed by Ariovistus. Roman ambassadors imprisoned. 48. Ariovistus avoids coming to a battle. Meantime skirmishes of the horse take place daily. German mode of fighting described. 49, 50. Cæsar's two camps. The smaller one attacked by Ariovistus. Cæsar learns from the German prisoners why their countrymen avoided a general engagement. 51–54. The two armies come at last to a conflict, and the Germans are defeated. The ambassadors who had been detained by Ariovistus are retaken by the Romans. Cæsar places his army in winter quarters under the charge of Labienus and then sets off for Cisalpine Gaul to hold his circuit.

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1. [1]Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, [2]quarum unam incolunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, [3]tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua [4]Celtæ, nostra Galli, appellantur. Hi omnes [5]lingua, [6]institutis, legibus inter se differunt. [7]Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. Horum omnium [8]fortissimi sunt Belgæ, propterea quod a

cultu atque humanitate Provinciæ longissime absunt, [1]minimeque ad eos mercatores sæpe commeant, atque ea, quæ ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important; [2]proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt: qua de causa [3]Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute præcedunt, quod fere quotidianis prœliis cum Germanis contendunt, [4]cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt. [5]Eorum una pars, quam Gallos [6]obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano; [7]continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum; attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum; [8]vergit ad septentriones. Belgæ [9]ab extremis Galliæ finibus oriuntur; pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni; [10]spectant in septentriones et orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenæos montes, [11]et eam partem Oceani, quæ est ad Hispaniam, pertinet; [12]spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones.

2. Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus et ditissimus fuit [13]Orgetorix. Is, [14]Marco Messala et Marco Pisone Consulibus, [15]regni cupiditate inductus, conjurationem nobilitatis fecit; et [16]civitati persuasit, ut [17]de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent: perfacile esse, cum virtute omnibus præstarent, totius Galliæ [18]imperio potiri. [19]Id hoc facilius eis persuasit, quod undique loci natura Helvetii continentur: una ex parte flumine Rheno, latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis dividit: altera ex parte, [20]monte Jura altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios, tertia, [21]lacu Lemanno, et flumine Rhodano, qui Provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis dividit. His rebus fiebat, ut et [22]minus late vagarentur, et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possent: qua de causa homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore afficiebantur. [23]Pro multitudine autem hominum, et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis, angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur, [24]qui in longitudinem millia passuum ducenta et quadraginta, in latitudinem centum et octoginta patebant.

3. [1]His rebus adducti, et auctoritate Orgetorigis permoti constituerunt ea, quæ ad proficiscendum pertinerent, comparare; jumentorum et [2]carrorum quam maximum numerum coëmere; [3]sementes quam maximas facere, ut in itinere copia frumenti suppeteret; cum proximis civitatibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt; [4]in tertium annum profectionem lege confirmant. [5]Ad eas res conficiendas Orgetorix deligitur. Is sibi legationem ad civitates suscepit. In eo itinere persuadet Castico, Catamantaledis filio, Sequano, cujus pater [6]regnum in Sequanis multos annos obtinuerat, et [7]a senatu populi Romani amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate sua [8]occuparet, quod pater ante habuerat; itemque Dumnorigi Æduo, fratri Divitiaci, qui eo tempore [9]principatum in civitate obtinebat, ac maxime plebi acceptus erat, ut idem conaretur persuadet, eique filiam suam in matrimonium dat. [10]Perfacile factu esse, illis probat, conata perficere, propterea quod ipse suæ civitatis imperium obtenturus esset: non esse dubium, [11]quin totius Galliæ plurimum Helvetii possent: se suis copiis suoque exercitu [12]illis regna conciliaturum, confirmat. Hac oratione adducti, inter se fidem et jusjurandum dant, [13]et, regno occupato, per tres potentissimos ac [14]firmissimos populos [15]totius Galliæ sese potiri posse sperant.

4. [16]Ea res ut est Helvetiis per indicium enunciata, [17]moribus suis Orgetorigem ex vinculis causam dicere coëgerunt: [18]damnatum pœnam sequi oportebat, ut igni cremaretur. Die constituta [19]causæ dictionis, Orgetorix ad judicium [20]omnem suam familiam, ad hominum millia decem, undique coëgit; et omnes clientes, [21]obæratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, [22]eodem conduxit: per eos, ne causam diceret, se eripuit. Cum civitas, ob eam rem [23]incitata, armis jus suum exsequi conaretur, multitudinemque hominum ex agris [24]magistratus cogerent, Orgetorix mortuus est: neque abest suspicio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur [25]quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.

5. Post ejus mortem nihilo minus Helvetii id, quod constituerant, facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant. Ubi jam se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, [1]oppida sua omnia, numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata ædificia incendunt; frumentum omne, præter quod secum portaturi erant, comburunt; ut, [2]domum reditionis spe sublata, paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent: trium mensium molita cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre jubent. Persuadent Rauracis, et Tulingis, et Latobrigis, finitimis, uti, [4]eodem usi consilio, oppidis suis vicisque exustis, una cum iis proficiscantur: Boiosque, qui [5]trans Rhenum incoluerant, et in agrum Noricum transierant Noreiamque oppugnarant, [6]receptos ad se, socios sibi adsciscunt.

6. Erant omnino itinera duo, [7]quibus itineribus domo exire possent: unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Juram et flumen Rhodanum, [8]vix qua singuli carri ducerentur; mons autem altissimus impendebat, [9]ut facile perpauci prohibere possent: alterum per [10]Provinciam nostram, multo facilius atque expeditius, propterea quod Helvetiorum inter fines, et [11]Allobrogum, qui nuper pacati erant, Rhodanus fluit, isque nonnullis locis [12]vado transitur. Extremum oppidum Allobrogum est, proximumque Helvetiorum finibus, Geneva. [13]Ex eo oppido pons ad Helvetios pertinet. Allobrogibus sese vel persuasuros, quod nondum [14]bono animo in Populum Romanum viderentur, existimabant; vel vi coacturos, ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur. Omnibus rebus ad profectionem comparatis, [15]diem dicunt, qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes conveniant: [16]is dies erat [17]ante diem quintum Kalendas Aprilis, [18]Lucio Pisone, Aulo Gabinio Consulibus.

7. Cæsari cum id nuntiatum esset, eos per Provinciam nostram iter facere conari, maturat [19]ab urbe proficisci, et, [20]quam maximis potest itineribus, in [21]Galliam ulteriorem contendit, et ad Genevam pervenit: [22]Provinciæ toti quam maximum militum numerum imperat (erat [23]omnino in

Gallia ulteriore legio una); pontem, qui erat [1]ad Genevam jubet rescindi. Ubi de ejus adventu Helvetii [2]certiores facti sunt, legatos ad eum mittunt, nobilissimos civitatis, cujus legationis Nameius et Verudoctius [3]principem locum obtinebant, qui dicerent, [4]"sibi esse in animo, sine ullo maleficio iter per Provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter haberent nullum: rogare, ut ejus voluntate id sibi facere liceat." Cæsar, quod memoria tenebat, Lucium Cassium Consulem [5]occisum, exercitumque ejus ab Helvetiis pulsum, et [6]sub jugum missum, concedendum non putabat: neque homines inimico animo, [7]data facultate per Provinciam itineris faciundi, temperaturos ab injuria et maleficio existimabat. Tamen, [8]ut spatium intercedere posset, dum milites, quos imperaverat, convenirent, legatis respondit, "diem se ad deliberandum sumturum; si quid vellent, [9]ante diem Idus Apriles reverterentur."

8. Interea ea legione, quam secum habebat, militibusque, qui ex Provincia convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, [10]qui in flumen Rhodanum influit, [11]ad montem Juram, qui fines Sequanorum ab Helvetiis dividit, [12]millia passuum decem novem murum, in altitudinem pedum sedecim, fossamque perducit Eo opere perfecto, præsidia disponit, [13]castella communit, quo facilius, si se invito transire conarentur, prohibere possit. Ubi ea dies, [14]quam constituerat cum legatis, venit, et legati ad eum reverterunt, [15]negat, "se more et exemplo Populi Romani posse iter ulli per Provinciam dare; et, si vim facere conentur, prohibiturum [16]ostendit." Helvetii, ea spe dejecti, [17]navibus junctis ratibusque compluribus factis alii vadis Rhodani, [18]qua minima altitudo fluminis erat, non nunquam interdiu, sæpius noctu, si perrumpere possent, conati, operis munitione et militum concursu et telis repulsi, hoc conatu destiterunt.

9. Relinquebatur una per Sequanos via, qua, Sequanis invitis, [19]propter angustias ire non poterant. His cum sua sponte persuadere non possent, legatos ad Dumnorigem

ATTEMPT OF THE HELVETII TO CROSS THE RHONE AND FORCE THE INTRENCHMENTS OF CÆSAR.



A. Mount Jura. B. Pass between Jura and the Rhone. C. Geneva. D. Lake of Geneva. E. Cæsar's line of intrenchments. F. F. F. Forces of the Helvetii. G. New Roman Legion from Gallia Narbonensis. H. The Roman Legion which Cæsar had with him originally. I The Rhone. K. The river Arno, emptying into the Rhone. L. L. L. Roman Cavalry. M. Cavalry of the Helvetii.

To face p. 7

Æduum mittunt, [1]ut eo deprecatore a Sequanis impetrarent. Dumnorix [2]gratia et largitione apud Sequanos plurimum poterat, et Helvetiis erat amicus, quod ex ea civitate Orgetorigis filiam [3]in matrimonium duxerat; et, cupiditate regni adductus, [4]novis rebus studebat, et quam plurimas civitates [5]suo sibi beneficio habere obstrictas volebat. Itaque [6]rem suscipit, et a Sequanis impetrat, ut per fines suos ire Helvetios patiantur; obsidesque uti inter sese dent, perficit: Sequani, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant; Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et injuria transeant.

10. [7]Cæsari renunciatur Helvetiis esse in animo, per agrum Sequanorum et Æduorum iter in Santonum fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, [8]quæ civitas est in Provincia. [9]Id si fieret, intelligebat magno cum Provinciæ periculo futurum, ut homines bellicosos, Populi Romani inimicos, [10]locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet. Ob eas causas [11]ei munitioni, quam fecerat, Titum Labienum legatum præfecit: ipse [12]in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit, duasque ibi legiones conscribit, et tres, quæ circum Aquileiam hiemabant, ex hibernis educit; et, [13]qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Centrones, et Graioceli, et Caturiges, locis superioribus occupatis, itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. [14]Compluribus his prœliis pulsis, ab Ocelo, quod est [15]citerioris Provinciæ extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris Provinciæ die septimo pervenit; inde in Allobrogum fines: ab Allobrogibus in Segusianos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra Provinciam trans Rhodanum primi.

11. Helvetii jam per angustias et fines Sequanorum suas copias transduxerant, et in Æduorum fines pervenerant, eorumque agros populabantur. Ædui, cum se suaque ab iis defendere non possent, legatos ad Cæsarem mittunt [16]rogatum auxilium: "ita se omni tempore de Populo Romano meritos esse, ut pæne in conspectu exercitus nostri agri

vastari, liberi eorum in servitutem abduci, oppida expugnar non debuerint." Eodem tempore Ædui Ambarri, [1]necessarii et consanguinei Æduorum, Cæsarem certiorem faciunt, sese, depopulatis agris, non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere: item Allobroges, qui trans Rhodanum vicos possessionesque habebant, fuga se ad Cæsarem recipiunt, et [2]demonstrant, sibi præter agri solum nihil esse reliqui. Quibus rebus adductus Cæsar, non expectandum sibi statuit, dum, [3]omnibus fortunis sociorum consumtis, in [4]Santonos Helvetii pervenirent.

12. [5]Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Æduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit, [6]incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utram partem fluat, judicari non possit. [7]Id Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus junctis transibant. Ubi per exploratores Cæsar certior factus est, [8]tres jam copiarum partes Helvetios id flumen transduxisse, quartam vero partem citra flumen Ararim reliquam esse; [9]de tertia vigilia cum legionibus tribus e castris profectus, ad eam partem pervenit, quæ nondum flumen transierat. Eos [10]impeditos et inopinantes aggressus, magnam eorum partem concidit: reliqui fugæ sese mandarunt atque in proximas sylvas abdiderunt. [11]Is pagus appellabatur Tigurinus: nam omnis civitas Helvetia [12]in quatuor pagos divisa est. [13]Hic pagus unus, cum domo exisset, patrum nostrorum memoria, Lucium Cassium Consulem interfecerat, et ejus exercitum sub jugum miserat. Ita, sive casu, sive [14]consilio Deorum immortalium, quæ pars civitatis Helvetiæ insignem calamitatem Populo Romano intulerat, ea [15]princeps pœnas persolvit. Qua in re Cæsar non solum publicas, sed etiam privatas injurias ultus est, [16]quod ejus soceri Lucii Pisonis avum, Lucium Pisonem legatum, Tigurini eodem prœlio, quo Cassium, interfecerant.

13. Hoc prœlio facto, reliquas copias Helvetiorum ut [17]consequi posset, pontem in Arare faciendum curat atque ita exercitum transducit. Helvetii, repentino ejus adventu

commoti, [1]cum id, quod ipsi diebus viginti ægerrime con fecerant, ut flumen transirent, uno illum die fecisse intelligerent, legatos ad eum mittunt: [2]cujus legationis Divico princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiano dux Helvetiorum fuerat. Is ita [3]cum Cæsare agit: "Si pacem Populus Romanus cum Helvetiis faceret, in eam partem ituros [4]atque ibi futuros Helvetios, ubi eos Cæsar constituisset atque esse voluisset: sin bello persequi perseveraret, reminisceretur et [5]veteris incommodi Populi Romani et pristinæ virtutis Helvetiorum. [6]Quod improviso unum pagum adortus esset, cum ii, qui flumen transissent, suis auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suæ magno opere virtuti tribueret aut ipsos despiceret: se ita a patribus majoribusque suis didicisse, ut magis virtute, [7]quam dolo aut insidiis, niterentur. Quare [8]ne committeret, ut is locus, ubi constitissent, ex calamitate Populi Romani et internecione exercitus nomen caperet, aut memoriam proderet."

14. His Cæsar ita respondit: [9]"Eo sibi minus dubitationis dari, quod eas res, quas legati Helvetii commemorassent, memoria teneret: [10]atque eo gravius ferre, quo minus merito Populi Romani accidissent; [11]qui si alicujus injuriæ sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum, quod neque commissum a se intelligeret, quare timeret; neque sine causa timendum putaret. [12]Quod si veteris contumeliæ oblivisci vellet; num etiam recentium injuriarum, [13]quod eo invito iter per Provinciam per vim tentassent, quod Æduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrogas vexassent, memoriam deponere posse? Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur, quodque tam diu se impune tulisse injurias admirarentur, eodem pertinere: consuesse enim Deos immortales, [14]quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. [15]Cum ea ita sint, tamen, si obsides ab iis sibi dentur, uti ea, quæ polliceantur, facturos intelligat, et si

Æduis de injuriis, quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogibus satisfaciant, sese cum iis pacem esse facturum." Divico respondit: "Ita Helvetiós a majoribus suis institutos esse, uti obsides accipere, non dare, con suerint: [1]ejus rei Populum Romanum esse testem." Hoc responso dato, discessit.

15. Postero die castra ex eo loco movent: idem facit Cæsar; equitatumque omnem, ad numerum quatuor millium, quem ex omni Provincia et Æduis atque eorum sociis coactum habebat, præmittit, qui videant, quas in partes hostes iter faciant. [3]Qui, cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti, [4]alieno loco cum equitatu Helvetiorum prœlium committunt; et pauci de nostris cadunt. Quo prœlio [5]sublati Helvetii, quod quingentis equitibus tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant, audacius subsistere, nonnunquam ex novissimo agmine prœlio nostros lacessere, cœperunt. Cæsar suos a prœlio continebat, ac [6]satis habebat in præsentia hostem rapinis, pabulationibus, populationibusque, prohibere. Ita dies circiter quindecim iter fecerunt, uti inter novissimum hostium agmen et [7]nostrum primum non amplius quinis aut senis millibus passuum interesset.

16. [8]Interim quotidie Cæsar Æduos frumentum, quod essent publice polliciti, flagitare: nam [9]propter frigora, quod Gallia [10]sub septentrionibus, ut ante dictum est, posita est, non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia [11]suppetebat: [12]eo autem frumento, quod flumine Arare navibus subvexerat, propterea uti minus poterat, quod iter ab Arare Helvetii averterant, a quibus discedere nolebat. [13]Diem ex die ducere Ædui; [14]conferri, comportari, adesse dicere. Ubi [15]se diutius duci intellexit, et diem instare, quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret; convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, in his Divitiaco et Lisco, [16]qui summo magistratu præerat (quem [17]Vergobretum appellant Ædui, qui creatur annuus, et vitæ necisque in

suos habet potestatem), graviter eos accusat, quod, cum neque emi, neque ex agris sumi posset, [1]tam necessario tempore, tam propinquis hostibus, ab iis non sublevetur; præsertim cum magna ex parte eorum precibus adductus bellum susceperit: multo etiam gravius, [2]quod sit destitutus, queritur.

17 Tum demum Liscus, oratione Cæsaris adductus, [3]quod antea tacuerat, proponit: "Esse nonnullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem [4]plurimum valeat; qui [5]privati plus possint, quam ipsi magistratus. [6]Hos seditiosa atque improba oratione multitudinem deterrere, ne frumentum conferant, quod præstare debeant. [7]Si jam principatum Galliæ obtinere non possint, Gallorum, quam Romanorum imperia perferre, satius esse, [8]neque dubitare debere, quin, si Helvetios superaverint Romani, una cum reliqua Gallia Æduis libertatem sint erepturi. [9]Ab iisdem nostra consilia, quæque in castris gerantur, hostibus enunciari: hos [10]a se coërceri non posse. Quin etiam, quod necessario rem coactus Cæsari enunciarit, intelligere sese, quanto id cum periculo fecerit, et ob eam causam, quam diu potuerit, tacuisse."

18. Cæsar hac oratione Lisci Dumnorigem, Divitiaci fratrem, [11]designari sentiebat: sed, quod pluribus præsentibus eas res jactari nolebat, celeriter concilium dimittit, Liscum retinet: [12]quærit ex solo ea, quæ in conventu dixerat. Dicit liberius atque audacius. Eadem secreto ab aliis quærit; reperit esse vera. "Ipsum esse Dumnorigem, summa audacia, magna apud plebem propter liberalitatem gratia, cupidum rerum novarum: [13]complures annos portoria, reliquaque omnia Æduorum vectigalia, parvo pretio redemta habere, propterea quod illo [14]licente contra liceri audeat nemo. His rebus et suam rem familiarem auxisse, et [15]facultates ad largiendum magnas comparasse: magnum numerum equitatus suo sumtu semper alere, et circum se habere: neque solum domi, sed etiam apud finitimas civitates [16]largiter posse: atque hujus potentiæ causa matrem in Bituri

gibus, homini illic nobilissimo ac potentissimo, [1]collocasse ipsum ex Helvetiis uxorem habere: sororem ex matre et propinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates collocàsse: [2]favere et cupere Helvetiis propter eam affinitatem: [3]odisse etiam suo nomine Cæsarem et Romanos, quod eorum adventu potentia ejus diminuta, et Divitiacus frater [4]in antiquum locum gratiæ atque honoris sit restitutus. [5]Si quid accidat Romanis, summam in spem per Helvetios regni obtinendi venire; [6]imperio Populi Romani non modo de regno, sed etiam de ea, quam habeat, gratia desperare." [7]Reperiebat etiam inquirendo Cæsar, "quod prœlium equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium ejus fugæ factum a Dumnorige atque ejus equitibus" (nam [8]equitatu, quem auxilio Cæsari Ædui miserant, Dumnorix præerat), "eorum fuga reliquum esse equitatum perterritum."

19. Quibus rebus cognitis, cum ad has suspiciones [9]certissimæ res accederent, quod per fines Sequanorum Helvetios transduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset, quod ea omnia non modo [10]injussu suo et civitatis, sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a magistratu Æduorum accusaretur: satis esse causæ arbitrabatur, [11]quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret, aut civitatem animadvertere juberet. His omnibus rebus unum repugnabat, quod Divitiaci fratris summum in Populum Romanum studium, summam in se [12]voluntatem, egregiam fidem, justitiam, temperantiam cognoverat: nam, ne ejus supplicio Divitiaci animum offenderet, verebatur. Itaque priusquam quicquam conaretur, Divitiacum ad se vocari jubet et, quotidianis interpretibus remotis, per [13]Caium Valerium Procillum, principem Galliæ provinciæ, familiarem suum, [14]cui summam omnium rerum fidem habebat, cum eo colloquitur: simul commmonefacit quæ ipso præsente in concilio Gallorum de Dumnorige sint dicta, et [15]ostendit, quæ separatim quisque de eo apud se dixerit: petit atque hortatur, ut [16]sine ejus offensione animi vel ipse de eo, causa cognita, statuat, vel civitatem statuere jubeat.

20. Divitiacus multis cum lacrymis, Cæsarem complexus, obsecrare cœpit, [1]"ne quid gravius in fratrem statueret: scire se, illa esse vera, nec quenquam ex eo plus, quam se, doloris capere, [2]propterea quod, cum ipse gratia plurimum domi atque in reliqua Gallia, ille minimum propter adolescentiam posset, per se crevisset; quibus opibus ac nervis, non solum ad minuendam gratiam, sed pæne ad perniciem suam uteretur: sese tamen et amore fraterno et existimatione vulgi commoveri. Quod si quid [3]ei a Cæsare gravius accidisset, cum ipse eum locum amicitiæ apud eum teneret, neminem existimaturum, non sua voluntate factum; qua ex re futurum, uti totius Galliæ animi a se averterentur." Hæc cum pluribus verbis flens a Cæsare peteret, Cæsar ejus dextram prendit; consolatus rogat, finem orandi [4]faciat: tanti ejus apud se gratiam esse ostendit, uti et reipublicæ injuriam et suum dolorem ejus voluntati ac precibus condonet Dumnorigem ad se vocat; fratrem [5]adhibet; quæ in eo reprehendat, ostendit; quæ ipse intelligat, quæ civitas queratur, proponit; monet, ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet; præterita se Divitiaco fratri condonare dicit. [6]Dumnorigi custodes ponit, ut, quæ agat, quibuscum loquatur, scire possit.

21. Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus, hostes sub monte consedisse millia passuum ab ipsius castris octo; qualis esset natura montis et qualis in circuitu ascensus, qui cognoscerent, misit. Renunciatum est, [8]facilem esse. De tertia vigilia Titum Labienum, [9]legatum pro prætore, cum duabus legionibus, [10]et iis ducibus, qui iter cognoverant, summum jugum montis ascendere jubet; quid sui consilii sit, ostendit. Ipse de quarta vigilia eodem itinere, quo hostes ierant, ad eos contendit, equitatumque omnem ante se mittit. Publius Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur, et in exercitu Lucii Sullæ, et postea [11]in Marci Crassi fuerat, cum exploratoribus præmittitur.

22. Prima luce, cum [12]summus mons a Tito Labieno

teneretur, [1]ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille et quingentis passibus abesset, neque, ut postea ex captivis comperit, aut ipsius adventus, aut Labieni, cognitus esset: Considius, [2]equo admisso, ad eum accurrit: dicit, montem quem a Labieno occupari voluerit, ab hostibus teneri; id se [3]a Gallicis armis atque insignibus cognovisse. Cæsar suas copias in proximum collem [4]subducit, aciem instruit. Labienus, ut erat ei præceptum a Cæsare, ne prœlium committeret, nisi ipsius copiæ [5]prope hostium castra visæ essent, ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret, monte occupato, nostros expectabat prœlioque abstinebat. [6]Multo denique die per exploratores Cæsar cognovit, et montem a suis teneri, et Helvetios castra movisse, et Considium, timore præterritum, [7]quod non vidisset, pro viso sibi renunciasse. Eo die, [8]quo consuerat intervallo, hostes sequitur, et millia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

23. Postridie ejus diei, [9]quod omnino biduum supererat, cum exercitu frumentum metiri oporteret, et quod a Bibracte, oppido Æduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo, non amplius millibus passuum octodecim aberat, [10]rei frumentariæ prospiciendum existimavit, iter ab Helvetiis avertit, ac Bibracte ire contendit. Ea res per fugitivos Lucii Æmilii, [11]decurionis equitum Gallorum, hostibus nunciatur. Helvetii, seu quod timore perterritos Romanos [12]discedere a se existimarent, eo magis, quod pridie, superioribus locis occupatis, prœlium non commovissent; sive eo, quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent; commutato [13]consilio atque itinere converso, nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac lacessere cœperunt.

24. Postquam id [14]animum advertit, copias suas Cæsar in proximum collem subducit, equitatumque, qui sustineret hostium impetum, misit. Ipse interim [15]in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum quatuor veteranarum, ita, uti supra se in summo jugo duas legiones, [16]quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat, et omnia auxilia col

locaret; ac totum montem hominibus compleri, et interea sarcinas in unum locum conferri, [1]et eum ab his, qui in superiore acie constiterant, muniri jussit. Helvetii, cum omnibus suis carris secuti, impedimenta in unum locum contulerunt: ipsi, [2]confertissima acie, rejecto nostro equitatu, phalange facta, [3]sub primam nostram aciem successerunt.

25. Cæsar, primum [4]suo, deinde [5]omnium ex conspectu remotis equis, ut, æquato omnium periculo, spem fugæ tolleret, cohortatus suos, prœlium commisit. Milites, e loco superiore pilis missis, facile hostium phalangem perfregerunt. Ea disjecta, gladiis [6]destrictis in eos impetum fecerunt. [7]Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedimento, quod, pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et colligatis, cum ferrum se inflexisset, neque evellere, neque, sinistra impedita, satis commode pugnare poterant; multi ut, diu jactato brachio, præoptarent scutum manu emittere, et nudo corpore pugnare. Tandem vulneribus defessi, et [8]pedem referre, et, quod mons suberat circiter mille passuum, eo se recipere cœperunt. Capto monte et succedentibus nostris, Boii et Tulingi, qui hominum millibus circiter quindecim [9]agmen hostium claudebant, et novissimis præsidio erant, [10]ex itinere nostros latere aperto aggressi, circumvenere: et id conspicati Helvetii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus instare et prœlium redintegrare cœperunt. [11]Romani conversa signa bipartito intulerunt: prima, ac secunda acies, ut victis ac summotis resisteret; tertia, ut venientes exciperet.

26. Ita [12]ancipiti prœlio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius cum nostrorum impetus sustinere non possent, [13]alteri se, ut cœperant, in montem receperunt; alteri ad impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt. Nam hoc toto prœlio, cum ab [14]hora septima ad vesperum pugnatum sit, [15]aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. [16]Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta pugnatum est, propterea quod pro vallo carros objecerant, et e loco superiore in nostros veni

entes tela conjiciebant, et nonnulli, inter carros rotasque mataras ac tragulas subjiciebant nostrosque vulnerabant Diu cum esset pugnatum, impedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi [2]Orgetorigis filia, atque unus e filiis captus est. Ex eo prœlio circiter millia hominum centum et triginta superfuerunt, eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt. [3]nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso, in fines Lingonum die quarto pervenerunt, cum, et propter vulnera militum, et propter sepulturam occisorum, nostri, triduum morati, eos sequi non potuissent. Cæsar ad Lingonas literas nunciosque misit, ne eos frumento, neve alia re juvarent: [4]qui si juvissent, se eodem loco, quo Helvetios, habiturum. Ipse, triduo intermisso, cum omnibus copiis eos sequi cœpit.

27. Helvetii, omnium rerum inopia adducti, legatos de deditione ad eum miserunt. [5]Qui, cum eum in itinere convenissent, seque ad pedes projecissent, suppliciterque locuti flentes pacem petissent, atque eos in eo loco, quo tum essent, suum adventum expectare jussisset, paruerunt. [6]Eo postquam Cæsar pervenit, obsides, arma, servos, qui ad eos perfugissent, poposcit. Dum ea conquiruntur et conferuntur, nocte intermissa, circiter hominum millia sex ejus pagi, qui [7]Verbigenus appellatur, sive timore perterriti, ne, armis traditis, supplicio afficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti, quod, in tanta multitudine dedititiorum, suam fugam aut [8]occultari, aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent, prima nocte ex castris Helvetiorum egressi, ad Rhenum finesque Germanorum contenderunt.

28. Quod ubi Cæsar [9]resciit, [10]quorum per fines ierant, his, uti conquirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse vellent, imperavit: [11]reductos in hostium numero habuit: reliquos omnes, obsidibus, armis, perfugis traditis, in deditionem accepit. Helvetios, Tulingos, Latobrigos in fines suos, unde erant profecti, reverti jussit; et quod, [12]omnibus fructibus amissis, domi nihil erat, quo famem tolerarent, Allobrogibus imperavit, ut iis frumenti copiam facerent: [13]ipsos

DISPOSITION OF CÆSAR'S ARMY TO RECEIVE THE ATTACK OF THE HELVETII.



A. Army of Cæsar in order of battle. B. The four old legions drawn up in three lines. C. The Hastatii or first line, with their flanks protected by the Velites. D. The Principes or second line. E. The Triarii or third line. F. Cavalry of Cæsar. G. Equites Extraordinarii. H Cavalry of the Allies. I. Infantry of the Allies. K. The two legions recently levied. L. Baggage of the Romans. M. Disposition of the forces of the Helvetii. N. Cavalry of the Helvetii. O. Boii and Tulingi. P. Baggage of the Helvetii.

oppida vicosque, quos incenderant, restituere jussit. [1]Id ea maxime ratione fecit, quod noluit, eum locum, unde Helvetii discesserant, vacare; ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, e suis finibus in Helvetiorum fines transirent, et finitimi Galliæ provinciæ Allobrogibusque essent. [2]Boios, petentibus Æduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis collocarent, concessit: quibus illi agros dederunt, quosque postea in parem juris libertatisque conditionem, atque ipsi erant, receperunt.

29. In castris Helvetiorum [3]tabulæ repertæ sunt, [4]literis Græcis confectæ et ad Cæsarem relatæ, quibus in tabulis nominatim [5]ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent: et item separatim pueri, senes, mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum [6]summa erat, [7]capitum Helvetiorum millia ducenta et sexaginta tria, Tulingorum millia triginta sex, Latobrigorum quatuordecim, Rauracorum viginti tria, Boiorum triginta duo: ex his, qui arma ferre possent, ad millia nonaginta duo. Summa omnium fuerunt ad millia trecenta et sexaginta octo. Eorum, qui domum redierunt, [8]censu habito, ut Cæsar imperaverat, repertus est numerus millium centum et decem.

30. Bello Helvetiorum confecto, totius fere [9]Galliæ legati, principes civitatum, ad Cæsarem gratulatum convenerunt: [10]"intelligere sese, tametsi, pro veteribus Helvetiorum injuriis Populi Romani, ab iis pœnas bello repetisset, tamen eam rem non minus ex usu [11]terræ Galliæ, quam Populi Romani accidisse: propterea quod eo consilio, florentissimis rebus, domos suas Helvetii reliquissent, uti toti Galliæ bellum inferrent, imperioque potirentur, locumque domicilio [12]ex magna copia deligerent, quem ex omni Gallia opportunissimum ac fructuosissimum judicassent, reliquasque civitates [13]stipendiarias haberent." Petierunt, "uti sibi concilium totius Galliæ [14]in diem certam indicere, idque Cæsaris voluntate facere, liceret: sese habere quasdam res, quas ex communi consensu ab eo petere vellent." Ea re permissa,

diem concilio constituerunt, et jurejurando, [1]ne quis enunciaret, nisi quibus communi consilio mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt.

31. [2]Eo concilio dimisso, iidem principes civitatum, [3]qui ante fuerant ad Cæsarem, reverterunt, petieruntque uti sibi [4]secreto de sua omniumque salute cum eo agere liceret. Ea re impetrata, sese omnes flentes Cæsari ad pedes projecerunt: [5]" non minus se id contendere et laborare, ne ea, quæ dixissent, enunciarentur, quam uti ea, quæ vellent, impetrarent; propterea quod, si enunciatum esset, summum in cruciatum se venturos viderent." Locutus est pro his Divitiacus Æduus: " Galliæ totius [6]factiones esse duas harum alterius [7]principatum tenere Æduos, alterius Arvernos. Hi cum tantopere de potentatu inter se multos annos contenderent, factum esse uti ab Arvernis [8]Sequanisque Germani mercede arcesserentur. [9]Horum primo circiter millia quindecim Rhenum transisse: posteaquam agros, et cultum, et copias Gallorum homines feri ac barbari adamassent, transductos plures: nunc esse in Gallia ad centum et viginti millium numerum: cum his Æduos eorumque [10]clientes semel atque iterum armis contendisse; magnam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse. Quibus prœliis calamitatibusque fractos, qui et sua virtute, et Populi Romani [11]hospitio atque amicitia, plurimum ante in Gallia potuissent, coactos esse Sequanis obsides dare, nobilissimos civitatis, et jurejurando civitatem obstringere, sese neque obsides repetituros, neque auxilium a Populo Romano imploraturos, neque recusaturos, quo minus perpetuo sub illorum ditione atque imperio essent. [12]Unum se esse ex omni civitate Æduorum, qui adduci non potuerit, ut juraret, aut liberos suos obsides daret. Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse, et Romam ad senatum venisse, [13]auxilium postulatum, quod solus neque jurejurando neque obsidibus teneretur. Sed pejus victoribus Sequanis, quam Æduis victis, accidisse:

propterea quod Ariovistus, rex Germanorum, in eorum finibus consedisset, tertiamque partem agri Sequani, [1]qui esset optimus totius Galliæ, occupavisset, et nunc de altera parte tertia Sequanos decedere juberet; propterea quod, paucis mensibus ante, Harudum millia hominum viginti quatuor ad eum venissent, [2]quibus locus ac sedes pararentur. Futurum esse paucis annis, uti omnes ex Galliæ finibus pellerentur atque omnes Germani Rhenum transirent: [3]neque enim conferendum esse Gallicum cum Germanorum agro, [4]neque hanc consuetudinem victus cum illa comparandam. Ariovistum autem, [5]ut semel Gallorum copias prœlio vicerit, quod prœlium factum sit [6]ad Magetobriam, superbe et crudeliter imperare, obsides nobilissimi cujusque liberos poscere, [7]et in eos omnia exempla cruciatusque edere, si qua res non ad nutum aut ad voluntatem ejus facta sit: [8]hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium: non posse ejus imperia diutius sustineri. [9]Nisi si quid in Cæsare Populoque Romano sit auxilii, omnibus Gallis idem esse faciendum, quod Helvetii fecerint, [10]ut domo emigrent, aliud domicilium, alias sedes, remotas a Germanis, petant, fortunamque, quæcumque accidat, experiantur. [11]Hæc si enunciata Ariovisto sint, non dubitare, quin de omnibus obsidibus, qui apud eum sint, gravissimum supplicium sumat. Cæsarem vel auctoritate sua [12]atque exercitus, vel recenti victoria, vel nomine Populi Romani deterrere posse, ne major multitudo Germanorum Rhenum transducatur, Galliamque omnem [13]ab Ariovisti injuria posse defendere."

32. Hac oratione ab Divitiaco [14]habita, omnes, qui aderant, magno fletu auxilium a Cæsare petere cœperunt. Animadvertit Cæsar, unos ex omnibus Sequanos nihil earum rerum facere, quas ceteri facerent; sed tristes, capite demisso, terram intueri. Ejus rei causa quæ esset, miratus, ex ipsis quæsiit. Nihil Sequani [15]respondere, sed in eadem tristitia taciti permanere. Cum ab iis sæpius quæreret, neque ullam omnino vocem [16]exprimere posset, idem Divit

ıacus Æduus respondit: [1]"Hoc esse miseriorem gravioremque fortunam Sequanorum, præ reliquorum, quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri, neque auxilium implorare auderent, [2]absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesset, horrerent: propterea quod reliquis tamen fugæ facultas daretur; Sequanis vero, qui intra fines suos Ariovistum recepissent, [3]quorum oppida omnia in potestate ejus essent, [4]omnes cruciatus essent perferendi."

33. His rebus cognitis, Cæsar [5]Gallorum animos verbis confirmavit, pollicitusque est, sibi eam rem curæ futuram: magnam se habere spem, et [6]beneficio suo et auctoritate adductum Ariovistum finem injuriis facturum. Hac oratione habita, concilium dimisit; et [7]secundum ea [8]multæ res eum hortabantur, quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret; in primis quod Æduos, [9]fratres consanguineosque sæpenumero ab Senatu appellatos, in servitute atque in ditione videbat Germanorum teneri, eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequanos intelligebat: quod in tanto imperio Populi Romani turpissimum sibi et reipublicæ esse arbitrabatur. [10]Paulatim autem Germanos consuescere Rhenum transire, et in Galliam magnam eorum multitudinem venire, Populo Romano periculosum videbat: neque [11]sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat, quin, cum omnem Galliam occupassent, ut ante [12]Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in Provinciam exirent, atque inde in Italiam contenderent; [13]præsertim cum Sequanos a Provincia nostra Rhodanus divideret. Quibus rebus quam maturrime [14]occurrendum putabat. Ipse autem Ariovistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumserat, ut ferendus non videretur.

34. Quamobrem placuit ei, ut ad Ariovistum legatos mitteret, qui ab eo postularent, [15]uti aliquem locum medium utriusque colloquio diceret: velle sese de republica [16]et summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere. Ei legationi Ariovistus respondit: [17]"Si quid ipsi a Cæsare opus esset, sese

ad eum venturum fuisse; si quid [1]ille se velit, illum ad se venire oportere. Præterea se neque sine exercitu in eas partes Galliæ venire audere, quas Cæsar possideret; neque exercitum [2]sine magno commeatu atque emolimento in unum locum contrahere posse: sibi autem mirum videri, [3]quid in sua Gallia, [4]quam bello vicisset, aut Cæsari, aut omnino Populo Romano negotii esset."

35. His responsis ad Cæsarem relatis, [5]iterum ad eum Cæsar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: [6]"Quoniam tanto suo Populique Romani beneficio affectus (cum in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a Senatu appellatus esset), hanc sibi Populoque Romano gratiam referret, ut in colloquium venire invitatus gravaretur, neque de communi re dicendum sibi et cognoscendum putaret; hæc esse, quæ ab eo postularet: primum, ne [7]quam hominum multitudinem amplius trans Rhenum in Galliam transduceret: deinde obsides, quos haberet ab Æduis, redderet, Sequanisque permitteret, ut, quos illi haberent, [8]voluntate ejus reddere illis liceret; neve Æduos injuria lacesseret, neve his sociisve eorum bellum inferret: si id ita fecisset, sibi Populoque Romano perpetuam gratiam atque amicitiam cum eo futuram: si non impetraret, [9]sese (quoniam [10]Marco Messala Marco Pisone Consulibus, Senatus censuisset, uti, quicumque Galliam provinciam [11]obtineret, [12]quod commodo reipublicæ facere posset, Æduos ceterosque amicos Populi Romani defenderet), sese Æduorum injurias non neglecturum."

36. Ad hæc Ariovistus respondit: "Jus esse belli, ut, qui vicissent, iis, quos vicissent, quemadmodum vellent, imperarent: [13]item Populum Romanum victis non ad alterius præscriptum, sed ad suum arbitrium, imperare consuesse Si ipse Populo Romano non præscriberet, [14]quemadmodum suo jure uteretur; non oportere sese a Populo Romano in suo jure impediri. Æduos sibi, quoniam belli fortunam tentassent et armis congressi ac superati essent, [15]stipendiarios esse factos. [16]Magnam Cæsarem injuriam facere, qui suo

adventu vectigalia sibi deteriora faceret. Æduis se obside redditurum non esse, neque iis, neque eorum sociis [1]injuria bellum illaturum, si in eo manerent, quod convenisset, stipendiumque quotannis penderent: si id non fecissent, [2]longe iis fraternum nomen Populi Romani abfuturum. [3]Quod sibi Cæsar denunciaret, se Æduorum injurias non neglecturum; neminem secum sine sua pernicie contendisse. Cum vellet, congrederetur; intellecturum, quid invicti Germani, [4]exercitatissimi in armis, qui [5]inter annos quatuordecim tectum non subissent, virtute possent."

37. Hæc eodem tempore Cæsari mandata referebantur, et legati ab Æduis et a Treviris veniebant: Ædui questum, quod [6]Harudes, qui nuper in Galliam transportati essent, fines eorum popularentur; sese ne obsidibus quidem datis pacem Ariovisti redimere potuisse: [7]Treviri autem, [8]pagos centum Suevorum ad ripas Rheni consedisse, [9]qui Rhenum transire conarentur; iis præesse Nasuam et Cimberium fratres. Quibus rebus Cæsar [10]vehementer commotus, maturandum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova manus Suevorum cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese conjunxisset, minus facile resisti posset. Itaque [11]re frumentaria, quam celerrime potuit, comparata, magnis itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit.

38. Cum tridui viam processisset, nunciatum est ei, Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum Vesontionem, quod est oppidum maximum Sequanorum, [12]contendere, triduique viam a suis finibus profecisse. Id ne accideret, magno opere sibi præcavendum Cæsar existimabat: namque omnium rerum, quæ ad bellum usui erant, [13]summa erat in eo oppido facultas; idque natura loci sic muniebatur, ut magnam [14]ad ducendum bellum daret facultatem, propterea quod flumen [15]Dubis, [16]ut circino circumductum, pæne totum oppidum cingit: reliquum spatium, quod est non amplius pedum [17]sexcentorum, [18]qua flumen intermittit, mons [19]continet magna altitudine, ita ut radices ejus montis ex utraque

parte ripæ fluminis contingant. [1]Hunc murus circumdatus arcem efficit et cum oppido conjungit. Huc Cæsar magnis [2]nocturnis diurnisque itineribus contendit, occupatoque oppido, ibi præsidium collocat.

39. Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem, rei frumentariæ commeatusque causa, moratur, [3]ex percunctatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse prædicabant, sæpenumero sese, cum eis congressos, ne [4]vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum ferre potuisse, tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit, ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret. Hic primum ortus est a [5]Tribunis militum, præfectis reliquisque, qui, ex [6]urbe amicitiæ causa Cæsarem secuti, non magnum in re militari usum habebant: [7]quorum alius, alia causa illata, quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse dicerent, petebant, ut ejus voluntate discedere liceret: nonnulli, pudore adducti, ut timoris suspicionem vitarent, remanebant. Hi neque [8]vultum fingere, neque interdum lacrymas tenere poterant: abditi in tabernaculis, aut suum fatum querebantur, aut cum familiaribus suis commune periculum miserabantur. [9]Vulgo totis castris testamenta obsignabantur. Horum vocibus ac timore paulatim etiam ii, qui [10]magnum in castris usum habebant, milites centurionesque, [11]quique equitatu præerant, perturbabantur. [12]Qui se ex his minus timidos existimari volebant, non se hostem vereri. sed angustias itineris et magnitudinem silvarum, quæ intercederent inter ipsos atque Ariovistum, aut rem frumentariam, [13]ut satis commode supportari posset, timere dicebant. Nonnulli etiam Cæsari renunciabant, cum castra moveri ac [14]signa ferri jussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites, [15]nec propter timorem signa laturos.

40. Hæc cum animadvertisset, [16]convocato consilio, [17]omniumque ordinum ad id consilium adhibitis centurionibus, vehementer eos incusavit; [18]"primum, quod, aut quam in

partem, aut quo consilio ducerentur, sibi quærendum aut cogitandum putarent. Ariovistum, se consule, cupidissime Populi Romani amicitiam appetisse; cur hunc tam temere quisquam ab officio discessurum judicaret? Sibi quidem persuaderi, cognitis suis [1]postulatis atque æquitate conditionum perspecta, eum neque suam, neque Populi Romani gratiam repudiaturum. Quod si, furore atque amentia impulsus, bellum intulisset, quid tandem vererentur? [2]aut cur de sua virtute, aut de ipsius diligentia, desperarent? [3]Factum ejus hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoria, cum, Cimbris et Teutonis a Caio Mario pulsis, non minorem laudem exercitus, quam ipse imperator, meritus videbatur: [4]factum etiam nuper in Italia servili tumultu, [5]quos tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina, quam a nobis accepissent, sublevarent. Ex quo judicari posset, quantum haberet in se boni [6]constantia; propterea quod, quos aliquamdiu inermos sine causa timuissent, hos postea armatos ac victores superassent. Denique hos esse eosdem, quibuscum sæpenumero Helvetii congressi, non solum in [7]suis, sed etiam in illorum finibus, plerumque superarint, qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitu non potuerint. Si quos [8]adversum prœlium et fuga Gallorum commoveret, hos, si quærerent, reperire posse, diuturnitate belli defatigatis Gallis, Ariovistum, cum multos menses castris se ac paludibus tenuisset, [9]neque sui potestatem fecisset, desperantes jam de pugna et dispersos subito adortum, magis [10]ratione et consilio, quam virtute, vicisse. Cui rationi contra homines barbaros atque imperitos locus fuisset, hac, ne ipsum quidem sperare, nostros exercitus capi posse. [11]Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariæ simulationem angustiasque itinerum conferrent, facere arroganter, cum aut de officio imperatoris desperare, aut præscribere viderentur. Hæc sibi esse curæ; frumentum Sequanos, Leucos, Lingonas subministrare; jamque esse in agris frumenta matura: de itinere ipsos [12]brevi tempore iudicaturos. Quod non fore dicto audientes milites, neque

gna laturi dicantur, nihil se ea re commoveri: [1]scire enim, quibuscumque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut, male re gesta, fortunam defuisse; aut, aliquo facinore comperto, avaritiam esse conjunctam. Suam innocentiam [2]perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetiorum bello, esse perspectam. [3]Itaque se, quod in longiorem diem collaturus esset, repræsentaturum, et proxima nocte de quarta vigilia castra moturum, ut quam primum intelligere posset, utrum apud eos pudor atque officium, an timor valeret. Quod si præterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola [4]decima legione iturum, de qua non dubitaret; sibique eam prætoriam cohortem futuram." Huic legioni Cæsar et indulserat præcipue, et propter virtutem confidebat maxime.

41. Hac oratione habita, mirum in modum conversæ sunt omnium mentes, summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi innata est, [5]princepsque decima legio, per tribunos militum, ei gratias egit, quod de se optimum judicium fecisset; seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam confirmavit. Deinde reliquæ legiones, per tribunos militum et [6]primorum ordinum centuriones, egerunt, uti Cæsari satisfacerent: se neque unquam dubitasse, neque timuisse, [7]neque de summa belli suum judicium, sed imperatoris esse, existimavisse. Eorum [8]satisfactione accepta, et itinere exquisito per Divitiacum, quod ex aliis ei maximam fidem habebat, ut millium amplius [9]quinquaginta circuitu locis apertis exercitum duceret, de quarta vigilia, ut dixerat, profectus est. Septimo die, cum iter non intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est, Ariovisti copias a nostris millibus passuum quatuor et viginti abesse.

42. Cognito Cæsaris adventu, Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: [10]quod antea de colloquio postulasset, id per se fieri licere, quoniam propius accessisset: seque id sine periculo facere posse [11]existimare. Non respuit conditionem Cæsar. Jamque eum ad [12]sanitatem reverti arbitrabatur, cum id, quod antea petenti denegasset, ultro polliceretur; magnamque in

spem veniebat, pro suis tantis Populique Romani in eum beneficiis, cognitis suis postulatis, fore, uti pertinacia desisteret. Dies colloquio dictus est, ex eo die quintus. Interim, cum sæpe ultro citroque legati inter eos mitterentur, Ariovistus postulavit, ne quem peditem ad colloquium Cæsar adduceret: vereri se, ne per insidias ab eo circumveniretur: uterque cum equitatu veniret: [1]alia ratione se non esse venturum. Cæsar, quod neque colloquium interposita causa tolli volebat, neque salutem suam [2]Gallorum equitatui committere audebat, [3]commodissimum esse statuit, omnibus equis Gallis equitibus detractis, eo legionarios milites legionis decimæ, cui quam maxime confidebat, imponere, ut præsidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto esset, haberet. Quod cum fieret, [4]non irridicule quidam ex militibus decimæ legionis dixit: "plus, quam pollicitus esset, Cæsarem ei facere; pollicitum, se in cohortis prætoriæ loco decimam legionem habiturum, [5]nunc ad equum rescribere."

43. Planities erat magna, et in ea [6]tumulus terrenus satis grandis. Hic locus æquo fere spatio ab castris utrisque aberat. Eo, ut erat dictum, ad colloquium venerunt. Legionem Cæsar, quam equis devexerat, passibus ducentis ab eo tumulo constituit. Item equites Ariovisti pari intervallo constiterunt. Ariovistus, [7]ex equis ut colloquerentur et, præter se, denos ut ad colloquium adducerent, postulavit. Ubi eo ventum est, Cæsar, initio orationis, sua Senatusque in eum beneficia [8]commemoravit, "quod rex appellatus esset a Senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissima missa: quam rem et paucis contigisse, et [9]pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui" docebat: "illum, cum neque aditum, neque causam postulandi justam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate sua ac Senatus ea præmia consecutum." Docebat etiam, [10]"quam veteres, quamque justæ causæ necessitudinis ipsis cum Æduis intercederent, quæ Senatus consulta, quoties, quamque honorifica in eos facta essent: [11]ut omni tempore totius Galliæ principatum Ædui tenuissent,

prius etiam quam nostram amicitiam appetissent: Populi Romani hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios atque amicos non modo [1]sui nihil deperdere, sed gratia, dignitate, honore auctiores velit esse: [2]quod vero ad amicitiam Populi Romani attulissent, id iis eripi, quis pati posset?" [3]Postulavit deinde eadem, quæ legatis in mandatis dederat, "ne aut Æduis, aut eorum sociis bellum inferret; obsides redderet: si nullam partem Germanorum domum remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur."

44. Ariovistus ad postulata Cæsaris pauca respondit; [4]de suis virtutibus multa prædicavit: "Transisse Rhenum sese, non sua sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magna spe, magnisque præmiis, domum propinquosque reliquisse; sedes habere in Gallia, [5]ab ipsis concessas; obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere jure belli, quod victores victis imponere consuerint; non sese Gallis, sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse; omnes [6]Galliæ civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse, ac contra se castra habuisse; eas omnes copias a se uno prœlio fusas ac superatas esse; si iterum experiri velint, iterum paratum sese decertare; si pace uti velint, iniquum esse, de stipendio recusare, quod sua voluntate ad id tempus pependerint. Amicitiam Populi Romani sibi ornamento et præsidio, non detrimento, esse oportere, [7]idque se ea spe petisse. Si per Populum Romanum [8]stipendium remittatur, et dedititii subtrahantur, non minus libenter sese recusaturum Populi Romani amicitiam, quam appetierit. [9]Quod multitudinem Germanorum in Galliam transducat, id se sui muniendi, non Galliæ impugnandæ causa facere; ejus rei testimonium esse, quod, nisi rogatus, non venerit, et quod bellum non intulerit, [10]sed defenderit. [11]Se prius in Galliam venisse, quam Populum Romanum. Nunquam ante hoc tempus exercitum Populi Romani Galliæ provinciæ fines egressum. [12]Quid sibi vellet? Cur in suas possessiones veniret? Provinciam suam hanc esse Galliam, sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi

non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos, [1]qui in suo jure se interpellaremus [2]Quod fratres a Senatu Æduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum, neque tam imperitum esse rerum, ut non sciret, neque bello Allobrogum proximo Æduos Romanis auxilium tulisse, neque ipsos in his contentionibus, quas Ædui secum et cum Sequanis habuissent, [3]auxilio Populi Romani usos esse. Debere se suspicari, simulata Cæsarem amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat, sui opprimendi causa habere. [4]Qui nisi decedat atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, sese illum non pro amico, sed pro hoste habiturum: [5]quod si eum interfecerit, multis sese nobilibus principibusque Populi Romani gratum esse facturum; id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere, quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam [6]ejus morte redimere posset. Quod si decessisset, ac liberam possessionem Galliæ sibi tradidisset, magno se illum præmio remuneraturum, et, quæcumque bella geri vellet, sine ullo ejus labore et periculo confecturum."

45. [7]Multa ab Cæsare in eam sententiam dicta sunt, quare negotio desistere non posset, et "neque suam, neque Populi Romani consuetudinem pati, uti optime meritos socios desereret; neque se judicare, Galliam potius esse Ariovisti, quam Populi Romani. Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutenos ab Q. Fabio Maximo, quibus Populus Romanus [8]ignovisset, neque in provinciam redegisset; neque stipendium imposuisset. [9]Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectari oporteret, Populi Romani justissimum esse in Gallia imperium: si judicium Senatus observari oporteret, liberam debere esse Galliam, quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset."

46. Dum hæc in colloquio geruntur, Cæsari nunciatum est, equites Ariovisti propius tumulum accedere, et [10]ad nostros adequitare, lapides telaque in nostros conjicere. Cæsar loquendi finem [11]facit seque ad suos recipit, suisque impe

ravit, ne quod omnino telum in hostes rejicerent. Nam, etsi sine ullo periculo legionis delectæ cum equitatu prœlium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat, ut, pulsis hostibus, dici posset, eos ab se [1]per fidem in colloquio circumventos. [2]Posteaquam in vulgus militum elatum est, qua arrogantia in colloquio Ariovistus usus omni Gallia Romanis interdixisset, [3]impetumque in nostros ejus equites fecisse eaque res colloquium ut diremisset; multo major alacritas studiumque pugnandi majus exercitu [4]injectum est.

47. Biduo post Ariovistus ad Cæsarem legatos mittit, velle se de his rebus, quæ inter eos agi cœptæ, [5]neque perfectæ essent, agere cum eo: uti aut iterum colloquio diem constitueret; aut, si id minus vellet, [6]ex suis aliquem ad se mitteret. Colloquendi Cæsari causa visa non est; et eo magis, quod pridie ejus diei Germani [7]retineri non poterant, quin in nostros tela conjicerent. Legatum ex suis sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum, et hominibus feris objecturum, existimabat. Commodissimum visum est Caium Valerium Procillum, Caii Valerii Caburi filium, summa virtute et humanitate adolescentem (cujus pater a Caio Valerio Flacco civitate donatus erat); et propter fidem et propter linguæ Gallicæ scientiam, [9]qua multa jam Ariovistus longinqua consuetudine utebatur, et quod in eo peccandi Germanis causa non esset, ad eum mittere, et Marcum Mettium, [10]qui hospitio Ariovisti usus erat. His mandavit, ut, [11]quæ diceret Ariovistus, cognoscerent et ad se referrent. Quos cum apud se in castris Ariovistus conspexisset, exercitu suo præsente, conclamavit: "Quid ad se venirent? An speculandi causa?" Conantes dicere prohibuit et in catenas conjecit.

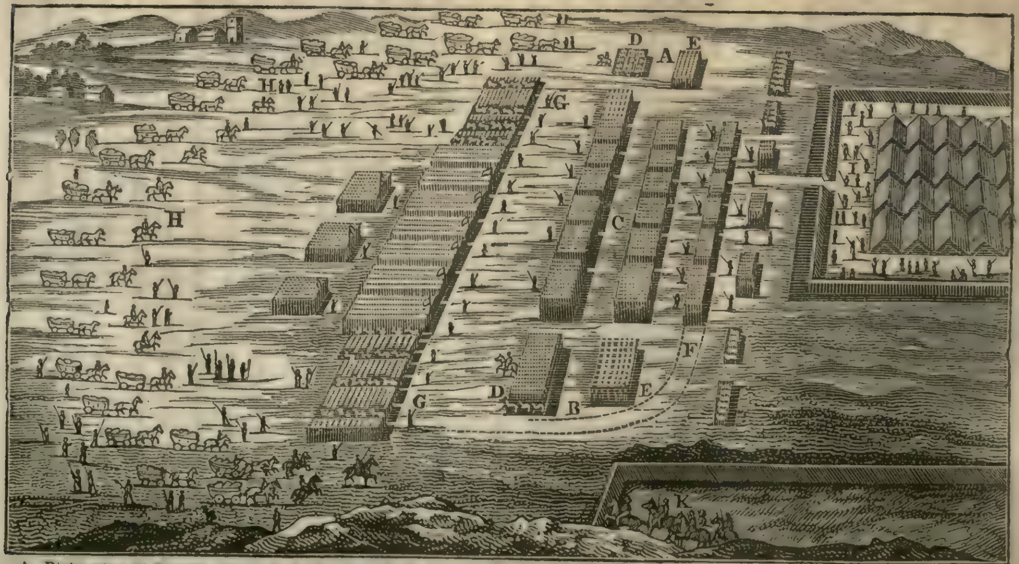
48. Eodem die castra [12]promovit et millibus passuum sex a Cæsaris castris sub monte consedit. Postridie ejus diei præter castra Cæsaris suas copias transduxit, et millibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit, eo consilio, uti fru

mento commeatuque, qui ex Sequanis et Æduis supportaretur, Cæsarem intercluderet. [1]Ex eo die dies continuos quinque Cæsar pro castris suas copias produxit, et aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus prœlio contendere ei potestas non deesset. Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuit; equestri prœlio quotidie contendit. [2]Genus hoc erat pugnæ, quo se Germani exercuerant. Equitum millia erant sex: totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi; [3]quos ex omni copia singuli singulos, suæ salutis causa, delegerant. Cum his in prœliis versabantur, ad hos se equites recipiebant: [4]hi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant: si qui, graviore vulnere accepto, equo deciderat, circumsistebant: si quo erat [5]longius prodeundum, aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum [6]exercitatione celeritas, ut, jubis equorum sublevati, cursum adæquarent.

49. Ubi eum castris se tenere Cæsar intellexit, [7]ne diutius commeatu prohiberetur, ultra eum locum, quo in loco Germani consederant, circiter passus sexcentos ab eis, castris idoneum locum delegit, [8]acieque triplici instructa, ad eum locum venit. Primam et secundam aciem in armis esse, tertiam castra munire jussit. Hic locus ab hoste circiter passus sexcentos, uti dictum est, aberat. Eo [9]circiter hominum numero sexdecim millia expedita cum omni equitatu Ariovistus misit, quæ copiæ nostros perterrerent et munitione prohiberent. Nihilo secius Cæsar, ut ante constituerat, duas acies hostem propulsare, tertiam opus perficere jussit. Munitis castris, duas ibi legiones reliquit et [10]partem auxiliorum: quatuor reliquas in castra majora reduxit.

50. Proximo die, [11]instituto suo, Cæsar e castris utrisque copias suas eduxit; paulumque [12]a majoribus progressus, aciem instruxit, hostibusque pugnandi potestatem fecit Ubi ne tum quidem eos [13]prodire intellexit, circiter meridiem exercitum in castra reduxit. Tum demum Ariovistus par

BATTLE BETWEEN CÆSAR AND ARIOVISTUS



A. Right wing of Cæsar's army. B. Left wing. C. Infantry of Cæsar. D. Cavalry. E. Auxiliaries. F. March of the third line, by its left, under the command of Crassus. G. Army of Ariovistus. H. Chariots and baggage in the rear, placed there to prevent the flight of the Germans. I. Smaller Camp of Cæsar. K. Larger Camp of Cæsar

tem suarum copiarum, quæ castra minora oppugnaret, misit [1]acriter utrinque usque ad vesperum pugnatum est. Solis occasu suas copias Ariovistus, multis et illatis et acceptis vulneribus, in castra reduxit. Cum ex captivis quæreret Cæsar, quam ob rem Ariovistus [2]prœlio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut [3]matres familiæ eorum [4]sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum prœlium committi ex usu esset, nec ne: eas ita dicere, [5]"Non esse fas, Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam prœlio contendissent."

51. Postridie ejus diei Cæsar præsidio utrisque castris, quod satis esse visum est, reliquit; [6]omnes alarios in conspectu hostium [7]pro castris minoribus constituit, quod minus multitudine militum legionariorum pro hostium numero valebat, ut ad speciem alariis uteretur. Ipse, triplici instructa acie, usque ad castra hostium accessit. Tum demum necessario Germani suas copias castris eduxerunt, [8]generatimque constituerunt paribusque intervallis Harudes, Marcomanos, Triboccos, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusios, Suevos, omnemque aciem suam [9]rhedis et carris circumdederunt, ne qua spes in fuga relinqueretur. [10]Eo mulieres imposuerunt, quæ in prœlium proficiscentes milites passis crinibus flentes implorabant, ne se in servitutem Romanis traderent.

52. [11]Cæsar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quæstorem præfecit, uti [12]eos testes suæ quisque virtutis haberet Ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem minime firmam hostium esse animum adverterat, prœlium commisit. Ita nostri acriter in hostes, signo dato, impetum fecerunt, [13]itaque hostes repente celeriterque procurrerunt, ut spatium pila in hostes conjiciendi non daretur. [14]Rejectis pilis, cominus gladiis pugnatum est: at Germani, celeriter ex consuetudine sua [15]phalange facta, impetus gladiorum exceperunt. Reperti sunt complures nostri milites, [16]qui in phalangas insilirent, et scuta manibus revellerent, et desuper vulnerarent. Cum hostium acies [17]a sinistro cornu pulsa atque in

fugam conversa esset, a dextro cornu vehementer multitudine suorum nostram aciem premebant. Id cum animadvertisset Publius Crassus adolescens, qui [1]equitatu præerat, quod expeditior erat, quam hi qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit.

53. Ita prœlium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes terga verterunt, [2]neque prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum millia passuum ex eo loco circiter quinquaginta pervenerint. Ibi perpauci aut, viribus confisi, transnatare contenderunt, aut, lintribus inventis, sibi salutem [3]repererunt. [4]In his fuit Ariovistus, qui, naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus, ea profugit: reliquos omnes consecuti equites nostri interfecerunt. [5]Duæ fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Sueva natione, quam ab domo secum eduxerat; altera Norica, regis Vocionis soror, quam in Gallia [6]duxerat, a fratre missam: utræque in ea fuga perierunt. [7]Duæ filiæ harum altera occisa, altera capta est. Caius Valerius Procillus cum a custodibus in fuga [8]trinis catenis vinctus traheretur in ipsum Cæsarem, hostes equitatu persequentem, incidit. Quæ quidem res Cæsari non minorem, quam ipsa victoria, voluptatem attulit; quod hominem honestissimum provinciæ Galliæ, suum familiarem et hospitem, ereptum e manibus hostium, sibi restitutum videbat, [9]neque ejus calamitate de tanta voluptate et gratulatione quicquam fortuna deminuerat. Is, se præsente, de se [10]ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur, an in aliud tempus reservaretur: sortium [11]beneficio se esse incolumem. Item Marcus Mettius repertus et ad eum reductus est.

54. Hoc prœlio trans Rhenum nunciato, Suevi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti cœperunt: [12]quos Ubii, qui [13]proximi Rhenum incolunt, perterritos insecuti, magnum ex his numerum occiderunt. Cæsar, una æstate [14]duobus maximis bellis confectis, maturius paulo, quam tempus anni postulabat, in hiberna in Sequanos exercitum deduxit: hibernis Labienum præposuit: ipse [15]in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

C. JULII CÆSARIS

COMMENTARII

DE

BELLO GALLICO

BOOK II.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Confederacy of the Belgæ. Cæsar's war with them.

Chap. 1. The Belgæ enter into a confederacy against the Roman power. 2. Cæsar marches against them. 3. The Remi surrender upon his approach. 4. They inform him of the strength and designs of the confederates. 5. March of Cæsar, and his encampment on the banks of the Axona. 6. Bibrax, a town of the Remi, attacked by the Belgæ. 7. Relief sent to it by Cæsar. Siege raised. 8, 9 The armies drawn up on both sides, but without coming to an engagement. 10. The Belgæ, after a collision with the light troops and cavalry of the Romans, in which they are worsted, resolve to return home in order to defend their own territories against the Aedui. 11. The Romans attack their rear and make great slaughter. 12. Cæsar marches against the Suessiones, and obliges them to submit. 13, 14 Advancing next into the country of the Bellovaci, he pardons them at the intercession of Divitiacus. 15. Account of the Nervii, who resolve to stand on their defence against the Romans. 16–28. War with the Nervii. Their overthrow and submission. Great losses sustained by them in this contest. 29–33. War with the Aduatici They submit, but falling treacherously upon the Romans during the night, are many of them cut to pieces, and the rest sold for slaves

II. Expedition of P. Crassus into Armorica.

Chap. 34. Crassus sent against several maritime states, and subdues them.

III. TRANSACTIONS SUBSEQUENT TO THE REDUCTION OF THE BELGÆ Chap. 35. High opinion entertained of Cæsar's success in this war by the barbarians. Embassies sent to him even from nations beyond the Rhine. Cæsar passes into Italy for the purpose of going to Illyricum, after having placed his army in winter quarters among the Carnutes, Andes, and Turones. A thanksgiving of fifteen days decreed by the senate.

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1. [1]CUM esset Cæsar in citeriore Gallia in hibernis, ita uti supra demonstravimus, crebri ad eum rumores afferebantur, literisque item Labieni certior fiebat, omnes Belgas, quam tertiam esse Galliæ partem [2]dixeramus, contra Populum Romanum conjurare, obsidesque inter se dare: conjurandi has esse causas: primum, quod vererentur, ne, omni pacata Gallia, ad eos exercitus noster adduceretur: deinde, quod ab nonnullis Gallis solicitarentur, [3]partim qui, ut Germanos diutius in Gallia versari noluerant, ita Populi Romani exercitum hiemare atque inveterascere in Gallia moleste ferebant; [4]partim qui mobilitate et levitate animi novis imperiis studebant: [5]ab nonnullis etiam, quod in Gallia a potentioribus atque his, qui ad conducendos homines facultates habebant, vulgo regna occupabantur, qui minus facile [6]eam rem in imperio nostro consequi poterant.

2. Iis nuntiis literisque commotus, Cæsar duas legiones in citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit, et, inita æstate, [7]in interiorem Galliam qui deduceret, [8]Quintum Pedium legatum misit. Ipse, cum primum pabuli copia esse inciperet, ad exercitum venit: [9]dat negotium Senonibus reliquisque Gallis, qui finitimi Belgis erant, uti ea, quæ apud eos gerantur cognoscant, seque de his rebus certiorem faciant. Hi [10]constanter omnes nunciaverunt, manus cogi, exercitum in unum locum conduci. Tum vero dubitandum non existimavit, quin ad eos [11]proficisceretur. Re frumentaria provisa, castra movet, diebusque circiter quindecim ad fines Belgarum pervenit

3. Eo cum de improviso [12]celeriusque omnium opinione venisset, Remi, qui proximi Galliæ ex Belgis sunt, ad eum

legatos, Iccium et Antebrogium, primos civitatis, miserunt qui dicerent, se suaque omnia in fidem atque in potestatem Populi Romani permittere: [1]neque se cum Belgis reliquis consensisse, neque contra Populum Romanum omnino conjurasse: paratosque esse et obsides dare, et imperata facere et oppidis recipere, et frumento ceterisque rebus juvare: reliquos omnes Belgas in armis esse: [2]Germanosque, qui cis Rhenum incolunt, sese cum his conjunxisse; tantumque esse eorum omnium [3]furorem, ut ne Suessiones quidem, fratres consanguineosque suos, qui eodem jure et eisdem legibus utantur, unum imperium unumque magistratum cum ipsis habeant, deterrere potuerint, quin cum his consentirent.

4. Cum ab [4]his quæreret, quæ civitates, quantæque in armis essent, et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat: plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis: Rhenumque antiquitus transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse, Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse; solosque esse, qui, patrum nostrorum memoria, omni Gallia vexata, Teutonos Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint. Qua ex re fieri, uti earum rerum memoria magnam sibi auctoritatem, [5]magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent. De numero eorum [6]omnia se habere explorata, Remi dicebant; propterea quod propinquitatibus affinitatibusque conjuncti, quantam quisque multitudinem in communi Belgarum concilio ad id bellum pollicitus sit, cognoverint. Plurimum inter eos Bellovacos et virtute, et auctoritate, et hominum numero, valere: hos posse conficere armata millia centum: pollicitos ex eo numero electa millia sexaginta, totiusque belli imperium sibi postulare. Suessiones suos esse finitimos, latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere. Apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria [8]Divitiacum, totius Galliæ potentissimum, qui cum magnæ partis harum regionum, tum etiam Brittanniæ, imperium obtinuerit: nunc esse regem [9]Galbam: ad hunc, propter justitiam prudentiamque, [10]totius belli sum-

mam omnium voluntate deferri: oppida habere numero duodecim, polliceri millia armata quinquaginta: totidem Nervios, qui maxime feri inter ipsos habeantur [1]longissi meque absint: quindecim millia Atrebates: Ambianos de cem millia: Morinos viginti quinque millia: Menapios no vem millia: Caletos decem millia: Velocasses et Vero manduos totidem: Aduatucos viginti novem millia, Con drusos, Eburones, [2]Cæræsos, Pæmanos, qui uno nomine Germani appellantur, arbitrari ad quadraginta millia.

5. Cæsar, Remos cohortatus [3]liberaliterque oratione pro secutus, omnem senatum ad se convenire, principumque liberos obsides ad se adduci jussit. Quæ omnia ab his di ligenter [4]ad diem facta sunt. Ipse, Divitiacum Æduum magno opere cohortatus, docet, [5]quanto opere rei publicæ communisque salutis intersit, manus hostium distineri, ne cum tanta multitudine uno tempore confligendum sit. Id fieri posse, si suas copias Ædui in fines Bellovacorum introduxerint, et eorum agros populari cœperint. His mandatis, eum ab se dimittit. Postquam omnes Belgarum copias, in unum locum coactas, ad se venire vidit, neque jam longe abesse ab his, quos miserat, exploratoribus, et ab Remis cognovit, flumen Axonam, quod est in extremis Remorum finibus, exercitum transducere maturavit, [6]atque ibi castra posuit. [7]Quæ res et latus unum castrorum ripis flu minis muniebat, et post eum quæ essent tuta ab hostibus reddebat, et, commeatus ab Remis reliquisque civitatibus ut sine periculo ad eum portari posset, efficiebat. In eo flumine pons erat. Ibi præsidium ponit, et in altera parte fluminis Quintum Titurium Sabinum legatum cum sex [8]cohortibus reliquit: castra in altitudinem pedum duodecim vallo, fossaque [9]duodeviginti pedum, [10]munire jubet.

6 Ab his castris oppidum Remorum, nomine Bibrax, aberat millia passuum octo. Id [11]ex itinere magno impetu Belgæ oppugnare cœperunt. Ægre eo die sustentatum est. Gallorum eadem atque Belgarum oppugnatio est hæc Ubi

circumjecta multitudine hominum totis mœnibus undique lapides in murum jaci cœpti sunt, murusque defensoribus nudatus est, [1]testudine facta [2]portas succedunt murumque subruunt. Quod tum facile fiebat. Nam, cum tanta multitudo lapides ac tela conjicerent, [3]in muro consistendi potestas erat nulli. Cum finem oppugnandi nox fecisset, Iccius, Remus, [4]summa nobilitate et gratia inter suos, qui tum oppido præerat, unus ex his qui legati de pace ad Cæsarem venerant, nuncios ad eum mittit, nisi subsidium sibi [5]submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse.

7. Eo [6]de media nocte Cæsar, iisdem ducibus usus qui nuncii ab Iccio venerant, [7]Numidas et Cretas sagittarios, et funditores Baleares, subsidio oppidanis mittit: [8]quorum adventu et Remis, cum spe defensionis, studium propugnandi accessit, et hostibus eadem de causa spes potiundi oppidi discessit. Itaque, paulisper apud oppidum morati, agrosque Remorum depopulati, omnibus vicis ædificiisque, [9]quos adire poterant, incensis, ad castra Cæsaris [10]omnibus copiis contenderunt, [11]et ab millibus passuum minus duobus castra posuerunt; quæ castra, ut fumo atque ignibus significabatur, amplius millibus passuum octo in latitudinem patebant.

8. Cæsar primo, et propter multitudinem hostium, [12]et propter eximiam opinionem virtutis, prœlio supersedere statuit; quotidie tamen equestribus prœliis, quid hostis virtute posset, et quid nostri auderent, [13]solicitationibus periclitabatur. Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris, ad aciem instruendam natura opportuno atque idoneo (quod is collis, ubi castra posita erant, paululum ex planitie editus, tantum [14]adversus in latitudinem patebat quantum loci acies instructa occupare poterat, atque [15]ex utraque parte lateris dejectus habebat, [16]et, frontem leniter fastigatus, paulatim ad planitiem redibat), ab utroque latere ejus collis transversam fossam obduxit circiter passuum quadringentorum; et [17]ad extremas fossas castella consti

CAMP AND POSITION OF CÆSAR AFTER THE PASSAGE OF THE RIVER AXONA, AND POSITION OF THE FORCES OF THE BELGÆ.



A. River Axona. B. Camp of Cæsar. C. Bridge over the Axona, fortified by Cæsar. D. Intrenchment and Ditch. E. Army of the Belgæ F. Forts erected at each extremity of the Intrenchments. G. Morass between the two Armies. H. Hill on which the Camp of Cæsar wa placed I. Army of Cæsar in Battle array K. Battle of the Cavalry

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uit, ibique tormenta collocavit, ne, cum aciem instruxisset, hostes, [1]quod tantum multitudine poterant, ab lateribus pugnantes suos circumvenire possent. Hoc facto, duabus legionibus, quas proxime conscripserat, in castris relictis, ut, [2]si qua opus esset, subsidio duci possent, reliquas sex legiones pro castris in acie constituit. Hostes item suas copias ex castris eductas instruxerant.

9. [3]Palus erat non magna inter nostrum atque hostium exercitum. Hanc si nostri transirent, hostes [4]expectabant; nostri autem, si ab illis initium transeundi fieret, ut impeditos aggrederentur, parati in armis erant. Interim prœlio equestri inter duas acies contendebatur. Ubi neutri transeundi initium faciunt, [5]secundiore equitum prœlio nostris Cæsar suos in castra reduxit. Hostes protinus ex eo loco ad flumen Axonam contenderunt, quod esse post nostra castra [6]demonstratum est. Ibi vadis repertis, partem suarum copiarum transducere conati sunt, eo consilio, ut, si possent, castellum, cui præerat Quintus Titurius legatus, expugnarent, pontemque interscinderent; [7]si minus potuissent, agros Remorum popularentur, qui magno nobis usui ad bellum gerendum erant, commeatuque nostros prohiberent.

10. Cæsar, certior factus ab Titurio, omnem equitatum, et [8]levis armaturæ Numidas, funditores sagittariosque, pontem transducit, atque ad eos contendit. Acriter in eo loco pugnatum est. Hostes [9]impeditos nostri in flumine aggressi, magnum eorum numerum occiderunt. Per eorum corpora reliquos, [10]audacissime transire conantes, multitudine telorum repulerunt; primos, qui transierant, equitatu circumventos interfecerunt. Hostes, ubi et de expugnando [11]oppido, et de flumine transeundo, spem se fefellisse intellexerunt, neque nostros in locum iniquiorem progredi pugnandi causa viderunt, atque ipsos res frumentaria deficere cœpit, concilio convocato constituerunt, optimum esse, domum suam quemque reverti, ut, [12]quorum in fines primum Romani exercitum introduxissent, ad eos defendendos undique

convenirent, et potius in suis, quam in alienis finibus, decertarent, [1]et domesticis copiis rei frumentariæ uterentur. Ad eam sententiam, cum reliquis causis, [2]hæc quoque ratio eos deduxit, quod Divitiacum atque Æduos finibus Bellovacorum appropinquare cognoverant. [3]His persuaderi, ut diutius morarentur, neque suis auxilium ferrent, non poterat.

11. Ea re constituta, secunda vigilia magno cum strepitu ac tumultu castris egressi, [4]nullo certo ordine neque imperio, [5]cum sibi quisque primum itineris locum peteret, et domum pervenire properaret, fecerunt, ut consimilis fugæ profectio videretur. Hac re statim, Cæsar, per speculatores cognita [6]insidias veritus, quod, qua de causa discederent, nondum perspexerat, exercitum equitatumque castris continuit. Prima luce, confirmata re ab exploratoribus, omnem equitatum, qui novissimum agmen moraretur, præmisit. His Quintum Pedium et Lucium Aurunculeium Cottam legatos præfecit. Titum Labienum legatum cum legionibus tribus subsequi jussit. Hi, novissimos adorti, et multa millia passuum prosecuti, magnam multitudinem eorum fugientium conciderunt, [7]cum ab extremo agmine, ad quos ventum erat, consisterent, fortiterque impetum nostrorum militum sustinerent; prioresque (quod abesse a periculo viderentur, neque ulla necessitate neque imperio continerentur), exaudito clamore, [8]perturbatis ordinibus, omnes in fuga sibi præsidium ponerent. Ita sine ullo periculo tantam eorum multitudinem nostri interfecerunt, [9]quantum fuit diei spatium: sub occasumque solis [10]destiterunt, seque in castra, ut erat imperatum, receperunt.

12. Postridie ejus diei Cæsar, priusquam se hostes ex terrore ac fuga reciperent, in fines Suessionum, qui proximi Remis erant, exercitum duxit, et, magno itinere confecto, ad oppidum Noviodunum contendit. Id [11]ex itinere oppugnare conatus, quod vacuum ab defensoribus esse audiebat propter latitudinem fossæ murique altitudinem, paucis defendentibus, expugnare non potuit. Castris munitis, [12]vineas

agere, quæque ad oppugnandum usui erant, comparare cœpit. Interim omnis ex fuga Suessionum multitudo in oppidum proxima nocte convenit. Celeriter vineis ad oppidum actis, [1]aggere jacto, [2]turribusque constitutis, magnitudine [3]operum, quæ neque viderant ante Galli neque audierant, et celeritate Romanorum permoti, legatos ad Cæsarem de deditione mittunt, et, petentibus Remis ut conservarentur, impetrant.

13. Cæsar, obsidibus acceptis, primis civitatis atque ipsius [4]Galbæ regis duobus filiis, armisque omnibus ex oppido traditis, in deditionem Suessiones accepit, exercitumque in Bellovacos duxit. Qui cum se suaque omnia in oppidum [5]Bratuspantium contulissent, atque ab eo oppido Cæsar cum exercitu circiter millia passuum quinque abesset, omnes [6]majores natu, ex oppido egressi, manus ad Cæsarem tendere, et voce significare cœperunt, sese in ejus fidem ac potestatem venire, neque contra Populum Romanum armis contendere. Item, cum ad oppidum accessisset, castraque ibi poneret, pueri mulieresque ex muro [7]passis manibus, suo more, pacem ab Romanis petierunt.

14. Pro his Divitiacus (nam post discessum Belgarum dimissis Æduorum copiis, [8]ad eum reverterat), facit verba: "Bellovacos omni tempore [9]in fide atque amicitia civitatis Æduæ fuisse: impulsos a suis principibus, qui dicerent Æduos, a Cæsare in servitutem redactos, omnes indignitates contumeliasque perferre, et ab Æduis defecisse et Populo Romano bellum intulisse. [10]Qui hujus consilii principes fuissent, quod intelligerent quantam calamitatem civitati intulissent, in Britanniam profugisse. Petere [11]non solum Bellovacos, sed etiam pro his Æduos, ut sua clementia ac mansuetudine in eos utatur. Quod si fecerit, Æduorum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum [12]quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint, sustentare consuerint."

15. Cæsar, [13]honoris Divitiaci atque Æduorum causa

sese eos in fidem recepturum, et conservaturum, dixit: sed, quod erat civitas magna inter Belgas auctoritate, atque hominum multitudine præstabat, sexcentos obsides poposcit. [1]His traditis, omnibusque armis ex oppido collatis, ab eo loco in fines Ambianorum pervenit, qui se suaque omnia sine mora dediderunt. Eorum fines Nervii attingebant: quorum de natura moribusque Cæsar cum quæreret, sic reperiebat: "Nullum aditum esse ad eos mercatoribus: [2]nihil pati vini, reliquarumque rerum [3]ad luxuriam pertinentium, inferri, quod his rebus relanguescere animos et remitti virtutem existimarent: esse homines feros, magnæque virtutis: [4]increpitare atque incusare reliquos Belgas, qui se Populo Romano dedidissent, patriamque virtutem projecissent: [5]confirmare, sese neque legatos missuros, neque ullam conditionem pacis accepturos."

16. Cum per eorum fines triduum iter fecisset, inveniebat ex captivis, [6]Sabim flumen ab castris suis non amplius millia passuum decem abesse: trans id flumen omnes Nervios consedisse, [7]adventumque ibi Romanorum expectare, una cum Atrebatibus et Veromanduis, finitimis suis (nam his utrisque persuaserant, uti eandem belli fortunam experirentur): expectari etiam ab his Aduatucorum copias, atque esse in itinere: [8]mulieres, quique per ætatem ad pugnam inutiles viderentur, in eum locum conjecisse, quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset.

17. His rebus cognitis, exploratores centurionesque præmittit, qui locum idoneum castris deligant. Cumque ex deditiis Belgis reliquisque Gallis complures, Cæsarem secuti, una iter facerent; quidam ex his, ut postea ex captivis cognitum est, [9]eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus perspecta, nocte ad Nervios pervenerunt, atque iis demonstrarunt, inter singulas legiones impedimentorum magnum numerum intercedere, [10]neque esse quicquam negotii, cum prima legio in castra venisset, reliquæque legiones magnum spatium abessent, [11]hanc sub sarcinis adoriri

ARRIVAL OF CÆSAR AT THE RIVER SAMBRE, AND HIS BATTLE WITH THE BELGÆ.



A. Hill sloping toward the river Sambre. B. River Sambre. C. Hill on the opposite side of the Sambre, occupied by the Belgæ. D. Baggage of Cæsar's Army. E. Two legions bringing up the rear of the Roman Army. F. Cavalry of Cæsar. G. Tenth and Ninth legions. H. The Atrebates repulsed and driven back across the Sambre. I. The Twelfth legion on the right wing. K. The Seventh legion, stationed short distance from the Twelfth. L. M. The Nervii, under Boduognatus, attacking the Seventh and Twelfth legions. N. O. The Eighth and Eleventh legions repulse the Veromandui, and compel them to recross the Sambre. P. The Veromandui pursued by the Romans Q. The Nervii penetrating to the camp of Cæsar. R. The retainers of the camp in flight

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qua pulsa, impedimentisque direptis, futurum, ut reliquæ contra consistere non auderent. [2]Adjuvabat etiam eorum consilium qui rem deferebant, quod Nervii antiquitus, cum equitatu nihil possent (neque enim ad hoc tempus [3]ei rei student, sed, quicquid possunt, pedestribus valent copiis), quo facilius finitimorum equitatum, si prædandi causa ad eos venisset, impedirent, teneris arboribus [4]incisis atque inflexis, [5]crebris in latitudinem ramis et rubis sentibusque interjectis effecerant, ut instar muri hæ sepes munimenta præberent; quo [6]non modo intrari, sed ne perspici quidem posset. His rebus cum iter agminis nostri impediretur, [7]non omittendum sibi consilium Nervii æstimaverunt.

18. Loci natura erat hæc, [8]quem locum nostri castris delegerant. Collis, [9]ab summo æqualiter declivis, ad flumen Sabim, quod supra nominavimus, vergebat. Ab eo flumine pari acclivitate collis nascebatur, adversus huic et contrarius, [10]passus circiter ducentos infima apertus, ab superiore parte [11]silvestris, ut non facile introrsus perspici posset. Intra eas silvas hostes in occulto sese continebant: [12]in aperto loco, secundum flumen, paucæ stationes equitum videbantur. Fluminis erat altitudo pedum circiter trium.

19. Cæsar, equitatu præmisso, subsequebatur omnibus copiis: sed [13]ratio ordoque agminis aliter se habebat, ac Belgæ ad Nervios detulerant. Nam, quod ad hostes appropinquabat, consuetudine sua Cæsar sex legiones [14]expeditas ducebat: post eas totius exercitus impedimenta collocarat: inde [15]duæ legiones, quæ proxime conscriptæ erant, totum agmen claudebant, præsidioque impedimentis erant. Equites nostri, cum funditoribus sagittariisque flumen transgressi, cum hostium equitatu prœlium commiserunt. Cum se illi [16]identidem in silvas ad suos reciperent, ac rursus ex silva in nostros impetum facerent, neque nostri longius, quam [17]quem ad finem porrecta ac loca aperta pertinebant, cedentes insequi auderent: interim legiones sex, quæ primæ venerant, [18]opere dimenso, castra munire cœperunt. Ubi

[1]prima impedimenta nostri exercitus ab his, qui in silvis abditi latebant, visa sunt ([2]quod tempus inter eos committendi prœlii convenerat), ita, ut intra silvas aciem ordinesque constituerant, atque ipsi sese confirmaverant, subito omnibus copiis provolaverunt impetumque in nostros equites fecerunt. His facile pulsis ac [3]proturbatis, incredibili celeritate ad flumen decucurrerunt, ut pæne uno tempore et ad silvas, et in flumine, et jam [4]in manibus nostris hostes viderentur. Eadem autem celeritate [5]adverso colle ad nostra castra, atque eos, qui in opere occupati erant, contenderunt.

20. Cæsari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: [6]vexillum proponendum, quod erat insigne, cum ad arma concurri oporteret: [7]signum tuba dandum: ab opere revocandi milites, qui paulo longius [8]aggeris petendi causa processerant, arcessendi: acies instruenda, milites cohortandi, [9]signum dandum: quarum rerum magnam partem temporis brevitas, et [10]successus et incursus hostium impediebat. His difficultatibus duæ res [11]erant subsidio, scientia atque usus militum, quod, superioribus prœliis exercitati, quid fieri oporteret, non minus commode ipsi sibi præscribere, quam ab aliis doceri poterant; et quod ab opere [12]singulisque legionibus singulos legatos Cæsar discedere, nisi munitis castris, vetuerat. Hi, propter propinquitatem et celeritatem hostium, [13]nihil jam Cæsaris imperium spectabant, sed per se, quæ videbantur, administrabant.

21. Cæsar, necessariis rebus imperatis, ad cohortandos milites, [14]quam in partem fors obtulit, decucurrit, et ad legionem decimam devenit. Milites non longiore oratione cohortatus, quam uti suæ pristinæ virtutis memoriam retinerent, neu perturbarentur animo, hostiumque impetum fortiter sustinerent; quod non longius hostes aberant, [15]quam quo telum adjici posset, prœlii committendi signum dedit. Atque in alteram partem item cohortandi causa profectus, [16]pugnantibus occurrit. Temporis tanta fuit [17]exiguitas, hostiumque tam paratus ad dimicandum animus, ut non

modo [1]ad insignia accommodanda, [2]sed etiam ad galeas induendas scutisque [3]tegumenta detrahenda tempus defuerit. Quam quisque in partem ab opere casu devenit, quæque prima signa conspexit, [4]ad hæc constitit, ne, in quærendo suos, [5]pugnandi tempus dimitteret.

22. Instructo exercitu, magis ut loci natura, [6]dejectusque collis, et necessitas temporis, quam ut rei militaris ratio atque ordo postulabat, cum diversis locis legiones, aliæ alia in parte, hostibus resisterent, sepibusque densissimis, ut ante demonstravimus, interjectis [7]prospectus impediretur; neque certa subsidia collocari, neque quid in quaque parte opus esset provideri, neque ab uno omnia imperia [8]administrari poterant. Itaque, in tanta rerum iniquitate, fortunæ quoque eventus varii sequebantur.

23. [9]Legionis nonæ, et decimæ milites, [10]ut in sinistra parte acie constiterant, pilis emissis, cursu ac lassitudine [11]exanimatos, vulneribusque confectos Atrebates ([12]nam his ea pars obvenerat), celeriter ex loco superiore in flumen compulerunt; et, transire conantes insecuti gladiis, magnam partem eorum [13]impeditam interfecerunt. Ipsi transire flumen non dubitaverunt; et, in locum iniquum progressi, rursus regressos ac resistentes hostes, redintegrato prœlio, in fugam dederunt. Item alia in parte [14]diversæ duæ legiones, undecima et octava, profligatis Veromanduis, quibuscum erant congressi, [15]ex loco superiore in ipsis fluminis ripis prœliabantur. [16]At tum, totis fere [17]a fronte, et ab sinistra parte, nudatis castris, [18]cum in dextro cornu legio duodecima, et non magno ab ea intervallo septima constitisset, omnes Nervii confertissimo agmine, duce Boduognato, qui summam imperii tenebat, ad eum locum contenderunt: quorum pars [19]aperto latere legiones circumvenire, pars [20]summum castrorum locum petere, cœpit.

24. Eodem tempore equites nostri, [21]levisque armaturæ pedites, qui cum iis una fuerant, quos primo hostium impetu pulsos [22]dixeram, cum se in castra reciperent, adversis

hostibus occurrebant, ac rursus [1]aliam in partem fugam pe ebant: et [2]calones, qui ab [3]decumana porta, ac summo jugo collis, nostros victores flumen transisse conspexerant, prædandi causa egressi, cum respexissent et hostes in nostris castris [4]versari vidissent, præcipites fugæ sese mandabant. Simul eorum, qui cum impedimentis veniebant, clamor frem itusque oriebatur, [5]aliique aliam in partem perterriti ferebantur. Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites Treviri, [6]quorum inter Gallos virtutis opinio est singularis, qui auxilii causa ab civitate missi ad Cæsarem venerant, cum multitudine hostium castra nostra compleri, legiones premi et pæne circumventas teneri, calones, equites, funditores, Numidas, [7]diversos dissipatosque, in omnes partes fugere vidissent, desperatis nostris rebus, domum contenderunt: Romanos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque eorum hostes potitos, civitati renunciaverunt.

25. Cæsar, [8]ab decimæ legionis cohortatione ad dextrum cornu profectus, ubi suos [9]urgeri, signisque in unum locum collatis duodecimæ legionis confertos milites sibi ipsos ad pugnam esse impedimento; quartæ cohortis [10]omnibus centurionibus occisis, signiferoque interfecto, signo amisso, reliquarum cohortium omnibus fere centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis, in his [11]primopilo, Publio Sextio Baculo, fortissimo viro, multis gravibusque vulneribus confecto, [12]ut jam se sustinere non posset; reliquos esse tardiores, et nonnullos ab novissimis desertos prœlio excedere ac tela vitare; hostes neque [13]a fronte ex inferiore loco subeuntes intermittere, et ab utroque latere instare; [14]et rem esse in angusto vidit, neque ullum esse subsidium, quod submitti posset: scuto [15]ab novissimis uni militi detracto (quod ipse eo sine scuto venerat), in primam aciem processit, centurionibusque nominatim appellatis, reliquos cohortatus milites, [16]signa inferre et manipulos laxare jussit, quo facilius gladiis uti possent. [17]Cujus adventu spe illata militibus, ac redin egrato animo, cum [18]pro se quisque, in conspectu impera

toris, et jam in extremis suis rebus, operam navare cuperent, paulum hostium impetus tardatus est.

26. Cæsar, cum septimam legionem, quæ juxta constiterat, item urgeri ab hoste vidisset, tribunos militum monuit, ut paulatim sese [1]legiones conjungerent, et conversa signa in hostes inferrent. Quo facto, cum alius alii subsidium ferrent, neque timerent [2]ne aversi ab hoste circumvenirentur, audacius resistere ac fortius pugnare cœperunt. Interim milites legionum duarum, quæ in novissimo agmine præsidio impedimentis fuerant, prœlio nunciato, [3]cursu incitato, in summo colle ab hostibus conspiciebantur. Et Titus Labienus, castris hostium potitus, et ex loco superiore, quæ res in nostris castris gererentur, conspicatus, [4]decimam legionem subsidio nostris misit. Qui, cum ex equitum et calonum fuga, quo in loco res esset, quantoque in periculo et castra, et legiones, et imperator [5]versaretur, cognovissent, nihil ad celeritatem sibi reliqui fecerunt.

27. Horum adventu tanta rerum commutatio facta est, ut nostri, etiam qui vulneribus confecti [6]procubuissent, scutis innixi, prœlium redintegrarent; tum calones, perterritos hostes conspicati, [7]etiam inermes armatis occurrerent; equites vero, ut turpitudinem fugæ virtute delerent, [8]omnibus in locis pugnæ se legionariis militibus præferrent. At hostes, etiam in extrema spe salutis, tantam virtutem [9]præstiterunt, ut, cum primi eorum cecidissent, proximi jacentibus insisterent, atque ex eorum corporibus pugnarent; his dejectis, et coacervatis cadaveribus, qui superessent, [10]uti ex tumulo, tela in nostros conjicerent, et pila intercepta remitterent: [11]ut non nequicquam tantæ virtutis homines judicari deberet ausos esse transire latissimum flumen, ascendere altissimas ripas, subire iniquissimum locum: quæ facilia ex difficillimis animi magnitudo [12]redegerat.

28. Hoc prœlio facto, et [13]prope ad internecionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto, majores natu, quos una cum pueris mulieribusque in [14]æstuaria ac paludes collectos dix-

eramus, hac pugna nunciata, cum victoribus [1]nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum arbitrarentur, omnium, qui supererant, consensu legatos ad Cæsarem miserunt seque ei dediderunt: et, in commemoranda civitatis calamitate, ex sexcentis ad tres senatores, ex hominum millibus sexaginta vix ad quingentos, qui arma ferre possent, sese redactos esse dixerunt. Quos Cæsar, ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur, diligentissime conservavit, [2]suisque finibus atque oppidis uti jussit, et finitimis imperavit, ut ab injuria et maleficio se suosque prohiberent.

29. Aduatuci, de quibus supra scripsimus, cum omnibus copiis auxilio Nerviis venirent, hac pugna nunciata, ex [3]itinere domum reverterunt; cunctis oppidis castellisque desertis sua omnia in unum [4]oppidum, egregie natura munitum, contulerunt. [5]Quod cum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes despectusque haberet, una ex parte leniter acclivis aditus, in latitudinem non amplius ducentorum pedum, relinquebatur: quem locum duplici altissimo muro munierant; tum magni ponderis saxa et præacutas trabes in muro collocarant. [6]Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutonisque prognati; qui, cum iter in provinciam nostram atque Italiam facerent, iis impedimentis, quæ secum agere ac portare non poterant, citra flumen Rhenum depositis custodiæ ex suis ac præsidio sex millia [7]hominum reliquerunt. Hi, [8]post eorum obitum, multos annos a finitimis exagitati [9]cum alias bellum inferrent, alias illatum defenderent, consensu eorum omnium pace facta, hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt.

30. Ac primo adventu exercitus nostri crebras ex oppido [10]excursiones faciebant, parvulisque prœliis cum nostris contendebant: postea, vallo [11]pedum duodecim, in circuitu quindecim millium, crebrisque castellis circummuniti, oppido sese continebant. Ubi, vineis actis, aggere exstructo, [12]turrim procul constitui viderunt, primum irridere ex muro, atque increpitare vocibus, [13]quo tanta machinatio ab tanto

spatio institueretur? quibusnam manibus, aut quibus viribus, præsertim homines tantulæ staturæ (nam plerumque hominibus Gallis, [1]præ magnitudine corporum suorum, brevitas nostra contemtui est), tanti oneris turrim in muros sese collocare confiderent?

31. Ubi vero [2]moveri, et appropinquare mœnibus viderunt, nova atque inusitata specie commoti, legatos ad Cæsarem de pace miserunt, qui, ad hunc modum locuti: [3]"Non se existimare Romanos sine ope divina bellum gerere, qui tantæ altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promovere, [4]et ex propinquitate pugnare, possent: se suaque omnia eorum potestati permittere," dixerunt. [5]"Unum petere ac deprecari: si forte, pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine, quam ipsi ab aliis audirent, statuisset, Aduatucos esse conservandos, ne se armis despoliaret: sibi omnes fere finitimos esse inimicos, ac suæ virtuti invidere; a quibus se defendere, traditis armis, non possent. [6]Sibi præstare, si in eum casum deducerentur, quamvis fortunam a Populo Romano pati, quam ab his [7]per cruciatum interfici, inter quos dominari consuessent."

32. Ad hæc Cæsar respondit: "Se [8]magis consuetudine sua, quam merito eorum, civitatem conservaturum, si prius, quam murum aries attigisset, se dedidissent: sed deditionis nullam esse conditionem, nisi armis traditis: se id, quod [9]in Nerviis fecisset, facturum, finitimisque imperaturum, ne quam dedititiis Populi Romani injuriam inferrent." Re nunciata ad suos, "quæ imperarentur, [10]facere" dixerunt. Armorum magna multitudine de muro in fossam, quæ erat ante oppidum, jacta, sic ut prope summam [11]muri aggerisque altitudinem acervi armorum adæquarent; et tamen circiter parte tertia, ut postea perspectum est, celata atque in oppido retenta, portis patefactis, eo die pace sunt usi.

33. [12]Sub vesperum Cæsar portas claudi militesque ex oppido exire jussit, ne quam noctu oppidani ab militibus injuriam acciperent. Illi, ante inito, ut intellectum est, con-

silio, quod, deditione facta, nostros [1]præsidia deducturos, aut denique indiligentius servaturos, crediderant, partim cum his, quæ retinuerant et celaverant, armis, partim scutis ex cortice factis aut viminibus intextis, quæ subito (ut temporis exiguitas postulabat), [2]pellibus induxerant, tertia vigilia, qua minime arduus ad nostras munitiones ascensus videbatur, omnibus copiis repente ex oppido eruptionem fecerunt. Celeriter, ut ante Cæsar imperarat, [3]ignibus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis eo concursum est, pugnatumque ab hostibus [4]ita acriter, ut a viris fortibus, in extrema spe salutis, iniquo loco, contra eos, qui ex vallo turribusque tela jacerent, pugnari debuit, cum in una virtute omnis spes salutis consisteret. [5]Occisis ad hominum millibus quatuor, reliqui in oppidum rejecti sunt. Postridie ejus diei, [6]refractis portis, cum jam defenderet nemo, atque intromissis militibus nostris, [7]sectionem ejus oppidi universam Cæsar vendidit. [8]Ab his, qui emerant, capitum numerus ad eum relatus est millium quinquaginta trium.

34. Eodem tempore a Publio Crasso, quem cum legione una miserat ad Venetos, Unellos, Osismios, Curiosolitas, Sesuvios, Aulercos, Rhedones, quæ sunt maritimæ civitates [9]Oceanumque attingunt, certior factus est, omnes eas civitates in ditionem potestatemque Populi Romani esse redactas.

35. His rebus gestis, omni Gallia pacata, tanta hujus belli ad barbaros opinio perlata est, uti ab his nationibus, quæ trans Rhenum incolerent, mitterentur legati ad Cæsarem, quæ se obsides daturas, imperata facturas, pollicerentur: quas legationes Cæsar, quod in Italiam [10]Illyricumque properabat, inita proxima æstate ad se reverti jussit. Ipse in Carnutes, Andes, Turonesque, quæ civitates propinquæ his locis erant, ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hiberna deductis, in Italiam profectus est, ob easque res, ex literis Cæsaris, [11]dies quindecim supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli.

C. JULII CÆSARIS

COMMENTARII

DE

BELLO GALLICO.

BOOK III.

THE ARGUMENT.

I WAR WITH SOME OF THE ALPINE COMMUNITIES.

Chap. 1. Galba, Cæsar's lieutenant, sent against the Nantuates, Veragri, and Seduni. After some successful battles he brings them to terms, and establishes his winter quarters among them. 2. Secret movement of the Gauls. 3–6. They attack the Roman quarters, but are defeated in a sally. Galba draws off his troops into the province, and winters there.

II. WAR WITH THE VENETI.

Chap. 7, 8. The Veneti, and other states bordering upon the ocean, break out into sudden revolt. 9–11. Preparations for the war on the part of Cæsar. 12, 13. The maritime power of the Veneti, their advantages of situation, and a description of their vessels. 14–16. Cæsar, finding it in vain to attack them by land, comes to a naval engagement with them. The Veneti are defeated, and submit. They are treated with great rigour.

III. WAR WITH THE UNELLI.

Chap. 17. Q. Titurius Sabinus is sent, during the progress of the war with the Veneti, into the country of the Unelli. Viridovix, leader of the revolted Gauls, offers battle to Sabinus, who declines an engagement. Reasons of the latter for this course. 18, 19. The Gauls, urged on by the apparent cowardice of Sabinus, attack the Roman camp, but are defeated with great slaughter.

IV. Expedition of Crassus into Aquitania.

Chap. 20–22. The Sotiates defeated by Crassus and compelled to submit. An account of the Soldurii. 23–27. The greater part of Aquitania surrenders, after some farther fighting, to Crassus.

V. Expedition of Cæsar against the Morini and Menapii.

Chap. 28. Cæsar marches against the Morini and Menapii. They attack him as he is encamping, but are repulsed. 29. Cæsar is prevented from completely subjugating them by violent storms, whereupon he leads his army into winter quarters.

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1. Cum in Italiam proficisceretur Cæsar, Servium Galbam cum legione duodecima, et parte equitatus, in Nantuates, Veragros, Sedunosque misit, qui ab finibus Allobrogum, et lacu Lemanno, et flumine Rhodano, ad summas Alpes pertinent. Causa mittendi fuit, quod iter per Alpes, [1]quo, magno cum periculo magnisque cum portoriis, mercatores ire consuerant, patefieri volebat. Huic permisit, si opus esse arbitraretur, uti in eis locis legionem hiemandi causa collocaret. Galba, secundis aliquot prœliis factis, castellisque compluribus eorum expugnatis, missis ad eum undique legatis, obsidibusque datis, et pace facta, constituit, cohortes duas in Nantuatibus collocare, et ipse cum reliquis ejus legionis cohortibus in vico Veragrorum, qui appellatur Octodurus, hiemare: qui vicus, positus in valle, non magna adjecta planitie, altissimis montibus undique continetur. Cum [2]hic in duas partes flumine divideretur, alteram partem ejus vici Gallis concessit, alteram, vacuam ab illis relictam, cohortibus ad hiemandum attribuit. [3]Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit.

2. Cum dies [4]hibernorum complures transissent, frumentumque eo comportari jussisset, subito per exploratores certior factus est, ex ea parte vici, quam Gallis concesserat, omnes noctu discessisse, montesque, qui impenderent, a maxima multitudine Sedunorum et Veragrorum teneri. [5]Id aliquot de causis acciderat, ut subito Galli belli renovandi legionisque opprimendæ consilium caperent: primum, quod

legionem, [1]neque eam plenissimam, detractis cohortibus duabus, et compluribus [2]singillatim, qui commeatus petendi causa missi erant, absentibus, propter paucitatem despiciebant: tum etiam, quod, propter iniquitatem loci, cum ipsi ex montibus in vallem [3]decurrerent, et tela conjicerent, ne primum quidem posse impetum sustinere existimabant. [4]Accedebat, quod suos ab se liberos abstractos obsidum nomine dolebant: et Romanos non solum itinerum causa, sed etiam perpetuæ possessionis, culmina Alpium occupare conari, et ea loca finitimæ provinciæ adjungere, [5]sibi persuasum habebant.

3. His nuntiis acceptis, Galba, [6]cum neque opus hibernorum, munitionesque plene essent perfectæ, [7]neque de frumento reliquoque commeatu satis esset provisum, quod, deditione facta, obsidibusque acceptis, nihil de bello timendum existimaverat, consilio celeriter convocato, sententias exquirere cœpit. Quo in consilio, cum tantum repentini periculi præter opinionem accidisset, ac jam omnia fere superiora loca multitudine armatorum completa conspicerentur, [8]neque subsidio veniri, neque commeatus supportari interclusis itineribus possent, prope jam desperata salute, nonnullæ hujusmodi sententiæ dicebantur, ut, impedimentis relictis, eruptione facta, iisdem itineribus, quibus eo pervenissent, [9]ad salutem contenderent. Majori tamen parti placuit, [10]hoc reservato ad extremum consilio, interim [11]rei eventum experiri et castra defendere.

4. Brevi spatio interjecto, vix ut his rebus, quas constituissent, [12]collocandis atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus, signo dato, decurrere, lapides [13]gæsaque in vallum conjicere: nostri primo [14]integris viribus fortiter repugnare, neque ullum frustra telum ex loco superiore mittere: ut quæque pars castrorum nudata defensoribus premi videbatur, [15]eo occurrere, et auxilium ferre: [16]sed hoc superari, [17]quod diuturnitate pugnæ hostes defessi prœlio excedebant, alii integris viribus succedebant: qua-

rum rerum a nostris propter [1]paucitatem fieri nihil poterat, ac non modo defesso ex pugna excedendi, sed ne saucio quidem ejus loci, ubi constiterat, relinquendi, ac sui recipiendi, facultas dabatur.

5. Cum jam amplius horis sex continenter pugnaretur, ac non solum vires, sed etiam tela, nostris [2]deficerent, atque hostes acrius instarent, languidioribusque nostris vallum scindere, et fossas complere, cœpissent, resque esset jam [3]ad extremum perducta casum, Publius Sextius Baculus, [4]primi pili centurio, quem Nervico prœlio compluribus confectum vulneribus [5]diximus, et item Caius Volusenus, tribunus militum, vir et consilii magni et virtutis, ad Galbam accurrunt, atque [6]unam esse spem salutis docent, si eruptione facta, extremum auxilium experirentur. Itaque, [7]convocatis centurionibus, celeriter milites certiores facit, paulisper intermitterent prœlium, ac tantummodo tela missa [8]exciperent, seque ex labore reficerent; post, dato signo, ex castris erumperent, atque omnem spem salutis in virtute ponerent.

6. Quod jussi sunt, faciunt; ac, subito [9]omnibus portis eruptione facta, [10]neque cognoscendi, quid fieret, neque sui colligendi, hostibus facultatem relinquunt. Ita commutata fortuna, eos, qui [11]in spem potiundorum castrorum venerant, undique circumventos interficiunt, et, ex hominum millibus amplius triginta, quem numerum barbarorum ad castra venisse constabat, [12]plus tertia parte interfecta, reliquos perterritos in fugam conjiciunt, ac ne in locis quidem superioribus consistere patiuntur. Sic, omnibus hostium copiis [13]fusis, armisque exutis, se in castra munitionesque suas recipiunt. Quo prœlio facto, quod sæpius fortunam tentare Galba nolebat, atque [14]alio sese in hiberna consilio venisse meminerat, aliis occurrisse rebus viderat, maxime frumenti commeatusque inopia permotus, postero die omnibus ejus vici ædificiis incensis, in Provinciam reverti contendit; ac, nullo hoste prohibente aut iter demorante, incolumem legi-

onem in Nantuates, inde in Allobrogas, perduxit, ibique hiemavit.

7. His rebus gestis, cum [1]omnibus de causis Cæsar pacatam Galliam existimaret, superatis Belgis, expulsis Germanis, victis in Alpibus Sedunis, [2]atque ita, inita hieme, in Illyricum profectus esset, quod eas quoque nationes adire, et regiones cognoscere, volebat, subitum bellum in Gallia coortum est. Ejus belli hæc fuit causa. Publius Crassus adolescens cum legione septima proximus [3]mare Oceanum in Andibus hiemarat. Is, quod in his locis inopia frumenti erat, [4]præfectos tribunosque militum complures in finitimas civitates, frumenti commeatusque petendi causa, [5]dimisit: quo in numero erat Titus Terrasidius, missus in Esubios; Marcus Trebius Gallus in Curiosolitas; Quintus Velanius, cum Tito Silio, in Venetos.

8. Hujus est civitatis longe amplissima auctoritas omnis oræ maritimæ regionum earum; quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt, et [6]scientia atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt, et, in magno impetu maris atque aperto, paucis portubus interjectis, quos tenent [7]ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consuerant, habent vectigales. Ab iis fit initium retinendi Silii atque Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides, quos Crasso dedissent, recuperaturos existimabant. Horum auctoritate finitimi adducti ([8]ut sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia), eadem de causa Trebium Terrasidiumque retinent, et, celeriter missis legatis, per suos principes inter se conjurant, nihil nisi communi consilio acturos, eundemque [9]omnis fortunæ exitum esse laturos; reliquasque civitates solicitant, ut in ea libertate, quam a majoribus acceperant, permanere, quam Romanorum servitutem perferre, [10]mallent. Omni ora maritima celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta, communem legationem ad Publium Crassum mittunt, "si velit [11]suos recipere, obsides sibi remittat."

9. Quibus de rebus Cæsar ab Crasso certior factus,

[1]quod ipse aberat longius, [2]naves interim longas ædificari in flumine Ligeri, quod influit in Oceanum, [3]remiges ex Provincia institui, nautas gubernatoresque comparari jubet. His rebus celeriter administratis, ipse, cum primum per anni tempus potuit, ad exercitum contendit. Veneti, reliquæque item civitates, cognito Cæsaris adventu, simul quod, [4]quantum in se facinus admisissent, intelligebant (legatos, [5]quod nomen apud omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper fuisset, retentos ab se et in vincula conjectos), [6]pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare, et maxime ea, quæ ad usum navium pertinent, providere instituunt; hoc majore spe, quod multum natura loci confidebant. [7]Pedestria esse itinera concisa æstuariis, navigationem impeditam propter inscientiam locorum paucitatemque portuum sciebant: [8]neque nostros exercitus propter frumenti inopiam diutius apud se morari posse, confidebant: ac jam, ut omnia contra opinionem acciderent, tamen se plurimum navibus posse: Romanos neque ullam facultatem habere navium, neque eorum locorum, ubi bellum gesturi essent, vada, portus, insulas novisse: [9]ac longe aliam esse navigationem in concluso mari, atque in vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceano, perspiciebant. His initis consiliis, oppida muniunt, frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant, naves [10]in Venetiam, ubi Cæsarem primum bellum gesturum constabat, quam plurimas possunt, cogunt. Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismios, Lexovios, Nannetes, Ambiliatos, Morinos, Diablintes, Menapios adsciscunt: auxilia ex Britannia, quæ contra eas egiones posita est, arcessunt.

10. [11]Erant hæ difficultates belli gerendi, quas supra ostendimus; sed multa Cæsarem tamen ad id bellum incitabant: [12]injuriæ retentorum equitum Romanorum; rebellio facta post deditionem; [13]defectio datis obsidibus; tot civitatum conjuratio; in primis, ne, [14]hac parte neglecta, reliquæ nationes idem sibi licere arbitrarentur. Itaque cum intelligeret, omnes fere Gallos [15]novis rebus studere, et ad bel-

lum mobiliter celeriterque excitari, omnes autem homines natura libertati studere, et conditionem servitutis odisse; priusquam plures civitates conspirarent, partiendum sibi ac latius distribuendum exercitum putavit.

11. Itaque Titum Labienum legatum in Treviros, qui proximi Rheno flumini sunt, cum equitatu mittit. Huic mandat, Remos reliquosque Belgas adeat, atque in officio contineat; Germanosque, qui [1]auxilio a Belgis arcessiti dicebantur, si per vim navibus flumen transire conentur, prohibeat. Publium Crassum [2]cum cohortibus legionariis duodecim, et magno numero equitatus, in Aquitaniam proficisci iubet, ne ex his nationibus auxilia in [3]Galliam mittantur, ac tantæ nationes conjungantur. Quintum Titurium Sabinum legatum cum legionibus tribus in Unellos, Curiosolitas, Lexoviosque mittit, [4]qui eam manum distinendam curet. [5]Decimum Brutum adolescentem classi, Gallicisque navibus, quas ex Pictonibus et Santonis reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire jusserat, præficit, et, cum primum possit, in Venetos proficisci jubet. Ipse eo pedestribus copiis contendit.

12. Erant ejusmodi fere [6]situs oppidorum, ut, posita in extremis lingulis promontoriisque, neque pedibus aditum haberent, [7]cum ex alto se æstus incitavisset, quod bis accidit semper horarum viginti quatuor spatio, neque navibus, [8]quod, rursus minuente æstu, naves in vadis afflictarentur. Ita [9]utraque re oppidorum oppugnatio impediebatur; ac, si quando [10]magnitudine operis forte superati, [11]extruso mari aggere ac molibus, [12]atque his ferme oppidi mœnibus adæquatis, suis fortunis desperare cœperant, magno numero navium [13]appulso, cujus rei summam facultatem habebant, sua deportabant omnia, seque in proxima oppida recipiebant. Ibi se rursus iisdem opportunitatibus loci defendebant. Hæc eo facilius magnam partem æstatis faciebant, quod nostræ naves tempestatibus detinebantur; summaque erat vasto atque aperto mari, [14]magnis æstibus, raris ac prope nullis portubus, difficultas navigandi.

13. Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum [1]factæ armatæque erant. [2]Carinæ aliquanto planiores, quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum æstus excipere possent: proræ admodum erectæ, atque item puppes, ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque accommodatæ: naves totæ factæ ex robore, [3]ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam: transtra pedalibus in latitudinem trabibus confixa clavis ferreis, digiti pollicis crassitudine: anchoræ, pro funibus, ferreis catenis revinctæ: [4]pelles pro velis, alutæque tenuiter confectæ, sive propter [5]lini inopiam atque ejus usus inscientiam, sive eo, quod est magis verisimile, quod tantas tempestates Oceani tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri, ac [6]tanta onera navium regi velis non satis commode, arbitrabantur. [7]Cum his navibus nostræ classi ejusmodi congressus erat, ut una celeritate et pulsu remorum præstaret, [8]reliqua, pro loci natura, pro vi tempestatum, illis essent aptiora et accommodatiora: neque enim his nostræ [9]rostro nocere poterant; tanta in eis erat firmitudo: neque propter altitudinem [10]facile telum adjiciebatur; et eadem de causa [11]minus commode copulis continebantur. Accedebat, ut, cum sævire ventus cœpisset [12]et se vento dedissent, et tempestatem ferrent facilius, et [13]in vadis consisterent tutius, et, ab æstu derelictæ, nihil saxa et cautes timerent: quarum rerum omnium nostris navibus [14]casus erant extimescendi.

14. Compluribus expugnatis oppidis, Cæsar, ubi intellexit, frustra tantum laborem sumi, neque hostium fugam captis oppidis reprimi, [15]neque his noceri posse, statuit expectandum classem. Quæ ubi convenit, ac primum ab hostibus visa est, circiter ducentæ et viginti naves eorum [16]paratissimæ, atque omni genere armorum ornatissimæ, profectæ ex portu, nostris adversæ constiterunt: neque satis Bruto, qui classi præerat, vel tribunis militum centurionibusque, quibus singulæ naves erant attributæ, constabat, quid agerent, aut [17]quam rationem pugnæ insisterent. Ros-

tro enim noceri non posse cognoverant; turribus autem excitatis, tamen has altitudo puppium ex barbaris navibus superabat, ut neque ex inferiore loco [2]satis commode tela adjici possent, et missa ab Gallis gravius acciderent. Una erat magno usui res præparata a nostris [3]falces præacutæ, insertæ affixæque longuriis, non absimili forma [4]muralium falcium. His cum funes, qui antennas ad malos destinabant, [5]comprehensi adductique erant, navigio remis incitato prærumpebantur. Quibus abscissis, antennæ necessario concidebant, ut, cum omnis Gallicis navibus spes in velis [6]armamentisque consisteret, his ereptis, omnis usus navium uno tempore eriperetur. [7]Reliquum erat certamen positum in virtute, qua nostri milites facile superabant, atque eo magis, quod in conspectu Cæsaris atque omnis exercitus res gerebatur, [8]ut nullum paulo fortius factum latere posset: omnes enim colles ac loca superiora, unde erat propinquus despectus in mare, ab exercitu tenebantur.

15. [9]Dejectis, ut diximus, antennis, [10]cum singulas binæ ac ternæ naves circumsteterant, milites summa vi [11]transcendere in hostium naves contendebant. Quod postquam barbari fieri animadverterunt, expugnatis compluribus navibus, cum ei rei nullum reperiretur auxilium, fuga salutem petere contenderunt: ac, jam conversis in eam partem navibus, [12]quo ventus ferebat, tanta subito malacia ac tranquillitas extitit, ut se ex loco movere non possent. Quæ quidem res ad negotium conficiendum maxime fuit opportuna: nam [13]singulas nostri consectati expugnaverunt, ut perpaucæ ex omni numero, noctis interventu, ad terram pervenerint, cum ab hora fere quarta usque ad solis occasum pugnaretur

16. Quo prœlio bellum Venetorum totiusque oræ maritimæ confectum est. Nam, cum omnis juventus, omnes etiam [14]gravioris ætatis, in quibus aliquid consilii aut dignitatis fuit, eo convenerant; tum, navium quod ubique fuerat, unum in locum coëgerant: quibus amissis, reliqui, neque quo se reciperent, neque quemadmodum oppida defenderent, habe

bant. Itaque se suaque omnia Cæsari dediderunt. [1]In quos eo gravius Cæsar vindicandum statuit, quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris jus legatorum conservaretur. Itaque, omni senatu necato, reliquos [2]sub corona vendidit.

17. Dum hæc in Venetis geruntur, [3]Quintus Titurius Sabinus cum iis copiis, quas a Cæsare acceperat, in fines Unellorum pervenit. His præerat Viridovix, ac summam imperii tenebat earum omnium civitatum, quæ defecerant, ex quibus exercitum magnasque copias coëgerat. [4]Atque his paucis diebus Aulerci Eburovices, Lexoviique, senatu suo interfecto, quod auctores belli esse nolebant, portas clauserunt seque cum Viridovice conjunxerunt: magnaque præterea multitudo undique ex Gallia [5]perditorum hominum latronumque convenerant, quos spes prædandi, studiumque bellandi, ab agricultura et quotidiano labore revocabat. Sabinus [6]idoneo omnibus rebus loco castris sese tenebat, cum Viridovix contra eum [7]duum millium spatio consedisset, quotidieque productis copiis pugnandi potestatem faceret; ut jam non solum hostibus in contemtionem Sabinus veniret, sed etiam nostrorum militum vocibus [8]nonnihil carperetur: tantamque opinionem timoris præbuit, ut jam ad vallum castrorum hostes accedere auderent. Id ea de causa faciebat, quod cum tanta multitudine hostium, præsertim [9]eo absente, qui summam imperii teneret, nisi æquo loco, aut opportunitate aliqua data, legato dimicandum non existimabat.

18. [10]Hac confirmata opinione timoris, idoneum quendam hominem et callidum delegit, Gallum, ex his, quos auxilii causa secum habebat. Huic magnis præmiis pollicitationibusque persuadet, uti ad hostes transeat; et, quid fieri velit, edocet. Qui, ubi pro perfuga ad eos venit, timorem Romanorum [11]proponit: "quibus angustiis ipse Cæsar a Venetis prematur," docet: "neque longius abesse, quin proxima nocte Sabinus clam ex castris exercitum educat, et ad Cæsarem auxilii ferendi causa proficiscatur." Quod ubi auditum est, conclamant omnes, occasionem negotii bene

gerendi amittendam non esse, ad castra iri oportere. [1]Multæ res ad hoc consilium Gallos hortabantur: superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio, [2]perfugæ confirmatio, inopia cibariorum, cui rei parum diligenter ab iis erat provisum, [3]spes Venetici belli, et quod fere libenter homines id, quod volunt, credunt. His rebus adducti, [4]non prius Viridovicem reliquosque duces ex concilio dimittunt, quam ab his sit concessum, arma uti capiant et ad castra contendant. Qua re concessa, læti, ut explorata victoria, sarmentis virgultisque collectis, quibus fossas Romanorum compleant, ad castra pergunt.

19. Locus erat castrorum editus, et paulatim ab imo acclivis [5]circiter passus mille Huc magno cursu contenderunt, ut quam minimum spatii ad se colligendos armandosque Romanis daretur, [6]exanimatique pervenerunt. Sabinus, suos hortatus, cupientibus signum dat. Impeditis hostibus propter ea, quæ ferebant, onera, subito duabus portis eruptionem fieri jubet. Factum est opportunitate loci, hostium inscientia ac defatigatione, virtute militum, superiorum pugnarum exercitatione, ut ne unum quidem nostrorum impetum ferrent, ac statim terga verterent. Quos impeditos [7]integris viribus milites nostri consecuti, magnum numerum eorum occiderunt; reliquos equites consectati, paucos, qui ex fuga evaserant, reliquerunt. Sic, uno tempore, et de navali pugna [8]Sabinus, et de Sabini victoria Cæsar certior factus; civitatesque omnes se statim Titurio dediderunt. [9]Nam, ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promtus est animus, sic mollis ac [10]minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.

20. Eodem fere tempore, Publius Crassus, cum in Aquitaniam pervenisset, quæ pars, ut ante dictum est, et regionum latitudine, et multitudine hominum, [11]ex tertia parte Galliæ est æstimanda, cum intelligeret in his locis sibi bellum gerendum, ubi [12]paucis ante annis Lucius Valerius Præconinus, legatus, exercitu pulso, interfectus esset, atque

unde Lucius Manilius, proconsul, impedimentis amissis profugisset, non mediocrem sibi diligentiam adhibendam intelligebat. Itaque re frumentaria provisa, auxiliis equitatuque comparato, multis præterea viris fortibus Tolosa, Carcasone, et Narbone, [1]quæ sunt civitates Galliæ Provinciæ, finitimæ his regionibus, nominatim evocatis, in Sotiatum fines exercitum introduxit. Cujus adventu cognito, Sotiates magnis copiis coactis, equitatuque, [2]quo plurimum valebant, in itinere agmen nostrum adorti, primum equestre prœlium commiserunt: deinde, equitatu suo pulso, atque insequentibus nostris, subito pedestres copias, quas in convalle in insidiis collocaverant, ostenderunt. Hi, nostros disjectos adorti, prœlium renovarunt.

21. Pugnatum est diu atque acriter, cum Sotiates, superioribus victoriis freti, in sua virtute totius Aquitaniæ salutem positam putarent; nostri autem, quid sine imperatore, et sine reliquis legionibus, adolescentulo duce, efficere possent, perspici cuperent. [3]Tandem, confecti vulneribus, hostes terga vertere. Quorum magno numero interfecto, Crassus ex itinere oppidum Sotiatum oppugnare cœpit. Quibus fortiter resistentibus, vineas turresque egit. Illi, alias eruptione tentata, alias [4]cuniculis ad aggerem vineasque actis ([5]cujus rei sunt longe peritissimi Aquitani, propterea quod multis locis apud eos ærariæ secturæ sunt), ubi diligentia nostrorum [6]nihil his rebus profici posse intellexerunt, legatos ad Crassum mittunt, seque in deditionem ut recipiat petunt. Qua re impetrata, arma tradere jussi, faciunt.

22. Atque, [7]in ea re omnium nostrorum intentis animis, alia ex parte oppidi Adcantuannus, qui summam imperii tenebat, [8]cum sexcentis devotis, quos illi soldurios appellant ([9]quorum hæc est conditio, uti omnibus in vita commodis una cum his fruantur, quorum se amicitiæ dediderint; si quid iis per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una ferant, [10]aut sibi mortem consciscant: neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui, eo interfecto, cujus se amicitiæ

devovissent, mortem recusaret), [1]cum iis Adcantuannus, eruptionem facere conatus, clamore ab ea parte munitionis sublato, cum ad arma milites concurrissent, vehementerque ibi pugnatum esset, repulsus in oppidum, [2]tamen uti eadem deditionis conditione uteretur, ab Crasso impetravit.

23. Armis obsidibusque acceptis, Crassus in fines Vocatium et Tarusatium profectus est. Tum vero [3]barbari commoti, quod oppidum, et natura loci et manu munitum, [4]paucis diebus, quibus eo ventum erat, expugnatum cognoverant, legatos quoquoversus dimittere, conjurare, obsides inter se dare, copias parare cœperunt. Mittuntur etiam ad eas civitates legati, quæ sunt [5]citerioris Hispaniæ, finitimæ Aquitaniæ: inde auxilia ducesque arcessuntur. Quorum adventu [6]magna cum auctoritate, et magna cum hominum multitudine, bellum gerere conantur. Duces vero ii deliguntur, qui una cum [7]Quinto Sertorio omnes annos fuerant, summamque scientiam rei militaris habere existimabantur. Hi [8]consuetudine Populi Romani loca capere, castra munire, commeatibus nostros intercludere instituunt. Quod ubi Crassus animadvertit, suas copias propter exiguitatem non [9]facile diduci, [10]hostem et vagari et vias obsidere et castris satis præsidii relinquere; ob eam causam minus commode frumentum commeatumque sibi supportari; in dies hostium numerum augeri; non cunctandum existimavit, quin pugna decertaret. Hac re ad consilium delata, ubi omnes idem sentire intellexit, posterum diem pugnæ constituit.

24. Prima luce, productis omnibus copiis, [11]duplici acie instituta, [12]auxiliis in mediam aciem conjectis, quid hostes consilii caperent expectabat. Illi, etsi propter multitudinem, et veterem belli gloriam, paucitatemque nostrorum, se tuto dimicaturos existimabant, tamen tutius esse arbitrabantur, obsessis viis, commeatu intercluso, sine ullo vulnere victoria potiri: et, si propter inopiam rei frumentariæ Romani sese recipere cœpissent, impeditos in agmine et [13]sub sarcinis, inferiores animo, adoriri cogitabant. Hoc consilio

probato ab ducibus, productis Romanorum copiis, sese castris tenebant. Hac re perspecta, Crassus, [1]cum sua cunctatione atque opinione timoris hostes nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum effecissent; atque omnium voces audirentur, expectari diutius non oportere, quin ad castra iretur; cohortatus suos, omnibus cupientibus, ad hostium castra contendit.

25. Ibi cum alii fossas complerent, alii, multis telis conjectis, defensores vallo munitionibusque depellerent, auxiliaresque, [2]quibus ad pugnam non multum Crassus confidebat, lapidibus telisque subministrandis, et ad aggerem cespitibus comportandis, speciem atque opinionem pugnantium præberent; cum item ab hostibus [3]constanter ac non timide pugnaretur, telaque ex loco superiore missa [4]non frustra acciderent; equites, circumitis hostium castris, Crasso renunciaverunt, non eadem esse diligentia ab decumana porta castra munita, facilemque aditum habere.

26. Crassus, equitum præfectos cohortatus, ut magnis præmiis pollicitationibusque suos excitarent, quid fieri velit ostendit. Illi, ut erat imperatum, eductis quatuor cohortibus, quæ, præsidio castris relictæ, [5]intritæ ab labore erant, et longiore itinere circumductis, ne ex hostium castris conspici possent, omnium oculis mentibusque ad pugnam intentis, celeriter [6]ad eas, quas diximus, munitiones pervenerunt, atque, [7]his prorutis, prius in hostium castris constiterunt, quam [8]plane ab iis videri, aut, quid rei gereretur, cognosci posset. Tum vero, clamore ab ea parte audito, nostri redintegratis viribus, quod plerumque in spe victoriæ accidere consuevit, acrius impugnare cœperunt. Hostes undique circumventi, desperatis omnibus rebus, se per munitiones dejicere et fuga salutem petere [9]intenderunt. Quos equitatus apertissimis campis consectatus, ex millium quinquaginta numero, quæ ex Aquitania Cantabrisque convenisse constabat, vix quarta parte relicta, [10]multa nocte se in castra recepit.

27. Hac audita pugna, magna pars Aquitaniæ sese

Crasso dedidit, obsidesque ultro misit: quo in numero fuerunt Tarbelli, Bigerriones, Preciani, Vocates, Tarusates, Elusates, Garites, Ausci, Garumni, Sibuzates, Cocosates. Paucæ ultimæ nationes, anni tempore confisæ, quod hiems suberat, hoc facere neglexerunt.

28. Eodem fere tempore Cæsar, etsi prope exacta jam æstas erat, tamen, quod, omni Gallia pacata, Morini Menapiique [1]supererant, qui in armis essent neque ad eum unquam legatos de pace misissent, arbitratus, id bellum celeriter confici posse, eo exercitum adduxit: [2]qui longe alia ratione, ac reliqui Galli, bellum agere instituerunt. Nam quod intelligebant, maximas nationes, quæ prœlio contendissent, pulsas superatasque esse, [3]continentesque silvas ac paludes habebant, eo se suaque omnia contulerunt. Ad quarum initium silvarum cum Cæsar pervenisset, castraque munire instituisset, neque hostis interim visus esset, dispersis in opere nostris, subito ex omnibus partibus silvæ evolaverunt et in nostros impetum fecerunt. Nostri celeriter arma ceperunt, eosque in silvas repulerunt, et, compluribus interfectis, [4]longius impeditioribus locis secuti, paucos ex suis deperdiderunt.

29. Reliquis deinceps diebus Cæsar silvas cædere instituit, et, ne quis [5]inermibus imprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam [6]materiam, quæ erat cæsa, [7]conversam ad hostem collocabat, et pro vallo ad utrumque latus exstruebat. Incredibili celeritate [8]magno spatio paucis diebus confecto, cum jam pecus atque [9]extrema impedimenta ab nostris tenerentur, ipsi densiores silvas peterent; ejusmodi sunt tempestates consecutæ, uti opus necessario intermitteretur, et, continuatione imbrium diutius [10]sub pellibus milites contineri non possent. Itaque vastatis omnibus eorum agris, vicis ædificiisque incensis, Cæsar exercitum reduxit, et in Aulercis, Lexoviisque, reliquis item civitatibus, [11]quæ proxime bellum fecerant, in hibernis collocavit.

C. JULII CÆSARIS

COMMENTARII

DE

BELLO GALLICO

BOOK IV.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. War with the Usipetes and Tenchtheri.

Chap. 1–3. The Usipetes and Tenchtheri, two German nations, being expelled by the Suevi, pass over into Gaul. A description is given of the manners of the Suevi, and their mode of life. 4. The Usipetes and Tenchtheri drive out the Menapii from their habitations 5, 6. Cæsar resolves to make war upon the Usipetes and Tenchtheri. 7–9. Embassy of the Germans to Cæsar, and his reply. 10. Description of the Meuse and Rhine. 11–15. Perfidy of the Germans, their overthrow, and flight.

II. Cæsar's bridge over the Rhine, and his crossing into Germany.

Chap. 16. Cæsar's reasons for crossing the Rhine. 17. Builds a bridge over that river. Description of it. 18. Crosses over into the territory of the Sicambri. 19. Passes into the country of the Ubii. Receives from them information respecting the Suevi. Returns into Gaul.

III. Cæsar passes into Britain.

Chap. 20. Cæsar's reasons for passing over into Britain. 21. Despatches C. Volusenus, in a vessel, to reconnoiter. Ambassadors come from Britain. 22, 23. Cæsar's passage across. 24–26. Disembarcation. Battle. Flight of the Britons. 27. The Britons send ambassadors to Cæsar, with offers of surrender. 28, 29 The Roman

fleet suffers by a severe tempest. 30–36. Revolt of the Britons. A description of their mode of fighting from chariots. They are subdued. Cæsar returns to Gaul.

IV. WAR WITH THE MORINI AND MENAPII.

Chap. 37. Revolt of the Morini. 38. Labienus is sent against them Their subjugation. Territory of the Menapii ravaged by Titurius and Cotta. Thanksgiving at Rome.

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1. EA, quæ secuta est, hieme, qui fuit annus [1]Cneio Pompeio, Marco Crasso consulibus, Usipetes Germani, et item Tenchtheri, magna cum multitudine hominum, flumen Rhenum transierunt, non longe a mari, [2]quo Rhenus influit Causa transeundi fuit, quod, ab Suevis complures annos exagitati, bello premebantur et agricultura prohibebantur. Suevorum gens est longe maxima et bellicosissima Germanorum omnium. Hi [3]centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis singula millia armatorum bellandi causa ex finibus educunt. Reliqui, qui domi manserint, se atque illos alunt. Hi rursus invicem anno post in armis sunt; illi domi remanent. [4]Sic neque agricultura, nec ratio atque usus belli, intermittitur. Sed [5]privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est; neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet. Neque multum frumento, sed [6]maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in venationibus; quæ res et cibi genere, et quotidiana exercitatione, et libertate vitæ (quod, a pueris [7]nullo officio aut disciplina assuefacti, nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciant), et vires alit, et immani corporum magnitudine homines efficit. Atque in eam se consuetudinem adduxerunt, ut [8]locis frigidissimis, neque vestitus, præter pelles, habeant quicquam (quarum propter exiguitatem magna est corporis pars aperta), et laventur in fluminibus.

2. Mercatoribus est ad eos aditus magis eo, ut, [9]quæ bello ceperint, quibus vendant, habeant, quam quo ullam rem ad se importari desiderent: [10]quinetiam jumentis, quibus maxime Gallia delectatur, quæque impenso paran

pretio, Germani importatitiis non utuntur [1]sed quæ sunt apud eos nata, [2]parva atque deformia, hæc quotidiana exercitatione, summi ut sint laboris, efficiunt. Equestribus prœliis sæpe ex equis desiliunt, ac pedibus prœliantur; equosque eodem remanere vestigio assuefaciunt; ad quos se celeriter, cum usus est, recipiunt: neque eorum moribus [3]turpius quicquam aut inertius habetur, quam ephippiis uti. [4]Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum, quamvis pauci, adire audent. Vinum ad se omnino [5]importari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines, atque effœminari, arbitrantur.

3. [6]Publice maximam putant esse laudem, quam latissime a suis finibus vacare agros: hac re significari, magnum numerum [7]civitatium suam vim sustinere non posse. Itaque, una ex parte, a Suevis, circiter millia passuum sexcenta agri vacare dicuntur. [8]Ad alteram partem succedunt Ubii ([9]quorum fuit civitas ampla atque florens, ut est captus Germanorum), [10]et paulo quam sunt ejusdem generis ceteri humaniores; propterea quod Rhenum attingunt, multumque ad eos mercatores ventitant, et ipsi propter propinquitatem Gallicis sunt moribus assuefacti. Hos cum Suevi, multis sæpe bellis experti, propter [11]amplitudinem gravitatemque civitatis, finibus expellere non potuissent, tamen vectigales sibi fecerunt, ac multo [12]humiliores infirmioresque redegerunt.

4. [13]In eadem causa fuerunt Usipetes et Tenchtheri, quos supra diximus, qui complures annos Suevorum vim sustinuerunt; ad extremum tamen, agris expulsi, et multis Germaniæ locis triennium vagati, ad Rhenum pervenerunt: [14]quas regiones Menapii incolebant, et ad utramque ripam fluminis agros, ædificia, vicosque habebant; sed tantæ multitudinis aditu perterriti, ex his ædificiis, quæ trans flumen habuerant, [15]demigraverant, et, cis Rhenum dispositis præsidiis, Germanos transire prohibebant. Illi, omnia experti, cum neque vi contendere propter inopiam navium, neque

clam transire propter custodias Menapiorum, possent, reverti se in suas sedes regionesque simulaverunt; et, tridui viam progressi, [1]rursus reverterunt, atque, omni hoc itinere una nocte equitatu confecto, inscios inopinantesque Menapios oppresserunt, qui, de Germanorum discessu per exploratores certiores facti, sine metu trans Rhenum in suos vicos remigraverant. His interfectis, navibusque eorum occupatis, priusquam ea pars Menapiorum, quæ citra Rhenum [2]quieta in suis sedibus erat, certior fieret, flumen transierunt, atque, omnibus eorum ædificiis occupatis, [3]reliquam partem hiemis se eorum copiis aluerunt.

5. His de rebus Cæsar certior factus, et [4]infirmitatem Gallorum veritus, quod sunt in consiliis capiendis mobiles, et novis plerumque rebus student, nihil his committendum existimavit. [5]Est autem hoc Gallicæ consuetudinis, uti et viatores, etiam invitos, consistere cogant, et, quod quisque eorum de quaque re audierit aut cognoverit, quærant; et mercatores in oppidis [6]vulgus circumsistat, quibusque ex regionibus veniant, quasque ibi res cognoverint, pronunciare ogant. [7]His rumoribus atque auditionibus permoti, de ummis sæpe rebus consilia ineunt, quorum eos e vestigio pœnitere necesse est, [8]cum incertis rumoribus serviant, et plerique ad voluntatem eorum ficta respondeant.

6. Qua consuetudine cognita, Cæsar, [9]ne graviori bello occurreret, maturius quam consuerat ad exercitum proficiscitur. Eo cum venisset, ea, quæ fore suspicatus erat, [10]facta cognovit; missas legationes a nonnullis civitatibus [11]ad Germanos, invitatosque eos, uti ab Rheno discederent; omniaque quæ postulassent, ab se fore parata. Qua spe adducti Germani latius jam vagabantur, et in fines Eburonum et Condrusorum, qui sunt Trevirorum clientes, pervenerant. Principibus Galliæ evocatis, Cæsar ea quæ cognoverat [12]dissimulanda sibi existimavit, eorumque animis permulsis et confirmatis, equitatuque imperato, bellum cum Germanis gerere constituit.

7. Re frumentaria comparata, equitibusque delectis, iter in ea loca facere cœpit, quibus in locis esse Germanos audiebat. A quibus cum paucorum dierum iter abesset, legati ab his venerunt, quorum hæc fuit oratio: "Germanos neque priores Populo Romano bellum inferre, neque tamen recusare, si lacessantur, quin armis contendant; quod Germanorum consuetudo hæc sit a majoribus tradita, quicumque bellum inferant, [1]resistere, neque deprecari: hæc tamen dicere, venisse invitos, ejectos domo. Si [2]suam gratiam Romani velint, posse eis utiles esse amicos: vel sibi agros attribuant, vel patiantur [3]eos tenere quos armis possederint. Sese unis Suevis [4]concedere, quibus ne Dii quidem immortales pares esse possint: reliquum quidem in terris esse neminem, quem non superare possint."

8. Ad hæc Cæsar, quæ visum est, respondit; sed [5]exitus fuit orationis: "Sibi nullam cum his amicitiam esse posse, si in Gallia remanerent: neque verum esse, qui suos fines tueri non potuerint, alienos occupare: [6]neque ullos in Gallia vacare agros qui dari, tantæ præsertim multitudini, sine injuria possint. Sed licere, si velint, in Ubiorum finibus considere, quorum sint legati apud se, et de Suevorum injuriis querantur, et a se auxilium petant: hoc se [7]ab iis impetraturum."

9. Legati hæc se ad suos relaturos dixerunt, et, re deliberata, post diem tertium ad Cæsarem reversuros: interea ne propius se castra moveret, petierunt. Ne id quidem Cæsar ab se impetrari posse dixit: cognoverat enim, magnam partem equitatus ab iis aliquot diebus ante prædandi frumentandique causa ad Ambivaretos trans Mosam missam. [8]Hos expectari equites, atque ejus rei causa moram interponi, arbitrabatur.

10. Mosa profluit ex monte [9]Vosego, qui est in finibus Lingonum, [10]et, parte quadam ex Rheno recepta, quæ appellatur Vahalis, insulam efficit Batavorum, neque longius ab eo millibus passuum octoginta in Oceanum transit

Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt, et longo spatio per fines Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, Mediomatricorum, Tribocorum, Trevirorum [1]citatus fertur; et, ubi Oceano appropinquat, [2]in plures diffluit partes, multis ingentibusque insulis effectis, quarum pars magna a feris barbarisque nationibus incolitur (ex quibus sunt, [3]qui piscibus atque ovis avium vivere existimantur), multisque capitibus in Oceanum influit.

11. Cæsar cum ab hoste non amplius passuum duodecim millibus abesset, [4]ut erat constitutum, ad eum legati revertuntur: qui, in itinere congressi, magnopere, ne longius progrederetur, orabant. Cum id non impetrassent, petebant, uti ad eos equites, qui agmen antecessissent, præmitteret, eosque pugna prohiberet; sibique uti potestatem faceret, in Ubios legatos mittendi: quorum si Principes ac senatus [5]sibi jurejurando fidem fecissent, ea conditione, quæ a Cæsare ferretur, se usuros ostendebant: ad has res conficiendas sibi tridui spatium daret. Hæc omnia Cæsar [6]eodem illo pertinere arbitrabatur, ut, tridui mora interposita, equites eorum, qui abessent, reverterentur: tamen sese non longius millibus passuum quatuor aquationis causa processurum eo die dixit: huc postero die quam frequentissimi convenirent, ut de eorum postulatis cognosceret. Interim ad [7]præfectos, qui cum omni equitatu antecesserant, mittit, qui nunciarent, ne hostes prœlio lacesserent, et, si ipsi lacesserentur, [8]sustinerent, quoad ipse cum exercitu propius accessisset.

12. At hostes, ubi primum nostros equites conspexerunt, quorum erat quinque millium numerus, cum ipsi [9]non amplius octingentos equites haberent, quod ii, qui frumentandi causa ierant trans Mosam, nondum redierant, nihil timentibus nostris, quod legati [10]eorum paulo ante a Cæsare discesserant, atque is dies induciis erat ab eis petitus, impetu facto, celeriter nostros perturbaverunt. Rursus resistentibus nostris, consuetudine sua ad pedes desiluerunt, sub-

fossisque equis, compluribusque nostris dejectis, reliquos in fugam conjecerunt, atque [1]ita perterritos egerunt, ut non prius fuga desisterent, quam in conspectu agminis nostri venissent. In eo prœlio ex equitibus nostris interficiuntur quatuor et septuaginta, in his vir fortissimus, Piso, Aquitanus, amplissimo genere natus, cujus avus in civitate sua regnum obtinuerat, amicus ab Senatu nostro appellatus. Hic cum fratri [2]intercluso ab hostibus auxilium ferret, illum ex periculo eripuit: ipse, equo vulnerato dejectus, quoad potuit, fortissime restitit. Cum circumventus, multis vulneribus acceptis, cecidisset, atque id frater, qui jam prœlio excesserat, procul [3]animum advertisset, incitato equo se hostibus obtulit atque interfectus est.

13. Hoc facto prœlio, Cæsar neque jam sibi legatos audiendos, neque conditiones accipiendas arbitrabatur ab his, qui [4]per dolum atque insidias, petita pace, ultro bellum intulissent: expectare vero, dum hostium copiæ augerentur, equitatusque reverteretur, summæ dementiæ esse judicabat; et, cognita Gallorum [5]infirmitate, quantum jam apud eos hostes uno prœlio auctoritatis essent consecuti, sentiebat: quibus ad consilia capienda nihil spatii dandum existimabat. His constitutis rebus, et consilio cum legatis et quæstore communicato, [7]ne quem diem pugnæ prætermitteret, opportunissima res accidit, quod postridie ejus diei mane, eadem et perfidia et simulatione usi Germani, frequentes, [8]omnibus principibus majoribusque natu adhibitis, ad eum in castra venerunt; simul, ut dicebatur, [9]sui purgandi causa, quod contra atque esset dictum, et ipsi petissent, prœlium pridie commisissent; simul ut, si quid possent, [10]de induciis fallendo impetrarent. Quos sibi Cæsar oblatos [11]gavisus, illico retineri jussit; ipse omnes copias castris eduxit, equitatumque, quod recenti prœlio perterritum esse existimabat, agmen subsequi jussit.

14. Acie triplici instituta, et celeriter octo millium itinere confecto, prius ad hostium castra pervenit, quam, quid age-

CÆSAR SURPRISES AND ATTACKS THE CAMP OF THE GERMANS



A. Camp of the Germans. B. Army of Cæsar. C. Cavalry of Cæsar, still intimidated by the result of the previous action. D. The Rhine E The Moselle. F. The routed Germans precipitating themselves into the river

To face p. 7[illegible]

retur, Germani sentire possent. Qui, omnibus rebus subito perterriti, et celeritate adventus nostri, et [1]discessu suorum, neque consilii habendi neque arma capiendi spatio dato, perturbantur, copiasne adversus hostem educere, an castra defendere, an fuga salutem petere, præstaret. Quorum timor cum fremitu et concursu significaretur, milites nostri, [2]pristini diei perfidia incitati, in castra irruperunt. Quorum qui celeriter arma capere potuerunt, paulisper nostris restiterunt, atque inter carros impedimentaque prœlium commiserunt: at reliqua multitudo puerorum mulierumque (nam cum omnibus suis domo excesserant Rhenumque transierant), passim fugere cœpit; [3]ad quos consectandos Cæsar equitatum misit.

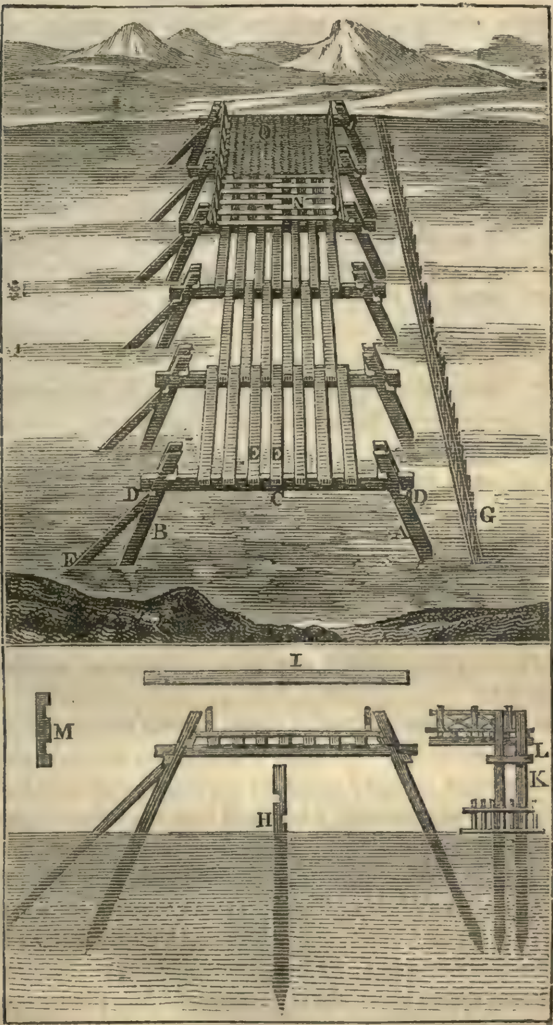
15. Germani, [4]post tergum clamore audito, cum suos interfici viderent, armis abjectis, signisque militaribus relictis, se ex castris ejecerunt: et, cum [5]ad confluentem Mosæ et Rheni pervenissent, [6]reliqua fuga desperata, magno numero interfecto, reliqui se in flumen præcipitaverunt, atque ibi timore, lassitudine, vi fluminis oppressi, perierunt. Nostri ad unum omnes incolumes, perpaucis vulneratis, [7]ex tanti belli timore, cum hostium numerus capitum quadringentorum et triginta millium fuisset, se in castra receperunt. Cæsar his, quos in castris retinuerat, discedendi potestatem fecit: illi supplicia cruciatusque Gallorum veriti, quorum agros vexaverant, remanere se apud eum velle dixerunt. His Cæsar libertatem concessit.

16. Germanico bello confecto, [8]multis de causis Cæsar statuit, sibi Rhenum esse transeundum: quarum illa fuit justissima, quod, cum videret, Germanos tam facile impelli, ut in Galliam venirent, [9]suis quoque rebus eos timere voluit, cum intelligerent, et posse et audere Populi Romani exercitum Rhenum transire. [10]Accessit etiam, quod illa pars equitatus Usipetum et Tenchtherorum, quam supra commemoravi, prædandi frumentandique causa Mosam transisse, neque prœlio interfuisse, post fugam suorum se trans Rhe-

num in fines Sigambrorum receperat seque cum iis conjunx erat. [1]Ad quos cum Cæsar nuncios misisset, qui postularent, eos, qui sibi Galliæque bellum intulissent, sibi dederent, responderunt: "Populi Romani imperium Rhenum finire: si, se invito Germanos in Galliam transire non æquum existimaret, [2]cur sui quicquam esse imperii aut potestatis trans Rhenum postularet?" Ubii autem, qui uni ex Transrhenanis ad Cæsarem legatos miserant, amicitiam fecerant, obsides dederant, magnopere orabant, "ut sibi auxilium ferret, quod graviter ab Suevis premerentur; vel, si id facere [3]occupationibus reipublicæ prohiberetur, exercitum modo Rhenum transportaret: id sibi ad auxilium spemque reliqui temporis satis futurum: tantum esse [4]nomen atque opinionem ejus exercitus, Ariovisto pulso, et hoc novissimo prœlio facto, etiam ad ultimas Germanorum nationes, uti opinione et amicitia Populi Romani tuti esse possint. Navium magnam copiam ad transportandum exercitum pollicebantur."

17. Cæsar his de causis, quas commemoravi, Rhenum transire decreverat; sed navibus transire, neque satis tutum esse arbitrabatur, [5]neque suæ neque Populi Romani dignitatis esse statuebat. Itaque, etsi summa difficultas faciendi pontis [6]proponebatur, propter latitudinem, rapiditatem, altitudinemque fluminis, tamen id sibi contendendum, aut aliter non transducendum exercitum, existimabat. [7]Rationem pontis hanc instituit. Tigna bina sesquipedalia, paulum ab imo præacuta, [8]dimensa ad altitudinem fluminis, intervallo pedum duorum inter se jungebat. Hæc cum machinationibus immissa in flumen defixerat, [9]fistucisque adegerat, [10]non sublicæ modo directa ad perpendiculum, sed prona ac fastigata, ut secundum naturam fluminis procumberent; [11]iis item contraria bina, ad eundem modum juncta, intervallo pedum quadragenum, [12]ab inferiore parte, contra vim atque impetum fluminis conversa statuebat. [13]Hæc utraque insuper bipedalibus trabibus immissis [14]quantum eorum tignorum

PLAN OF THE BRIDGE MADE ACROSS THE RHINE B CÆSAR IN TEN DAYS.



A. Two piles, each a foot and a half thick, joined together at the distance of abou two feet. B. Two opposite piles similarly joined together. C. Large beam extendec between them. D. Braces. E. Timbers laid across. F. Stakes sunk in the river as buttresses. G. Fences against trunks of trees, &c. sent down the river. H Form of the beams a foot and a half thick. I. Form of the beam extended between them K. Figure of the two piles braced together. L. Braces. M. A detached brace N Spars laid athwart O. Hurdles

iunctura distabat, binis utrimque fibulis ab extrema parte, distinebantur: [1]quibus disclusis atque in contrariam partem revinctis, [2]tanta erat operis firmitudo, atque ea rerum natura, ut, quo major vis aquæ se incitavisset, hoc arctius illigata tenerentur. [3]Hæc directa materie injecta contexebantur, et [4]longuriis cratibusque consternebantur: [5]ac nihilo secius sublicæ et ad inferiorem partem fluminis oblique agebantur, quæ, [6]pro pariete subjectæ, et cum omni opere conjunctæ vim fluminis exciperent: [7]et aliæ item supra pontem mediocri spatio, ut, si arborum trunci, sive naves [8]dejiciendi operis essent a barbaris missæ, his defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur, neu ponti nocerent.

18. Diebus decem, [9]quibus materia cœpta erat comportari, omni opere effecto, exercitus transducitur. Cæsar, [10]ad utramque partem pontis firmo præsidio relicto, in fines Sigambrorum contendit. Interim a compluribus civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, quibus pacem atque amicitiam petentibus liberaliter respondit, obsidesque ad se adduci jubet. At Sigambri, ex eo tempore quo pons institui cœptus est, fuga comparata, [11]hortantibus iis quos ex Tenchtheris atque Usipetibus apud se habebant, finibus suis excesserant, suaque omnia exportaverant, seque [12]in solitudinem ac silvas abdiderant.

19. Cæsar, paucos dies in eorum finibus moratus, omnibus vicis ædificiisque incensis, frumentisque succisis, se in fines Ubiorum recepit; atque iis auxilium suum pollicitus, si ab Suevis premerentur, hæc ab iis cognovit: Suevos, posteaquam per exploratores pontem fieri comperissent, more suo concilio habito, nuncios in omnes partes dimisisse, uti de oppidis demigrarent, liberos, uxores, suaque omnia [13]in silvas deponerent, atque omnes qui arma ferre possent unum in locum convenirent: [14]hunc esse delectum medium fere regionum earum quas Suevi obtinerent: hic Romanorum adventum expectare atque ibi decertare constituisse. Quod ubi Cæsar comperit, omnibus his rebus confectis, quarum

rerum causa transducere exercitum constituerat, ut Germanis metum injiceret, ut Sigambros [1]ulcisceretur, ut Ubios obsidione liberaret, diebus omnino decem et octo trans Rhenum consumtis, [2]satis et ad laudem et ad utilitatem profectum arbitratus, [3]se in Galliam recepit, pontemque rescidit

20. Exigua parte æstatis reliqua, Cæsar, etsi in his locis, quod omnis Gallia ad septentriones vergit, [4]maturæ sunt hiemes, tamen [5]in Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod, omnibus fere Gallicis bellis, hostibus nostris [6]inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat: et, si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset, genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset: quæ omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. Neque enim [7]temere præter mercatores illo adit quisquam, neque iis ipsis quicquam, præter oram maritimam atque eas regiones quæ sunt contra Gallias, notum est. Itaque, evocatis ad se undique mercatoribus, neque quanta esset insulæ magnitudo, neque quæ aut quantæ nationes incolerent, neque [8]quem usum belli haberent, aut quibus institutis uterentur, neque qui essent ad majorum navium multitudinem idonei portus, reperire poterat.

21. Ad hæc cognoscenda, priusquam periculum faceret, idoneum esse arbitratus [9]Caium Volusenum, cum navi longa [10]præmittit. Huic mandat, uti, exploratis omnibus rebus, ad se quamprimum revertatur: ipse cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam transjectus. Huc naves undique ex finitimis regionibus et, quam superiore æstate ad Veneticum bellum fecerat, classem jubet convenire. Interim, consilio ejus cognito et per mercatores perlato ad Britannos, a compluribus ejus insulæ civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, qui polliceantur obsides [11]dare, atque imperio Populi Romani obtemperare. Quibus auditis, liberaliter pollicitus, hortatusque ut in ea sententia permanerent, eos domum remittit, et cum his una Commium, quem ipse, Atrebatibus superatis, regem

ibi constituerat, cujus et virtutem et consilium probabat, et quem sibi fidelem arbitrabatur, cujusque auctoritas in iis regionibus [1]magni habebatur, mittit. Huic imperat, quas possit adeat civitates, horteturque [2]ut Populi Romani fidem sequantur; seque celeriter eo venturum nunciet. Volusenus, perspectis regionibus, [3]quantum ei facultatis dari potuit, qui navi egredi ac se barbaris committere non auderet, quinto die ad Cæsarem revertitur; quæque ibi perspexisset renunciat.

22. Dum in his locis Cæsar navium parandarum causa moratur, ex magna parte Morinorum ad eum legati venerunt, qui se [4]de superioris temporis consilio excusarent, quod homines barbari, et [5]nostræ consuetudinis imperiti, bellum Populo Romano fecissent, seque ea, quæ imperasset, facturos pollicerentur. Hoc sibi satis opportune Cæsar accidisse arbitratus, quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat, neque belli gerendi, propter anni tempus, facultatem habebat, neque [6]has tantularum rerum occupationes sibi Britanniæ anteponendas judicabat, magnum his obsidum numerum imperat. Quibus adductis, eos in fidem recepit. [7]Navibus circiter octoginta onerariis coactis contractisque, quot satis esse ad duas transportandas legiones existimabat, quicquid præterea navium longarum habebat, quæstori, legatis, præfectisque distribuit. Huc accedebant octodecim onerariæ naves, quæ ex eo loco ab millibus passuum octo vento tenebantur, quo minus in eundem portum pervenire possent. Has equitibus distribuit; reliquum exercitum Quinto Titurio Sabino et Lucio Aurunculeio Cottæ, legatis, in Menapios atque in eos pagos Morinorum, ab quibus ad eum [8]legati non venerant, deducendum dedit. Publium Sulpitium Rufum, legatum, cum eo præsidio quod satis esse arbitrabatur, portum tenere jussit.

23. His constitutis rebus, nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem, [9]tertia fere vigilia [10]solvit, equitesque in [11]ulteriorem portum progredi, et naves conscendere, et se sequi

jussit: a quibus cum id paulo tardius esset administratum, ipse [1]hora diei circiter quarta cum primis navibus [2]Britanniam attigit, atque ibi in omnibus collibus [3]expositas hostium copias armatas conspexit. Cujus loci hæc erat natura: [4]adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in littus telum adjici posset. Hunc [5]ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum arbitratus locum, dum reliquæ naves eo convenirent, [6]ad horam nonam in anchoris expectavit. Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis, et quæ ex Voluseno cognosset, et quæ fieri vellet, ostendit, [7]monuitque (ut rei militaris ratio, maxime ut maritimæ res postularent, ut quæ celerem atque instabilem motum haberent), ad nutum et ad tempus omnes res ab iis administrarentur. His dimissis, et ventum et æstum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo, et [8]sublatis anchoris, circiter millia passuum septem ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano littore naves constituit.

24. At barbari, consilio Romanorum cognito, præmisso equitatu, [9]et essedariis, quo plerumque genere in prœliis uti consuerunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti, nostros navibus egredi prohibebant. Erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naves, propter magnitudinem, nisi in alto, [10]constitui non poterant; militibus autem, ignotis locis, impeditis manibus, magno et gravi armorum onere oppressis, simul et de navibus desiliendum, [11]et in fluctibus consistendum, et cum hostibus erat pugnandum: cum illi aut ex arido, aut paululum in aquam progressi, [12]omnibus membris expediti, notissimis locis, audacter tela conjicerent, [13]et equos insuefactos incitarent. Quibus rebus nostri perterriti, atque hujus omnino generis pugnæ imperiti, non eadem alacritate ac studio, quo in pedestribus uti prœliis consueverant, utebantur.

25. Quod ubi Cæsar animum advertit, naves longas [14]quarum et species erat barbaris inusitatior, et motus ad usum expeditior, paulum removeri ab [15]onerariis navibus, et

remis incitari, et ad latus apertum hostium constitui, atque inde [1]fundis, sagittis, tormentis, hostes propelli ac submoveri jussit: [2]quæ res magno usui nostris fuit. Nam, et navium figura, et remorum motu, et inusitato genere tormentorum permoti, barbari constiterunt, ac paulum modo pedem retulerunt. Atque, nostris militibus cunctantibus, maxime propter altitudinem maris, [3]qui decimæ legionis aquilam ferebat, contestatus Deos, ut [4]ea res legioni feliciter eveniret: "Desilite," inquit, "commilitones, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere: ego certe meum reipublicæ atque imperatori officium [5]præstitero." Hoc cum magna voce dixisset, ex navi se projecit, atque in hostes aquilam ferre cœpit. Tum nostri, cohortati inter se, ne [6]tantum dedecus admitteretur, universi ex navi desiluerunt: hos item [7]ex proximis navibus [8]cum conspexissent, subsecuti hostibus appropinquarunt.

26. Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter: nostri tamen, quod neque ordines servare, [9]neque firmiter insistere, neque signa subsequi poterant, atque alius alia ex navi, quibuscumque signis occurrerat, se aggregabat, magno opere perturbabantur. Hostes vero, notis omnibus vadis, ubi ex littore aliquos [10]singulares ex navi egredientes conspexerant, incitatis equis impeditos adoriebantur: plures paucos circumsistebant: alii ab latere aperto in universos tela conjiciebant. [11]Quod cum animum advertisset Cæsar, [12]scaphas longarum navium, item speculatoria navigia militibus compleri jussit, et, quos laborantes conspexerat, iis subsidia submittebat. Nostri, [13]simul in arido constiterunt, suis omnibus consecutis, in hostes impetum fecerunt, atque eos in fugam dederunt, neque longius prosequi potuerunt, quod [14]equites cursum tenere atque insulam capere non potuerant. Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Cæsari defuit.

27. Hostes prœlio superati, simul atque se ex fuga receperunt, statim ad Cæsarem [15]legatos de pace miserunt: obsides daturos, quæque imperasset sese facturos, polliciti

sunt. Una cum his legatis Commius Atrebas venit, quem [1]supra demonstraveram a Cæsare in Britanniam præmissum. Hunc illi e navi egressum, cum ad eos [2]oratoris modo imperatoris mandata perferret, comprehenderant atque in vincula conjecerant: tum, prœlio facto, [3]remiserunt et in petenda pace ejus rei culpam in multitudinem contulerunt, et propter imprudentiam ut ignosceretur, petiverunt. Cæsar questus, quod, cum ultro in [4]continentem legatis missis pacem ab se petissent, bellum sine causa intulissent, ignoscere imprudentiæ dixit, obsidesque imperavit: quorum illi partem statim dederunt, partem, ex longinquioribus locis [5]arcessitam, paucis diebus sese daturos dixerunt. Interea suos remigrare in agros jusserunt, principesque undique convenire et se civitatesque suas Cæsari commendare cœperunt.

28. His rebus pace confirmata, [6]post diem quartum, quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves octodecim, de quibus supra demonstratum est, quæ equites sustulerant, ex superiore portu leni vento solverunt. Quæ cum appropinquarent Britanniæ, et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coorta est, ut nulla earum [7]cursum tenere posset, sed aliæ eodem, unde erant profectæ, referrentur; aliæ ad inferiorem partem insulæ, [8]quæ est propius solis occasum, magno sui cum periculo dejicerentur: quæ tamen, anchoris jactis [9]cum fluctibus complerentur, necessario adversa nocte in altum provectæ, continentem petierunt.

29. Eadem nocte accidit, ut esset luna plena, [10]qui dies maritimos æstus maximos in Oceano efficere consuevit; [11]nostrisque id erat incognitum. Ita uno tempore et longas naves, quibus Cæsar exercitum transportandum curaverat, quasque in aridum subduxerat, æstus complebat; et onerarias, quæ ad anchoras erant deligatæ, tempestas [12]afflictabat; neque ulla nostris facultas aut administrandi, aut auxiliandi, dabatur. Compluribus navibus fractis, reliquæ cum essent, funibus, anchoris, reliquisque armamentis amissis, ad navi

gandum inutiles, magna, id quod necesse erat accidere [1]totius exercitus perturbatio facta est: neque enim naves erant aliæ, quibus reportari possent; et omnia deerant, quæ ad reficiendas eas usui sunt, et, [2]quod omnibus constabat hiemari in Gallia oportere, frumentum his in locis in hiemem provisum non erat.

30. Quibus rebus cognitis, principes Britanniæ, qui post prœlium factum ad ea, quæ jusserat Cæsar, facienda convenerant, inter se collocuti, cum equites et naves et frumentum Romanis deesse intelligerent, et paucitatem militum ex castrorum [3]exiguitate cognoscerent, quæ hoc erant etiam angustiora, quod sine impedimentis Cæsar legiones transportaverat, optimum factu esse duxerunt, rebellione facta, frumento commeatuque nostros prohibere, et [4]rem in hiemem producere, quod, iis superatis, aut reditu interclusis, neminem postea belli inferendi causa in Britanniam transiturum confidebant. Itaque, rursus conjuratione facta, paulatim ex castris discedere, ac suos clam ex agris deducere cœperunt.

31. At Cæsar, etsi nondum eorum consilia cognoverat, tamen et [5]ex eventu navium suarum, [6]et ex eo, quod obsides dare intermiserant, fore id, quod accidit, suspicabatur. Itaque [7]ad omnes casus subsidia comparabat: nam et frumentum ex agris quotidie in castra conferebat, et, quæ [8]gravissime afflictæ erant naves, earum materia atque ære ad reliquas reficiendas utebatur, et, quæ ad eas res erant usui, ex continenti comportari jubebat. Itaque, cum id summo studio a militibus administraretur, duodecim navibus amissis [9]reliquis ut navigari commode posset, effecit.

32. Dum ea geruntur, legione ex consuetudine una frumentatum missa, quæ appellabatur septima, neque ulla ad id tempus belli suspicione interposita, cum pars [10]hominum in agris remaneret, [11]pars etiam in castra ventitaret, ii, qui pro portis castrorum [12]in statione erant, Cæsari renunciarunt, pulverem majorem, quam consuetudo ferret, in ea parte videri, quam in partem legio iter fecisset. Cæsar id, quod

erat, suspicatus, aliquid novi a barbaris initum consilii, cohortes, quæ in stationibus erant, secum in eam partem proficisci, duas ex reliquis [1]in stationem succedere, reliquas armari et confestim sese subsequi jussit. Cum paulo longius a castris processisset, suos ab hostibus premi, atque ægre sustinere, [2]et, conferta legione, ex omnibus partibus tela conjici, animum advertit. Nam [3]quod, omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumento, pars una erat reliqua, suspicati hostes, huc nostros esse venturos, noctu in silvis delituerant: tum dispersos, depositis armis, in metendo occupatos, subito adorti, [4]paucis interfectis, reliquos incertis ordinibus perturbaverant: simul equitatu atque essedis circumdederant.

33. [5]Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnæ: primo per omnes partes perequitant, et tela conjiciunt, atque [6]ipso terrore equorum, et strepitu rotarum, ordines plerumque perturbant; et, [7]cum se inter equitum turmas insinuaverint ex essedis desiliunt, et pedibus prœliantur. [8]Aurigæ interim paulatim ex prœlio excedunt, [9]atque ita curru se collocant, ut, si illi a multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. [10]Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum, in prœliis præstant; ac tantum usu quotidiano et exercitatione efficiunt, uti, in declivi ac præcipiti loco, [11]incitatos equos sustinere, [12]et brevi moderari ac flectere, et per temonem percurrere, et in jugo insistere, et inde se in currus citissime recipere consuerint.

34. [13]Quibus rebus, perturbatis nostris novitate pugnæ, tempore opportunissimo Cæsar auxilium tulit: namque ejus adventu hostes [14]constiterunt, nostri se ex timore receperunt. Quo facto, ad [15]lacessendum at ad committendum prœlium alienum esse tempus arbitratus, suo se loco continuit, et, brevi tempore intermisso, in castra legiones [16]reduxit. Dum hæc geruntur, nostris omnibus occupatis, [17]qui erant in agris, reliqui discesserunt. Secutæ sunt [18]continuos complures dies tempestates, quæ et nostros in castris contine-

rent, et hostem a pugna prohiberent. Interim barbari nuncios in omnes partes dimiserunt, paucitatemque nostrorum militum [1]suis prædicaverunt, et, quanta prædæ faciendæ, atque in perpetuum sui liberandi, facultas daretur, si Romanos castris expulissent, demonstraverunt His rebus celeriter magna multitudine peditatus equitatusque coacta, ad castra venerunt.

35. Cæsar, etsi idem, quod superioribus diebus acciderat, fore videbat, ut, si essent hostes pulsi, celeritate periculum effugerent; tamen [2]nactus equites circiter triginta, quos Commius Atrebas, de quo [3]ante dictum est, secum transportaverat, legiones in acie pro castris constituit. Commisso prœlio, diutius nostrorum militum impetum hostes ferre non potuerunt, ac terga verterunt. [4]Quos tanto spatio secuti, quantum cursu et viribus efficere potuerunt, com plures ex iis occiderunt; deinde, [5]omnibus longe lateque afflictis incensisque, se in castra receperunt.

36. Eodem die legati, ab hostibus missi ad Cæsarem de pace, venerunt. His Cæsar numerum obsidum, quem antea imperaverat, duplicavit, eosque in continentem adduci jussit, quod, [6]propinqua die æquinoctii, infirmis navibus, [7]hiemi navigationem subjiciendam non existimabat. Ipse, idoneam tempestatem nactus, paulo post mediam noctem naves solvit, quæ omnes incolumes ad continentem pervenerunt; sed ex his onerariæ duæ [8]eosdem, quos reliquæ, portus capere non potuerunt, et paulo infra delatæ sunt.

37. [9]Quibus ex navibus cum essent expositi milites circiter trecenti, atque in castra contenderent, Morini, quos Cæsar, in Britanniam proficiscens, pacatos reliquerat, spe prædæ adducti, primo [10]non ita magno suorum numero circumsteterunt, ac, si sese interfici nollent, arma ponere jusserunt. Cum illi, [11]orbe facto, sese defenderent, celeriter ad clamorem hominum circiter millia sex convenerunt. Qua re nunciata, Cæsar omnem ex castris equitatum suis auxilio misit. Interim nostri milites impetum hostium sus-

tinuerunt, atque amplius [1]horis quatuor fortissime pugnaverunt, et, paucis vulneribus acceptis, complures ex iis occiderunt. Postea vero quam equitatus noster in conspectum venit, hostes abjectis armis terga verterunt, magnusque eorum numerus est occisus.

38. Cæsar postero die Titum Labienum legatum, cum iis legionibus, quas ex Britannia reduxerat, in Morinos, qui rebellionem fecerant, misit. Qui, cum [2]propter siccitates paludum, quo se reciperent, non haberent ([3]quo perfugio superiore anno fuerant usi), omnes fere in potestatem Labieni venerunt. At Quintus Titurius et Lucius Cotta, legati, qui in Menapiorum fines legiones [4]duxerant, omnibus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis succisis, ædificiis incensis, quod Menapii se omnes in densissimas silvas abdiderant, se ad Cæsarem receperunt. Cæsar in Belgis omnium legionum hiberna constituit. [5]Eo duæ omnino civitates ex Britannia obsides miserunt; reliquæ neglexerunt. His rebus gestis ex literis Cæsaris dierum viginti [6]supplicatio a Senatu decreta est.

C. JULII CÆSARIS

COMMENTARII

DE

BELLO GALLICO

BOOK V.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Cæsar's second expedition into Britain.

Chap. 1. Cæsar, leaving orders with his lieutenants to build and equip a fleet, sets out for Illyricum, where he puts a stop to the incursions of the Pirustæ. 2–7. Returning thence into Gaul, he marches against the Treviri, and quiets the disturbances in that province. Dumnorix, withdrawing from the Roman camp with the Aeduan cavalry, is pursued and slain. 8. Cæsar passes over into Britain. 9. Forces the enemy from the woods in which they had taken shelter. 10, 11. Cæsar refits his fleet, which had suffered severely in a storm. 12–14. A description of Britain and its inhabitants. 15–22. Cassivellaunus, the leader of the Britons, is defeated in several encounters. The Romans cross the Tamesis. Surrender of the Trinobantes and several other British tribes. 23. Cæsar returns to Gaul.

II. War with Ambiorix.

Chap. 24, 25. The Roman army, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, is distributed over a wider extent of country than usual Tasgetius slain among the Carnutes. 26–37. Revolt of Ambiorix and Cativolcus. The camp of Titurius Sabinus is attacked. Ambiorix, by an artful speech, induces Titurius to quit his camp, and, attacking him on his march, cuts him off with his whole party. 38–43. The winter quarters of Q. Cicero are attacked by the Eburones and their confederates. Brave defence of Cicero. 44. The noble emu-

ation of Pulfio and Varenus. 45–52. Cæsar, on being informed of the danger in which Cicero was, marches to his relief. The Gauls raise the siege at his approach, and proceed to give him battle. They are defeated. 53, 54. Indutiomarus, who had resolved to attack the quarters of Labienus, retreats into the country of the Treviri on hearing of Cæsar's victory. Cæsar resolves to spend the whole winter himself in Gaul. Commotions in different parts of Gaul, and particularly among the Senones.

III. INSURRECTION AMONG THE TREVIRI REPRESSED.

Chap. 55, 56. Commotion among the Treviri. The Germans are invited by them to cross the Rhine, but refuse. Cingetorix declared a public enemy by the Treviri. 57. Labienus, being in a strongly fortified camp, sends messengers into the different states and collects a large body of horse. 58. A sally is made from the Roman camp and Indutiomarus is slain.

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1. [1]LUCIO DOMITIO, Appio Claudio, consulibus, discedens ab hibernis Cæsar in Italiam, ut quotannis facere consuerat, legatis imperat, quos legionibus præfecerat, uti, quamplurimas possent, hieme naves ædificandas veteresque reficiendas curarent. Earum modum formamque [2]demonstrat. Ad celeritatem onerandi subductionesque paulo facit humiliores, quam quibus in [3]nostro mari uti consuevimus; atque id eo magis, quod propter crebras commutationes æstuum minus magnos ibi fluctus fieri cognoverat: ad onera et ad multitudinem jumentorum transportandam paulo latiores quam quibus in reliquis utimur maribus. [4]Has omnes actuarias imperat fieri, quam ad rem multum humilitas adjuvat. Ea, quæ sunt usui [5]ad armandas naves, ex Hispania apportari jubet. Ipse conventibus Galliæ citerioris peractis, in [6]Illyricum proficiscitur, quod a Pirustis finitimam partem Provinciæ incursionibus vastari audiebat. Eo cum venisset, civitatibus milites imperat, certumque in locum convenire jubet. Qua re nunciata, Pirustæ legatos ad eum mittunt, qui doceant, nihil earum rerum publico factum consilio, seseque paratos esse demonstrant, [7]omnibus rationibus de injuriis satisfacere. Accepta oratione eorum

Cæsar obsides imperat, eosque ad certam diem adduci jubet: nisi ita fecerint, sese bello [1]civitatem persecuturum demonstrat. His ad diem adductis, ut imperaverat, arbitros inter civitates dat, qui litem æstiment pœnamque constituant.

2. His confectis rebus [2]conventibusque peractis, in citeriorem Galliam revertitur, atque inde ad exercitum proficiscitur. Eo cum venisset, circuitis omnibus hibernis, singulari militum studio, in summa omnium rerum inopia, circiter [3]sexcentas ejus generis, [4]cujus supra demonstravimus, naves et longas viginti octo invenit [5]instructas, [6]neque multum abesse ab eo, quin paucis diebus deduci possent. Collaudatis militibus atque iis qui negotio præfuerant, quid fieri velit, ostendit, atque omnes ad [7]portum Itium convenire jubet, quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam transmissum esse cognoverat, circiter millium passuum triginta a continenti. [8]Huic rei quod satis esse visum est militum, reliquit: ipse cum legionibus [9]expeditis quatuor et equitibus octingentis in fines Trevirorum proficiscitur, quod hi neque ad concilia veniebant, neque imperio parebant, Germanosque transrhenanos solicitare dicebantur.

3. Hæc civitas longe plurimum totius Galliæ equitatu valet, magnasque habet copias peditum, Rhenumque, ut supra demonstravimus, tangit. In ea civitate duo de principatu inter se contendebant, Indutiomarus et [10]Cingetorix: ex quibus [11]alter, simul atque de Cæsaris legionumque adventu cognitum est, ad eum venit; se suosque omnes in officio futuros, neque ab amicitia Populi Romani defecturos confirmavit; quæque in Treviris gererentur, ostendit. At Indutiomarus equitatum peditatumque cogere, iisque, qui per ætatem in armis esse non poterant, in [12]silvam Arduennam abditis, quæ ingenti magnitudine per medios fines Trevirorum a flumine Rheno ad initium Remorum pertinet, bellum parare instituit. Sed postea quam nonnulli principes ex ea civitate, et familiaritate Cingetorigis adducti et adventu nostri exercitus perterriti, ad Cæsarem venerunt,

et de suis privatim rebus ab eo petere cœperunt, [1]quoniam civitati consulere non possent: Indutiomarus, veritus ne ab omnibus desereretur, legatos ad Cæsarem mittit; sese idcirco ab suis discedere atque ad eum venire noluisse, quo facilius civitatem in officio contineret, ne omnis nobilitatis discessu plebs propter imprudentiam [2]laberetur. Itaque esse civitatem in sua potestate, seque, si Cæsar permitteret, ad eum in castra venturum, et suas civitatisque fortunas ejus fidei [3]permissurum.

4. Cæsar, etsi intelligebat, qua de causa ea dicerentur, [4]quæque eum res ab instituto consilio deterreret, tamen, ne æstatem in Treviris consumere cogeretur, omnibus ad Britannicum bellum rebus comparatis, Indutiomarum ad se cum ducentis obsidibus venire jussit. His adductis, in iis filio propinquisque ejus omnibus, quos [5]nominatim evocaverat, consolatus Indutiomarum hortatusque est, uti in officio permaneret: nihilo tamen secius, principibus Trevirorum ad se convocatis, [6]hos singillatim Cingetorigi conciliavit: quod cum merito ejus ab se fieri intelligebat, tum magni interesse arbitrabatur, ejus auctoritatem inter suos quamplurimum valere, cujus tam egregiam in se voluntatem perspexisset. Id factum graviter tulit Indutiomarus, [7]suam gratiam inter suos minui; et, qui jam ante inimico in nos animo fuisset, multo gravius hoc dolore exarsit.

5. His rebus constitutis, Cæsar ad portum Itium cum legionibus pervenit. Ibi cognoscit, quadraginta naves, quæ [8]in Meldis factæ erant, tempestate rejectas, cursum tenere non potuisse, atque eodem, unde erant profectæ, revertisse: reliquas paratas ad navigandum atque omnibus rebus instructas invenit. Eodem totius Galliæ equitatus convenit, numero millium quatuor, principesque omnibus ex civitatibus: ex quibus perpaucos, quorum in se fidem perspexerat, relinquere in Gallia, reliquos obsidum loco secum ducere, decreverat; quod, cum ipse abesset, motum Galliæ verebatur.

6. Erat una cum ceteris Dumnorix Æduus, de quo ab

nobis [1]antea dictum est. Hunc secum habere in primis constituerat, quod eum [2]cupidum rerum novarum, cupidum imperii, magni animi, magnæ inter Gallos auctoritatis, cognoverat. Accedebat huc, quod [3]jam in concilio Æduorum Dumnorix dixerat, sibi a Cæsare regnum civitatis deferri: quod dictum Ædui graviter ferebant, neque [4]recusandi aut deprecandi causa legatos ad Cæsarem mittere audebant. [5]Id factum ex suis hospitibus Cæsar cognoverat. Ille omnibus primo precibus [6]petere contendit, ut in Gallia relinqueretur; partim, quod insuetus navigandi mare timeret; partim, quod religionibus sese diceret impediri. Posteaquam id [7]obstinate sibi negari vidit, omni spe impetrandi ademta, principes Galliæ solicitare, sevocare singulos hortarique cœpit, uti in continenti remanerent; metu territare, [8]non sine causa fieri, ut Gallia omni nobilitate spoliaretur: id esse consilium Cæsaris, ut, quos in conspectu Galliæ interficere vereretur, [9]hos omnes in Britanniam transductos necaret: fidem reliquis interponere, jusjurandum poscere, ut, quod esse ex usu Galliæ intellexissent, communi consilio administrarent. Hæc a compluribus ad Cæsarem deferebantur.

7. Qua re cognita, Cæsar, [10]quod tantum civitati Æduæ dignitatis tribuerat, coërcendum atque deterrendum, quibuscumque rebus posset, Dumnorigem statuebat; [11]quod longius ejus amentiam progredi videbat, prospiciendum, ne quid sibi ac rei publicæ nocere posset. Itaque dies circiter viginti quinque in eo loco commoratus, quod [12]Corus ventus navigationem impediebat, qui magnam partem omnis temporis in his locis flare consuevit, dabat operam, ut in officio Dumnorigem contineret, [13]nihilo tamen secius omnia ejus consilia cognosceret: tandem, idoneam nactus tempestatem, milites equitesque conscendere naves jubet. At, [14]omnium impeditis animis, Dumnorix cum equitibus Æduorum a castris, insciente Cæsare, domum discedere cœpit. Qua re nunciata, Cæsar, intermissa profectione atque omnibus

rebus postpositis, magnam partem equitatus ad eum insequendum mittit, retrahique imperat: si vim faciat neque pareat, interfici jubet: nihil [1]hunc se absente pro sano facturum arbitratus, qui præsentis imperium neglexisset. Ille [2]enim revocatus resistere ac se manu defendere suorumque fidem implorare cœpit, sæpe clamitans, "liberum se liberæque civitatis esse." Illi, ut erat imperatum, circumsistunt atque hominem interficiunt; at Ædui equites ad Cæsarem omnes revertuntur.

8. His rebus gestis, Labieno in continente cum tribus legionibus et equitum millibus duobus relicto, ut portus tueretur et [3]rem frumentariam provideret, quæque in Gallia gererentur cognosceret, [4]consiliumque pro tempore et pro re caperet, ipse cum quinque legionibus et [5]pari numero equitum quem in continenti relinquebat, solis occasu naves solvit, et, [6]leni Africo provectus, media circiter nocte vento intermisso, cursum non tenuit, et, [7]longius delatus æstu, orta luce, sub sinistra Britanniam relictam conspexit. Tum rursus, æstus commutationem [8]secutus, remis contendit, ut eam partem insulæ caperet, qua optimum esse egressum superiore æstate cognoverat. Qua in re admodum fuit militum [9]virtus laudanda, qui vectoriis gravibusque navigiis, non intermisso remigandi labore, longarum navium cursum adæquarunt. Accessum est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano fere tempore: neque in eo loco hostis est visus, sed, ut postea Cæsar ex captivis comperit, cum magnæ manus eo convenissent, multitudine navium perterritæ (quæ [10]cum annotinis privatisque, quas [11]sui quisque commodi fecerat, amplius octingentis uno erant visæ tempore), a littore discesserant ac se in superiora loca abdiderant.

9. Cæsar, exposito exercitu et loco castris idoneo capto, ubi ex captivis cognovit, quo in loco hostium copiæ consedissent, [12]cohortibus decem ad mare relictis et equitibus trecentis, qui præsidio navibus essent, de tertia vigilia ad hostes contendit, [13]eo minus veritus navibus, quod in littore

molli atque aperto deligatas ad anchoram relinquebat; et præsidio navibus Quintum Atrium præfecit. Ipse, noctu progressus millia passuum circiter duodecim, hostium copias conspicatus est. Illi, equitatu atque essedis ad flumen progressi, ex loco superiore nostros prohibere et prœlium committere cœperunt. Repulsi ab equitatu, se in silvas abdiderunt, locum nacti, egregie et natura et opere munitum, quem domestici belli, ut videbatur, causa jam ante præparaverant: nam [1]crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant præclusi. Ipsi ex silvis rari [2]propugnabant, nostrosque intra munitiones ingredi prohibebant. At milites legionis septimæ, [3]testudine facta et aggere ad munitiones adjecto, locum ceperunt eosque ex silvis expulerunt, paucis vulneribus acceptis. Sed eos fugientes longius Cæsar prosequi vetuit, et quod loci naturam ignorabat, et quod, magna parte diei consumta, munitioni castrorum tempus relinqui volebat.

10. Postridie ejus diei mane tripartito [4]milites equitesque in expeditionem misit, ut eos, qui fugerant, persequerentur. His aliquantum itineris progressis, cum jam extremi essent in prospectu, equites a Quinto Atrio ad Cæsarem venerunt, qui nunciarent, [5]superiore nocte, maxima coorta tempestate, prope omnes naves afflictas atque in littore ejectas esse; quod neque anchoræ funesque [6]subsisterent, neque nautæ gubernatoresque vim pati tempestatis possent: itaque [7]ex eo concursu navium magnum esse incommodum acceptum

11. His rebus cognitis, Cæsar legiones equitatumque revocari atque itinere desistere jubet: ipse ad naves revertitur: eadem fere, quæ ex nuntiis literisque cognoverat, [8]coram perspicit, sic ut, amissis circiter quadraginta navibus, reliquæ tamen refici posse magno negotio viderentur Itaque ex legionibus [9]fabros delegit, et ex continenti alios arcessiri jubet; Labieno scribit, [10]ut, quam plurimas posset, iis legionibus quæ sint apud eum, naves instituat. Ipse, etsi res erat multæ operæ ac laboris, tamen commodissimum

esse statuit omnes naves [1]subduci et cum castris una munitione conjungi. In his rebus circiter dies decem consumit, ne nocturnis quidem temporibus ad laborem militum intermissis. Subductis navibus castrisque egregie munitis, easdem copias, quas ante, præsidio navibus reliquit: ipse eodem, [2]unde redierat, proficiscitur. Eo cum venisset, majores jam undique in eum locum copiæ Britannorum convenerant, [3]summa imperii bellique administrandi communi consilio permissa Cassivellauno, cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis, a mari circiter millia passuum octoginta. Huic [4]superiore tempore cum reliquis civitatibus continentia bella intercesserant: sed nostro adventu permoti Britanni hunc toti bello imperioque præfecerant.

12. Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur, [5]quos natos in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt: maritima pars ab iis, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierant; qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, [6]quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt, et bello illato ibi remanserunt atque agros colere cœperunt. [7]Hominum est infinita multitudo, creberrimaque ædificia, fere Gallicis consimilia: pecorum magnus numerus. [8]Utuntur aut ære, aut taleis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo. [9]Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum; sed ejus exigua est copia: ære utuntur importato. [10]Materia cujusque generis, ut in Gallia, est, præter fagum atque abietem. Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare, fas non putant; hæc tamen alunt [11]animi voluptatisque causa. Loca sunt temperatiora, quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.

13. Insula natura [12]triquetra, cujus unum latus est contra Galliam. Hujus lateris alter angulus, qui est [13]ad Cantium, quo fere omnes ex Gallia naves appelluntur, ad orientem solem; inferior ad meridiem spectat. Hoc latus tenet circiter millia passuum quingenta. Alterum vergit [14]ad His-

paniam atque occidentem solem, qua ex parte est Hibernia, [1]dimidio minor, ut æstimatur, quam Britannia; [2]sed pari spatio transmissus, atque ex Gallia, est in Britanniam. In hoc medio cursu est insula, quæ appellatur [3]Mona; complures præterea minores objectæ insulæ existimantur; de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt, [4]dies continuos triginta sub bruma esse noctem. Nos nihil de eo percontationibus reperiebamus, [5]nisi certis ex aqua mensuris breviores esse, quam in continente, noctes videbamus. Hujus est longitudo lateris, ut fert illorum opinio, [6]septingentorum millium. Tertium est [7]contra septentriones, cui parti nulla est objecta terra; sed ejus angulus lateris maxime ad Germaniam spectat: huic millia passuum octingenta in longitudinem esse existimatur. Ita omnis insula est in circuitu vicies centum millium passuum.

14. Ex his omnibus longe sunt [8]humanissimi, qui Cantium incolunt, quæ regio est maritima omnis; neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine. Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt, pellibusque sunt vestiti. Omnes vero [9]se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cœruleum efficit colorem, [10]atque hoc horridiore sunt in pugna aspectu: [11]capilloque sunt promisso atque omni parte corporis rasa, præter caput et labrum superius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus parentesque cum liberis; sed, si qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, [12]quo primum virgo quæque deducta est.

15. Equites hostium essedariique acriter prœlio cum equitatu nostro in itinere conflixerunt, [13]tamen ut nostri omnibus partibus superiores fuerint, atque eos in silvas collesque compulerint: sed compluribus interfectis, [14]cupidius insecuti, nonnullos ex suis amiserunt. At illi, intermisso spatio, imprudentibus nostris atque occupatis in munitione castrorum, subito se ex silvis ejecerunt, impetuque in eos facto, qui erant in statione pro castris collocati

acriter pugnaverunt: duabusque [1]submissis cohortibus a Cæsare, [2]atque his primis legionum duarum, [3]cum hæ, perexiguo intermisso loci spatio inter se, constitissent, novo genere pugnæ perterritis nostris, per medios audacissime [4]perruperunt, seque inde incolumes receperunt. Eo die Quintus Laberius Durus, tribunus militum, interficitur. Illi, pluribus immissis cohortibus, repelluntur.

16. Toto hoc in genere pugnæ, [5]cum sub oculis omnium ac pro castris dimicaretur, intellectum est, nostros propter gravitatem armaturæ, quod neque insequi [6]cedentes possent, neque ab signis discedere auderent, minus aptos esse ad hujus generis hostem; equites autem magno cum periculo [7]dimicare, propterea quod illi etiam consulto plerumque cederent, et, cum paulum ab legionibus nostros removissent, ex essedis desilirent [8]et pedibus dispari prœlio contenderent. Equestris autem prœlii ratio et cedentibus et insequentibus par atque idem periculum inferebat. Accedebat huc, ut, nunquam [9]conferti, sed rari magnisque intervallis prœliarentur, stationesque dispositas haberent, atque alios alii deinceps exciperent, integrique et recentes defatigatis succederent.

17. Postero die procul a castris hostes in collibus constiterunt, rarique se ostendere et [10]lenius, quam pridie, nostros equites prœlio lacessere cœperunt. Sed meridie, cum Cæsar pabulandi causa tres legiones atque omnem equitatum cum Caio Trebonio legato misisset, repente ex omnibus partibus ad pabulatores advolaverunt, [11]sic, uti ab signis legionibusque non absisterent. Nostri, acriter in eos impetu facto, repulerunt, neque finem sequendi fecerunt, [12]quoad subsidio confisi equites, cum post se legiones viderent, præcipites hostes egerunt: magnoque eorum numero interfecto, neque sui colligendi, neque consistendi, aut ex essedis desiliendi facultatem dederunt. Ex hac fuga protinus, quæ undique convenerant, auxilia discesserunt: neque post id tempus unquam [13]summis nobiscum copiis hostes contenderunt.

18. Cæsar, cognito consilio eorum, ad flumen Tamesin in fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit; quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc ægre, transiri potest. Eo cum venisset, [1]animum advertit, ad alteram fluminis ripam magnas esse copias hostium instructas: [2]ripa autem erat acutis sudibus præfixis munita; ejusdemque generis sub aqua defixæ sudes flumine tegebantur. His rebus cognitis a captivis perfugisque, Cæsar, præmisso equitatu, confestim legiones subsequi jussit. Sed ea celeritate atque eo impetu milites ierunt, [3]cum capite solo ex aqua exstarent, ut hostes impetum legionum atque equitum sustinere non possent, ripasque dimitterent ac se fugæ mandarent.

19. Cassivellaunus, [4]ut supra demonstravimus, omni deposita spe contentionis, dimissis amplioribus copiis, millibus circiter quatuor essedariorum relictis, itinera nostra servabat, paululumque [5]ex via excedebat, locisque impeditis ac silvestribus sese occultabat, atque iis regionibus, quibus nos iter facturos cognoverat, pecora atque homines ex agris in silvas compellebat: et, cum equitatus noster, liberius prædandi vastandique causa, se in agros effunderet, omnibus viis notis semitisque essedarios ex silvis emittebat, et [6]magno cum periculo nostrorum equitum cum iis confligebat, atque hoc metu latius vagari prohibebat. [7]Relinquebatur, ut neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi Cæsar pateretur, et tantum in agris vastandis incendiisque faciendis hostibus noceretur, quantum labore atque itinere legionarii milites efficere poterant.

20. Interim Trinobantes, prope firmissima earum regionum civitas, ex qua Mandubratius adolescens, Cæsaris fidem secutus, ad eum in [8]continentem Galliam venerat (cujus pater Imanuentius in ea civitate regnum obtinuerat, interfectusque erat a Cassivellauno, ipse fuga mortem vitaverat), legatos ad Cæsarem mittunt, pollicenturque, sese ei dedituros atque imperata facturos: petunt, ut Mandubratium ab injuria Cassivellauni defendat, [9]atque in civitatem

mittat, qui præsit imperiumque obtineat. His Cæsar imperat obsides quadraginta frumentumque exercitui, Mandubratiumque ad eos mittit. Illi imperata celeriter fecerunt, obsides ad numerum frumentaque miserunt.

21. Trinobantibus defensis atque [2]ab omni militum injuria prohibitis, Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi, legationibus missis sese Cæsari dedunt. Ab his cognoscit, non longe ex eo loco [3]oppidum Cassivellauni abesse, silvis paludibusque munitum, quo satis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit. ([4]Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandæ causa convenire consuerunt.) Eo proficiscitur cum legionibus: [5]locum reperit egregie natura atque opere munitum; tamen hunc duabus ex partibus oppugnare contendit. Hostes, paulisper morati, militum nostrorum impetum non tulerunt, seseque alia ex parte oppidi ejecerunt. Magnus ibi numerus pecoris repertus, multique in fuga sunt comprehensi atque interfecti.

22. Dum hæc in his locis geruntur, Cassivellaunus ad Cantium, quod esse [6]ad mare supra demonstravimus, quibus regionibus quatuor reges præerant, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, Segonax, nuncios mittit, atque his imperat, uti, coactis omnibus copiis, [7]castra navalia de improviso adoriantur atque oppugnent. Ii cum ad castra venissent, nostri, eruptione facta, multis eorum interfectis, capto etiam nobili duce Lugotorige, suos incolumes reduxerunt. Cassivellaunus, hoc prœlio nunciato, tot detrimentis acceptis, vastatis finibus, maxime etiam permotus defectione civitatium, legatos per Atrebatem Commium de deditione ad Cæsarem mittit. Cæsar, cum statuisset hiemem [8]in continenti propter repentinos Galliæ motus agere, neque multum æstatis superesset, atque id facile extrahi posse intelligeret, obsides imperat, et, quid in annos singulos vectigalis Populo Romano Britannia penderet, constituit: interdicit at-

que imperat Cassivellauno, ne Mandubratio, neu Trinobantibus bellum faciat.

23. Obsidibus acceptis, exercitum reducit ad mare, naves invenit [1]refectas. His deductis, quod et captivorum magnum numerum habebat, et nonnullæ tempestate deperierant naves, [2]duobus commeatibus exercitum reportare instituit. At sic accidit, uti ex tanto navium numero, tot [3]navigationibus, neque hoc, neque superiore anno, ulla omnino navis, quæ milites portaret, desideraretur: at ex iis, quæ inanes ex continenti ad eum remitterentur, et [4]prioris commeatus expositis militibus, et quas postea Labienus faciendas curaverat numero sexaginta, perpaucæ locum caperent; reliquæ fere omnes rejicerentur. Quas cum aliquamdiu Cæsar frustra expectasset, ne anni tempore a navigatione excluderetur, quod æquinoctium suberat, necessario [5]angustius milites collocavit, ac, summa tranquillitate consecuta, secunda inita cum solvisset vigilia, prima luce terram attigit, omnesque incolumes naves perduxit.

24. [6]Subductis navibus, concilioque Gallorum Samarobrivæ peracto, quod eo anno [7]frumentum in Gallia propter siccitates angustius provenerat, coactus est aliter, ac superioribus annis, exercitum in hibernis collocare, legionesque [8]in plures civitates distribuere: ex quibus unam in Morinos ducendam Caio Fabio legato dedit; alteram in Nervios Quintio Ciceroni; tertiam in Essuos Lucio Roscio; quartam in Remis cum Tito Labieno in confinio Trevirorum hiemare jussit; tres [9]in Belgio collocavit: his Marcum Crassum quæstorem, et Lucium Munatium Plancum et Caium Trebonium, legatos, præfecit. Unam legionem, quam proxime trans Padum conscripserat, et cohortes quinque in Eburones, quorum pars maxima est inter Mosam ac Rhenum, qui sub imperio Ambiorigis et Cativolci erant, misit. His militibus Quintum Titurium Sabinum et Lucium Aurunculeium Cottam, legatos, præesse jussit. Ad hunc modum distributis legionibus, facillime inopiæ frumentariæ sese [10]mederi posse

existimavit: atque harum tamen omnium hiberna (præter eam, quam Lucio Roscio in pacatissimam et quietissimam partem ducendam dederat), [1]millibus passuum centum continebantur. Ipse interea, quoad legiones collocasset munitaque hiberna cognovisset, in Gallia morari constituit.

25. Erat in Carnutibus summo loco natus Tasgetius, cujus majores in sua civitate regnum obtinuerant. Huic Cæsar, pro ejus virtute atque in se benevolentia, quod in omnibus bellis singulari ejus opera fuerat usus, majorum locum restituerat. [2]Tertium jam hunc annum regnantem inimici palam, multis etiam ex civitate auctoribus, interfecerunt. Defertur ea res ad Cæsarem. Ille veritus, [3]quod ad plures pertinebat, ne civitas eorum impulsu deficeret, Lucium Plancum cum legione ex Belgio celeriter in Carnutes proficisci jubet, ibique hiemare; quorumque opera cognoverit Tasgetium interfectum, hos comprehensos ad se mittere. Interim ab omnibus legatis quæstoribusque, quibus legiones transdiderat, certior factus est, [4]in hiberna perventum locumque hibernis esse munitum.

26. Diebus circiter quindecim, quibus in hiberna ventum est, initium repentini tumultus ac defectionis ortum est ab Ambiorige et Cativolco: qui cum [5]ad fines regni sui Sabino Cottæque præsto fuissent, frumentumque in hiberna comportavissent, Indutiomari Treviri nunciis impulsi, suos concitaverunt, subitoque oppressis lignatoribus, magna manu castra oppugnatum venerunt. Cum celeriter nostri arma cepissent vallumque ascendissent, atque, una ex parte Hispanis equitibus emissis, equestri prælio superiores fuissent, desperata re, hostes suos ab oppugnatione reduxerunt. Tum suo more conclamaverunt, uti aliqui ex nostris ad colloquium prodirent; habere sese, quæ [6]de re communi dicere vellent, quibus rebus controversias minui posse sperarent.

27. Mittitur ad eos colloquendi causa Caius Arpineius, eques Romanus, familiaris Quintii Titurii, et Quintus Junius ex Hispania quidam, qui jam ante [7]missu Cæsaris ad

Ambiorigem ventitare consueverat: apud quos Ambiorix ad hunc modum locutus est: "Sese pro Cæsaris in se beneficiis [1]plurimum ei confiteri debere, quod ejus opera stipendio liberatus esset, quod Aduatucis finitimis suis pendere consuesset: quodque ei et filius et fratris filius ab Cæsare remissi essent, quos Aduatuci, obsidum numero missos, apud se in servitute et catenis tenuissent: neque id, quod fecerit [2]de oppugnatione castrorum, aut judicio aut voluntate sua fecisse, sed coactu civitatis; [3]suaque esse ejusmodi imperia, ut non minus haberet juris in se multitudo, quam ipse in multitudinem. Civitati porro hanc fuisse belli causam, quod repentinæ Gallorum conjurationi resistere non potuerit: id se facile [4]ex humilitate sua probare posse, quod non adeo sit imperitus rerum, ut suis copiis Populum Romanum se superare posse confidat: [5]sed esse Galliæ commune consilium; omnibus hibernis Cæsaris oppugnandis hunc esse dictum diem, ne qua legio alteræ legioni subsidio venire posset: [6]non facile Gallos Gallis negare potuisse, præsertim cum de recuperanda communi libertate consilium initum videretur. [7]Quibus quoniam pro pietate satisfecerit, habere se nunc rationem officii pro beneficiis Cæsaris; monere, orare Titurium [8]pro hospitio, ut suæ ac militum saluti consulat: magnam manum Germanorum conductam Rhenum transisse; hanc affore biduo. [9]Ipsorum esse consilium, velintne prius, quam finitimi sentiant, eductos ex hibernis milites aut ad Ciceronem aut ad Labienum deducere, quorum alter millia passuum circiter quinquaginta, alter paulo amplius ab his absit. Illud se polliceri et jurejurando confirmare, tutum iter per fines suos daturum; [10]quod cum faciat, et civitati sese consulere, quod hibernis levetur, et Cæsari pro ejus meritis gratiam referre." Hac oratione habita, discedit Ambiorix.

28. Arpineius et Junius, quæ audierint, ad legatos deferunt. Illi, repentina re perturbati, etsi ab hoste ea dicebantur, non tamen negligenda existimabant: maximeque

hac re permovebantur, quod, civitatem ignobilem atque humilem Eburonum sua sponte Populo Romano bellum facere ausam, vix erat credendum. Itaque [1]ad consilium rem deferunt magnaque inter eos existit controversia. Lucius Aurunculeius compluresque tribuni militum et primorum ordinum centuriones "nihil temere agendum, neque ex hibernis injussu Cæsaris discedendum," existimabant: "quantasvis, magnas etiam copias Germanorum sustineri posse munitis hibernis," docebant: [2]"rem esse testimonio, quod primum hostium impetum, multis ultro vulneribus illatis, fortissime sustinuerint: [3]re frumentaria non premi: interea et ex proximis hibernis et a Cæsare conventura subsidia:" postremo, "quid esse [4]levius aut turpius, quam, auctore hoste, de summis rebus capere consilium?"

29. Contra ea Titurius, [5]"sero facturos," clamitabat, "cum majores hostium manus, adjunctis Germanis, convenissent: aut cum [6]aliquid calamitatis in proximis hibernis esset acceptum, brevem consulendi esse occasionem: Cæsarem arbitrari profectum in Italiam: neque aliter Carnutes interficiendi Tasgetii consilium fuisse capturos, neque Eburones, si ille adesset, tanta cum contemtione nostri ad castra venturos esse: [7]non hostem auctorem, sed rem spectare; subesse Rhenum; magno esse Germanis dolori Ariovisti mortem et superiores nostras victorias: [8]ardere Galliam, tot contumeliis acceptis sub Populi Romani imperium redactam, superiore gloria rei militaris extincta." Postremo, "quis hoc sibi persuaderet, [9]sine certa re Ambiorigem ad ejusmodi consilium descendisse? Suam sententiam in utramque partem esse tutam: [10]si nil sit durius, nullo periculo ad proximam legionem perventuros; si Gallia omnis cum Germanis consentiat, [11]unam esse in celeritate positam salutem. Cottæ quidem atque eorum, qui dissentirent, consilium quem haberet exitum? In quo si non [12]præsens periculum, at certe longinqua obsidione fames esset pertimescenda."

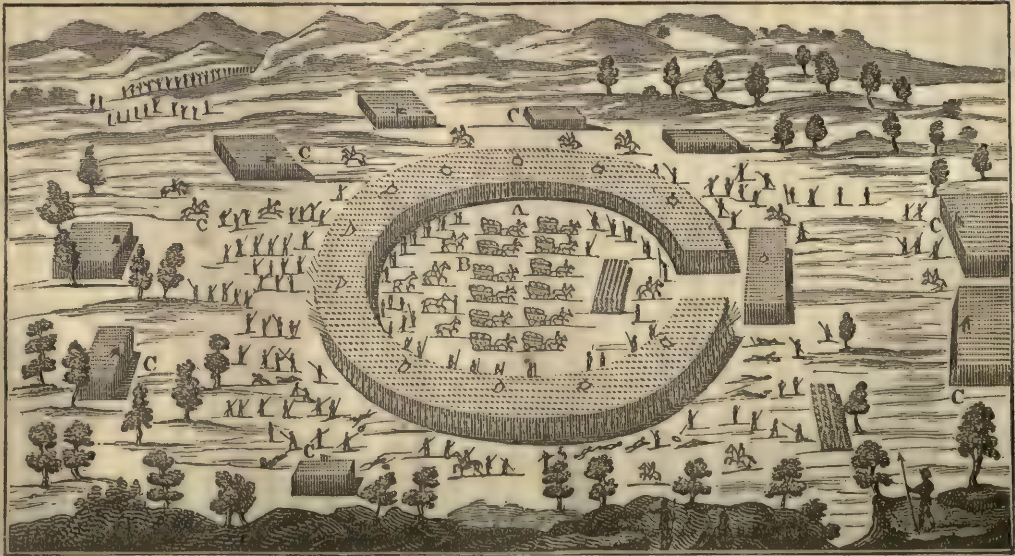
30. Hac in utramque partem disputatione habita, cum a Cotta [1]primisque ordinibus acriter resisteretur, [2]"Vincite," inquit, "si ita vultis," Sabinus, et id clariore voce, ut magna pars militum exaudiret: "neque is sum," inquit, "qui gravissime ex vobis mortis periculo terrear: [3]hi sapient, et si gravius quid acciderit, abs te rationem reposcent: [4]qui, si per te liceat, perendino die cum proximis hibernis conjuncti, communem cum reliquis belli casum sustineant, nec [5]rejecti et relegati longe ab ceteris aut ferro aut fame intereant."

31. [6]Consurgitur ex consilio; comprehendunt utrumque et orant, "ne sua dissensione et pertinacia rem in summum periculum deducant: facilem esse [7]rem, seu maneant, seu proficiscantur, si modo unum omnes sentiant ac probent; contra in dissensione nullam se salutem perspicere." Res disputatione ad mediam noctem perducitur. Tandem [8]dat Cotta permotus manus; superat sententia Sabini. [9]Pronunciatur, prima luce ituros: [10]consumitur vigiliis reliqua pars noctis, cum sua quisque miles circumspiceret, quid secum portare posset, quid ex instrumento hibernorum relinquere cogeretur. [11]Omnia excogitantur, quare nec sine periculo maneatur et languore militum et vigiliis periculum augeatur. Prima luce sic ex castris proficiscuntur, ut quibus esset persuasum, non ab hoste, sed ab homine amicissimo Ambiorige consilium datum, longissimo agmine maximisque impedimentis.

32. At hostes, [12]posteaquam ex nocturno fremitu vigiliisque de profectione eorum senserunt, collocatis insidiis bipartito in silvis opportuno atque occulto loco, [13]a millibus passuum circiter duobus, Romanorum adventum expectabant: et, cum se major pars agminis in magnam [14]convallem demisisset, ex utraque parte ejus vallis subito se ostenderunt, novissimosque premere et primos prohibere ascensu atque iniquissimo nostris loco prœlium committere cœperunt

33. Tum demum Titurius, [15]ut qui nihil ante providisset, trepidare, concursare, cohortesque disponere; hæc tamen

TITURIUS SABINUS AND AURUNCULEIUS COTTA, BEING ATTACKED BY AMBIORIX, FORM THEIR TROOPS INTO AN ORB.



A. Roman Army formed into an orb. B. Baggage. C. Ambiorix appearing on a sudden and surrounding the Roman forces.

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ipsa timide atque ut eum omnia deficere viderentur: quod plerumque iis accidere consuevit, [1]qui in ipso negotio consilium capere coguntur. At Cotta, qui cogitasset, hæc posse in itinere accidere, atque ob eam causam profectionis [2]auctor non fuisset, nulla in re communi saluti deerat, et in appellandis cohortandisque militibus, imperatoris; et in pugna, militis officia præstabat. Cumque propter longitudinem agminis [3]minus facile per se omnia obire, et, quid quoque loco faciendum esset, providere possent, [4]jusserunt pronuntiare, ut impedimenta relinquerent atque in orbem consisterent. Quod consilium etsi in ejusmodi casu reprehendendum non est, tamen [5]incommode accidit: nam et nostris militibus [6]spem minuit, et hostes ad pugnam alacriores effecit, quod non sine summo timore et desperatione id factum videbatur. Præterea accidit, quod fieri necesse erat, ut [7]vulgo milites ab signis discederent, quæ quisque eorum carissima haberet, ab impedimentis petere atque abripere properaret, clamore ac fletu omnia complerentur.

34. At [8]barbaris consilium non defuit: nam duces eorum tota acie [9]pronuntiare jusserunt, "ne quis ab loco discederet: [10]illorum esse prædam, atque illis reservari, quæcumque Romani reliquissent: proinde omnia in victoria posita existimarent." [11]Erant et virtute et numero pugnando pares nostri, tamen etsi ab duce et a fortuna deserebantur, tamen omnem spem salutis in virtute ponebant, et, quoties quæque cohors [12]procurreret, ab ea parte magnus hostium numerus cadebat. Qua re animadversa, Ambiorix pronuntiari jubet ut procul tela conjiciant, neu propius accedant, et, quam in partem Romani impetum fecerint, [13]cedant (levitate armorum et quotidiana exercitatione nihil iis noceri posse) [14]rursus se ad signa recipientes insequantur.

35. Quo præcepto ab iis diligentissime observato, cum quæpiam cohors ex orbe [15]excesserat atque impetum fecerat. hostes velocissime refugiebant. Interim eam partem nudari necesse erat et ab latere aperto tela recipi. Rursus, cum

in eum locum, unde erant progressi, reverti cœperant, et ab iis, qui cesserant, et ab iis, qui proximi steterant, circumveniebantur; sin autem [1]locum tenere vellent, nec virtuti locus relinquebatur, neque ab tanta multitudine conjecta tela conferti vitare poterant. Tamen [2]tot incommodis conflictati, multis vulneribus acceptis, resistebant et, magna parte diei consumta, cum a prima luce [3]ad horam octavam pugnaretur, nihil, quod ipsis esset indignum, committebant. Tum Tito Balventio, qui superiore anno [4]primum pilum duxerat, viro forti et magnæ auctoritatis, utrumque femur tragula transjicitur. Quintus Lucanius, [5]ejusdem ordinis, fortissime pugnans, dum circumvento filio subvenit, interficitur: Lucius Cotta, legatus, omnes cohortes ordinesque adhortans, [6]in adversum os funda vulneratur.

36. His rebus permotus Quintus Titurius, cum procul Ambiorigem suos cohortantem conspexisset, interpretem suum, Cneium Pompeium, ad eum mittit, rogatum, ut sibi militibusque parcat. [7]Ille appellatus respondit: "si velit secum colloqui, licere; sperare, a multitudine impetrari posse, quod ad militum salutem pertineat; ipsi vero nihil nocitum iri, inque eam rem se suam fidem interponere." [8]Ille cum Cotta saucio communicat, "si videatur, pugna ut excedant et cum Ambiorige una colloquantur: sperare, ab eo de sua ac militum salute impetrare posse." Cotta se ad armatum hostem iturum negat [9]atque in eo constitit.

37. Sabinus, quos [10]in præsentia tribunos militum circum se habebat et primorum ordinum centuriones, se sequi jubet, et, cum propius Ambiorigem accessisset, jussus arma abjicere, imperatum facit, suisque, ut idem faciant, imperat. Interim, dum de conditionibus inter se agunt, [11]longiorque consulto ab Ambiorige instituitur sermo, paulatim circumventus interficitur. Tum vero suo more [12]victoriam conclamant atque ululatum tollunt, impetuque in nostros facto ordines perturbant. Ibi Lucius Cotta pugnans interficitur

cum maxima parte militum, reliqui se in castra recipiunt, unde erant egressi: ex quibus Lucius Petrosidius aquilifer, cum magna multitudine hostium premeretur, aquilam intra vallum projecit, ipse pro castris fortissime pugnans occiditur. [1]Illi ægre ad noctem oppugnationem sustinent: noctu ad unum omnes, desperata salute, se ipsi interficiunt. Pauci ex prœlio elapsi, incertis itineribus per silvas ad Titum Labienum legatum in hiberna perveniunt atque eum de rebus gestis certiorem faciunt.

38. Hac victoria [2]sublatus Ambiorix, statim cum equitatu in Aduatucos, qui erant ejus regno finitimi, proficiscitur; neque noctem neque diem intermittit, peditatumque se subsequi jubet. [3]Re demonstrata, Aduatucisque concitatis, postero die in Nervios pervenit, hortaturque, "ne sui in perpetuum liberandi atque ulciscendi Romanos, pro iis, quas acceperint, injuriis, occasionem dimittant: interfectos esse legatos duo magnamque partem exercitus interisse" demonstrat; [4]"nihil esse negotii, subito oppressam legionem, quæ cum Cicerone hiemet, interfici; se ad eam rem profitetur adjutorem." Facile hac oratione Nerviis persuadet.

39. Itaque, confestim dimissis nunciis ad Ceutrones, Grudios, Levacos, Pleumoxios, Geidunos, qui omnes sub eorum imperio sunt, quam maximas manus possunt, cogunt, et de improviso ad Ciceronis hiberna advolant, nondum ad eum fama de Titurii morte perlata. [5]Huic quoque accidit, quod fuit necesse, ut nonnulli milites, qui [6]lignationis munitionisque causa in silvas discessissent, repentino equitum adventu interciperentur. His circumventis, magna manu Eburones, Nervii, Aduatuci atque horum omnium socii et clientes, legionem oppugnare incipiunt: nostri celeriter ad arma concurrunt, vallum conscendunt. Ægre is dies [7]sustentatur, quod omnem spem hostes in celeritate ponebant, atque, hanc adepti victoriam, in perpetuum se fore victores confidebant

40 Mittuntur ad Cæsarem confestim ab Cicerone literæ [1]magnis propositis præmiis, si pertulissent. Obsessis omnibus viis, missi intercipiuntur. Noctu ex ea materia, quam munitionis causa comportaverant, [2]turres admodum centum et viginti excitantur incredibili celeritate: quæ deesse operi videbantur, perficiuntur. Hostes postero die, multo majoribus copiis coactis, castra oppugnant, fossam complent Ab nostris eadem ratione, qua pridie, resistitur: hoc idem deinceps reliquis fit diebus. Nulla pars nocturni temporis ad laborem intermittitur: non ægris, non vulneratis, facultas quietis datur: quæcumque ad proximi diei oppugnationem opus sunt, noctu comparantur: multæ [3]præustæ sudes, magnus muralium pilorum numerus instituitur; [4]turres contabulantur, pinnæ loricæque ex cratibus attexuntur. Ipse Cicero, [5]cum tenuissima valetudine esset, ne nocturnum quidem sibi tempus ad quietem relinquebat, [6]ut ultro militum concursu ac vocibus sibi parcere cogeretur.

41. Tunc duces principesque Nerviorum, [7]qui aliquem sermonis aditum causamque amicitiæ cum Cicerone habebant, colloqui sese velle dicunt. Facta potestate, eadem, quæ Ambiorix cum Titurio egerat, commemorant, "omnem esse in armis Galliam, Germanos Rhenum transisse, Cæsaris reliquorumque hiberna oppugnari." Addunt etiam de Sabini morte. [8]Ambiorigem ostentant fidei faciendæ causa: "errare [9]eos" dicunt, "si quicquam ab his præsidii sperent, qui suis rebus diffidant; sese tamen [10]hoc esse in Ciceronem Populumque Romanum animo, ut nihil nisi hiberna recusent atque hanc inveterascere consuetudinem nolint: licere [11]illis incolumibus per se ex hibernis discedere, et, quascumque in partes velint, sine metu proficisci." [12]Cicero ad hæc unum modo respondit. "Non esse consuetudinem Populi Romani, ullam accipere ab hoste armato conditionem: si ab armis discedere velint, se [13]adjutore utantur, legatosque ad Cæsarem mittant: sperare, [14]pro ejus justitia, quæ petierint, impetraturos."

42. Ab hac spe repulsi Nervii, [1]vallo pedum undecim et fossa pedum quindecim hiberna cingunt. [2]Hæc et superiorum annorum consuetudine a nostris cognoverant, et, quosdam de exercitu nacti captivos, ab his docebantur: [3]sed, nulla ferramentorum copia, quæ sunt ad hunc usum idonea, gladiis cespitem circumcidere, manibus [4]sagulisque [5]terram exhaurire cogebantur. Qua quidem ex re hominum multitudo cognosci potuit: nam minus horis tribus [6]millium decem in circuitu munitionem perfecerunt: reliquisque diebus turres [7]ad altitudinem valli, falces [8]testudinesque, quas iidem captivi docuerant, parare ac facere cœperunt.

43. Septimo oppugnationis die, maximo coorto vento, [9]ferventes fusili ex argilla glandes fundis et [10]fervefacta jacula in casas, quæ more Gallico stramentis erant tectæ, jacere cœperunt. Hæ celeriter ignem comprehenderunt et venti magnitudine in omnem castrorum locum [11]distulerunt Hostes, maximo clamore insecuti, quasi parta jam atque explorata victoria, turres testudinesque [12]agere et scalis vallum ascendere cœperunt. At tanta militum virtus atque ea præsentia animi fuit, ut, cum undique flamma torrerentur, maximaque telorum multitudine premerentur, suaque omnia impedimenta atque omnes fortunas conflagrare intelligerent non modo [13]demigrandi causa de vallo decederet nemo, sed pæne ne respiceret quidem quisquam; ac tum omnes acerrime fortissimeque pugnarent. Hic dies nostris longe gravissimus fuit; sed tamen [14]hunc habuit eventum, ut eo die maximus hostium numerus vulneraretur atque interficeretur, [15]ut se sub ipso vallo constipaverant recessumque primis ultimi non dabant. Paulum quidem intermissa flamma, [16]et quodam loco turri adacta et contingente vallum, tertiæ cohortis centuriones ex eo, quo stabant, loco recesserunt suosque omnes removerunt; nutu vocibusque hostes, "si introire vellent," vocare cœperunt, quorum progredi ausus est nemo. Tum ex omni parte lapidibus conjectis [17]deturbati, turrisque succensa est.

44. Erant in ea legione fortissimi viri centuriones, [1]qui jam primis ordinibus appropinquarent, Tito Pulfio et Lucius Varenus. Hi perpetuas controversias inter se habebant, quinam anteferretur, omnibusque annis [2]de loco summis simultatibus contendebant. Ex iis Pulfio, cum acerrime ad munitiones pugnaretur, "Quid dubitas," inquit, "Varene? aut quem locum probandæ virtutis tuæ [3]spectas? hic, hic dies de nostris controversiis judicabit." Hæc cum dixisset, procedit extra munitiones, [4]quaque pars hostium confertissima visa est, in eam irrumpit. Ne Varenus quidem tum vallo sese continet, sed omnium veritus existimationem subsequitur. Tum, mediocri spatio relicto, Pulfio pilum in hostes mittit atque unum ex multitudine [5]procurrentem transjicit, quo percusso et exanimato, hunc scutis protegunt hostes, in illum tela universi conjiciunt neque dant regrediendi facultatem. Transfigitur scutum Pulfioni et [6]verutum in balteo defigitur. Avertit hic casus vaginam et gladium educere conanti dextram moratur manum; impeditum hostes circumsistunt. Succurrit inimicus illi Varenus et laboranti subvenit. Ad [7]hunc se confestim a Pulfione omnis multitudo convertit; illum veruto transfixum arbitrantur. Occursat ocius gladio cominusque rem gerit Varenus atque, uno interfecto, reliquos paulum propellit: dum cupidius instat, [8]in locum dejectus inferiorem concidit. Huic rursus circumvento fert subsidium Pulfio, atque ambo incolumes, compluribus interfectis, summa cum laude sese intra munitiones recipiunt. Sic fortuna [9]in contentione et certamine [10]utrumque versavit, ut alter alteri inimicus auxilio salutique esset, neque dijudicari posset, uter utri virtute anteferendus videretur.

45. Quanto erat in dies [11]gravior atque asperior oppugnatio, et maxime quod, magna parte militum confecta vulneribus, [12]res ad paucitatem defensorum pervenerat, tanto crebriores literæ nuntiique ad Cæsarem mittebantur: quorum pars deprehensa in conspectu nostrorum militum cum

cruciatu necabatur. Erat [1]unus intus Nervius, nomine Vertico, loco natus honesto, qui a prima obsidione ad Ciceronem perfugerat, [2]suamque ei fidem præstiterat. Hic servo spe libertatis magnisque persuadet præmiis, ut literas ad Cæsarem deferat. Has ille in jaculo illigatas effert, et, Gallus inter Gallos sine ulla suspicione versatus, ad Cæsarem pervenit. Ab eo de [3]periculis Ciceronis legionisque cognoscitur.

46. Cæsar, acceptis literis [4]hora circiter undecima diei, statim nuncium in Bellovacos ad Marcum Crassum quæstorem mittit; cujus hiberna aberant ab eo millia passuum viginti quinque. Jubet media nocte [5]legionem proficisci, celeriterque ad se venire. Exiit cum nuncio Crassus. Alterum ad Caium Fabium legatum mittit, ut in Atrebatium fines legionem adducat, [6]qua sibi iter faciendum sciebat. Scribit Labieno, si reipublicæ commodo facere posset, cum legione ad fines Nerviorum veniat: reliquam partem exercitus, quod paulo aberat longius, non putat expectandam; equites circiter quadringentos ex proximis hibernis cogit.

47. [7]Hora circiter tertia ab antecursoribus de Crassi adventu certior factus, eo die millia passuum viginti progreditur. Crassum Samarobrivæ præficit, [8]legionemque ei attribuit, quod ibi impedimenta exercitus, obsides civitatum, [9]literas publicas, frumentumque omne, quod eo tolerandæ hiemis causa devexerat, relinquebat. Fabius, ut imperatum erat, non ita multum moratus, in itinere cum legione occurrit. Labienus, interitu Sabini et cæde cohortium cognita, cum omnes ad eum Trevirorum copiæ venissent, veritus, ne, si ex hibernis fugæ similem profectionem fecisset, hostium impetum sustinere non posset, præsertim quos recenti victoria efferri sciret, literas Cæsari remittit, quanto cum periculo legionem ex hibernis educturus esset: [10]rem gestam in Eburonibus perscribit: docet, omnes peditatus equitatusque copias Trevirorum tria millia passuum longe ab suis castris consedisse.

48. Cæsar, consilio ejus probato, etsi, opinione trium legionum dejectus, ad duas redierat, tamen unum communis salutis auxilium in celeritate ponebat. Venit magnis itineribus in Nerviorum fines. Ibi ex captivis cognoscit, quæ apud Ciceronem gerantur, quantoque in periculo res sit. Tum cuidam ex equitibus Gallis magnis præmiis persuadet, uti ad Ciceronem epistolam deferat. Hanc [2]Græcis conscriptam literis mittit, ne, intercepta epistola, nostra ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur. [3]Si adire non possit, monet, ut tragulam cum epistola, ad amentum deligata, intra munitiones castrorum abjiciat. In literis scribit, se cum legionibus profectum celeriter affore: hortatur, ut pristinam virtutem retineat. Gallus, periculum veritus, ut erat præceptum, tragulam mittit. Hæc [4]casu ad turrim adhæsit, neque ab nostris biduo animadversa, tertio die a quodam milite conspicitur; demta ad Ciceronem defertur. [5]Ille perlectam in conventu militum recitat, maximaque omnes lætitia afficit. Tum [6]fumi incendiorum procul videbantur, quæ res omnem dubitationem adventus legionum expulit.

49. Galli, re cognita per exploratores, obsidionem relinquunt, ad Cæsarem omnibus copiis contendunt; eæ erant [7]armatorum circiter millia sexaginta. Cicero, [8]data facultate, Gallum ab eodem Verticone, quem supra demonstravimus, repetit; qui literas ad Cæsarem referat; hunc admonet, iter caute diligenterque faciat: perscribit in literis, hostes ab se discessisse, omnemque ad eum multitudinem convertisse. Quibus literis circiter media nocte [9]Cæsar allatis suos facit certiores, eosque ad dimicandum animo confirmat: postero die luce prima movet castra, et circiter millia passuum quatuor progressus, [10]trans vallem magnam et rivum multitudinem hostium conspicatur. Erat magni periculi res, cum tantis copiis iniquo loco dimicare. [11]Tum, quoniam liberatum obsidione Ciceronem sciebat, eoque omnino remittendum de celeritate existimabat, consedit, et, quam æquissimo potest loco, castra communit. Atque hæc

etsi erant exigua per se, vix hominum millium septem, præsertim nullis cum impedimentis, [1]tamen angustiis viarum quam maxime potest, contrahit, eo consilio, [2]ut in summam contemtionem hostibus veniat. Interim, speculatoribus in omnes partes dimissis, explorat, quo commodissimo itinere vallem transire possit.

50. Eo die, parvulis equestribus prœliis ad aquam factis, utrique sese suo loco continent; Galli, quod ampliores copias, quæ nondum convenerant, expectabant; Cæsar, si forte timoris simulatione hostes in suum locum elicere posset, ut [3]citra vallem pro castris prœlio contenderet; si id efficere non posset, ut, exploratis itineribus, minore cum periculo vallem rivumque transiret. Prima luce hostium equitatus ad castra accedit, prœliumque cum nostris equitibus committit. Cæsar consulto equites cedere seque in castra recipere jubet; simul ex omnibus partibus castra altiore vallo muniri, [4]portasque obstrui, atque in his administrandis rebus quam maxime concursari et cum simulatione timoris agi jubet.

51. Quibus omnibus rebus hostes invitati copias transducunt, aciemque iniquo loco constituunt; nostris vero [5]etiam de vallo deductis, propius accedunt, et tela intra munitionem ex omnibus partibus conjiciunt; præconibusque circummissis pronuntiari jubent, "seu quis Gallus seu Romanus velit ante horam tertiam ad se transire, sine periculo licere; post id tempus non fore potestatem:" [6]ac sic nostros contemserunt, ut obstructis in speciem portis singulis ordinibus cespitum, quod ea non posse introrumpere videbantur, alii vallum [7]manu scindere, alii fossas complere inciperent. Tum Cæsar, omnibus portis eruptione facta equitatuque emisso, celeriter hostes dat in fugam, sic, uti omnino pugnandi causa resisteret nemo; magnumque ex eis numerum occidit, atque omnes armis exuit.

52. Longius prosequi veritus, quod silvæ paludesque intercedebant, [8]neque etiam parvulo detrimento illorum locum

relinqui videbat, omnibus suis incolumibus copiis eodem die ad Ciceronem pervenit. Institutas turres, testudines, munitionesque hostium admiratur: [1]producta legione cognoscit, non decimum quemque esse relictum militem sine vulnere. Ex his omnibus judicat rebus, quanto cum periculo et quanta cum virtute res sint administratæ: Ciceronem [2]pro ejus merito legionemque collaudat: centuriones singillatim tribunosque militum appellat, quorum egregiam fuisse virtutem testimonio Ciceronis cognoverat. De casu Sabini et Cottæ certius ex captivis cognoscit. Postero die concione habita [3]rem gestam proponit, milites consolatur et confirmat: quod detrimentum culpa et temeritate legati sit acceptum, hoc æquiore animo ferendum docet, [4]quod, beneficio Deorum immortalium et virtute eorum [5]expiato incommodo, neque hostibus diutina lætatio, neque ipsis longior dolor relinquatur.

53. Interim ad Labienum per Remos incredibili celeritate de victoria Cæsaris fama perfertur, ut, cum ab hibernis Ciceronis abesset millia passuum circiter sexaginta, [6]eoque post horam nonam diei Cæsar pervenisset, ante mediam noctem ad portas castrorum clamor oriretur, quo clamore significatio victoriæ gratulatioque ab Remis Labieno fieret. Hac fama ad Treviros perlata, Indutiomarus, qui postero die castra Labieni oppugnare decreverat, noctu profugit, copiasque omnes in Treviros reducit. Cæsar Fabium cum legione in sua remittit hiberna, ipse cum tribus legionibus circum Samarobrivam [7]trinis hibernis hiemare constituit; et, quod tanti motus Galliæ extiterant, totam hiemem ipse ad exercitum manere decrevit. Nam illo incommodo de Sabini morte [8]perlato, omnes fere Galliæ civitates de bello consultabant, nuncios legationesque in omnes partes dimittebant, et, quid reliqui consilii caperent atque unde initium belli fieret, explorabant, nocturnaque in locis desertis concilia habebant. Neque ullum fere totius hiemis tempus sine solicitudine Cæsaris intercessit, [9]quin aliquem

de conciliis ac motu Gallorum nuncium acciperet. In his ab Lucio Roscio legato, quem legioni decimæ tertiæ præfecerat, certior est factus, magnas Gallorum copias earum civitatum, quæ [1]Armoricæ appellantur, oppugnandi sui causa convenisse: neque longius millia passuum octo ab hibernis suis afuisse, sed nuncio allato de victoria Cæsaris, discessisse, adeo ut fugæ similis discessus videretur.

54. At Cæsar, principibus cujusque civitatis ad se evocatis, alias territando, cum se scire, quæ fierent, denunciaret, alias cohortando, magnam partem Galliæ in officio tenuit. Tamen Senones, quæ est civitas in primis firma et magnæ inter Gallos auctoritatis, Cavarinum, quem Cæsar apud eos regem constituerat (cujus frater Moritasgus, adventu in Galliam Cæsaris, cujusque majores regnum obtinuerant), interficere publico consilio conati, cum ille præsensisset ac profugisset, usque ad fines insecuti, regno domoque expulerunt: et, missis ad Cæsarem satisfaciendi causa legatis, cum is omnem ad se senatum venire jussisset, dicto audientes non fuerunt. [2]Tantum apud homines barbaros valuit, esse repertos aliquos principes belli inferendi, tantamque omnibus voluntatum commutationem attulit, ut præter Æduos et Remos, quos [3]præcipuo semper honore Cæsar habuit, alteros pro vetere ac perpetua erga Populum Romanum fide, alteros pro recentibus Gallici belli officiis, nulla fere civitas fuerit non suspecta nobis. [4]Idque adeo haud scio mirandumne sit, cum compluribus aliis de causis, tum maxime, [5]quod, qui virtute belli omnibus gentibus præferebantur, tantum se ejus opinionis deperdidisse, ut a Populo Romano imperia perferrent, gravissime dolebant.

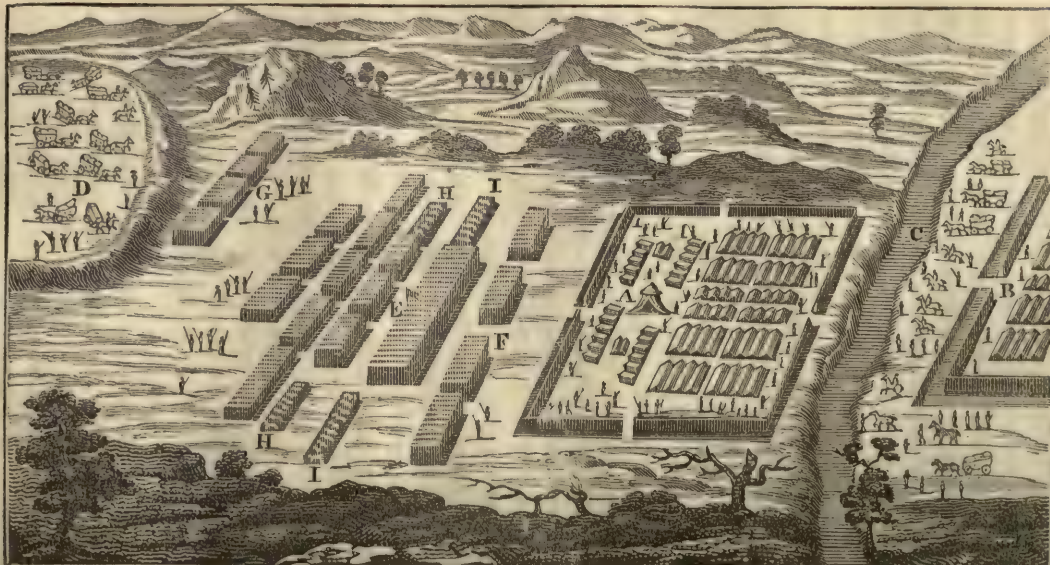
55. Treviri vero atque Indutiomarus totius hiemis nullum tempus intermiserunt, quin trans Rhenum legatos mitterent, civitates solicitarent, pecunias pollicerentur, magna parte exercitus nostri interfecta, multo minorem superesse dicerent partem. Neque tamen ulli civitati Germanorum persuaderi potuit, ut Rhenum transiret, cum "se bis expertos"

dicerent, "Ariovisti bello et Tenchtherorum transitu, non esse amplius fortunam tentandam." [1]Hac spe lapsus Indutiomarus, nihilo minus copias cogere, exercere, a finitimis equos parare, exules damnatosque tota Gallia magnis præmiis ad se allicere cœpit. Ac tantam sibi jam iis rebus in Gallia auctoritatem comparaverat, ut undique ad eum legationes concurrerent, gratiam atque amicitiam publice privatimque peterent.

56. Ubi intellexit [2]ultro ad se veniri, altera ex parte Senones Carnutesque conscientia facinoris instigari, altera Nervios Aduatucosque bellum Romanis parare, neque sibi voluntariorum copias defore, si ex finibus suis progredi cœpisset: [3]armatum concilium indicit (hoc more Gallorum est initium belli), quo lege communi omnes puberes armati convenire consuerunt; qui ex iis novissimus venit, in conspectu multitudinis [4]omnibus cruciatibus affectus necatur. In eo concilio Cingetorigem, [5]alterius principem factionis, generum suum (quem supra demonstravimus, Cæsaris secutum fidem, ab eo non discessisse), hostem judicat, bonaque ejus publicat. His rebus confectis, in concilio pronuntiat, arcessitum se a Senonibus et Carnutibus aliisque compluribus Galliæ civitatibus, [6]huc iter facturum per fines Remorum, eorumque agros populaturum, ac prius, quam id faciat, Labieni castra oppugnaturum: quæ fieri velit, præcipit.

57. Labienus, cum et loci natura et manu munitissimis castris sese teneret, de suo ac legionis periculo nihil timebat; ne quam occasionem rei bene gerendæ dimitteret, cogitabat. Itaque a Cingetorige atque ejus propinquis oratione Indutiomari cognita, quam in concilio habuerat, nuncios mittit ad finitimas civitates, equitesque undique evocat: iis certum diem conveniendi dicit. Interim prope quotidie cum omni equitatu Indutiomarus [7]sub castris ejus vagabatur alias ut situm castrorum cognosceret, alias colloquendi aut territandi causa: equites plerumque omnes tela intra vallum conjiciebant. Labienus suos intra munitiones continebat

LABIENUS, BY A PRETENDED FLIGHT, INDUCES THE TREVIRI TO CROSS THE RIVER IN THEIR FRONT AND DEFEATS THEM.



A. Camp of Labienus. B. Camp of the Treviri. C. River, difficult to cross, between the two camps. D. Baggage of the Romans, on a rising ground. E. Roman Army. F. Army of the Treviri. G. Troops detached to guard the Roman Baggage. H. Cavalry of the Romans, stationed on the wings. I. Cavalry of the Treviri.

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[1]timorisque opinionem, quibuscumque poterat rebus, augebat.

58. Cum majore in dies contemtione Indutiomarus ad castra accederet, nocte una, [2]intromissis equitibus omnium finitimarum civitatum, quos arcessendos curaverat, tanta diligentia omnes suos custodiis intra castra continuit, ut nulla ratione ea res enunciari aut ad Treviros perferri posset. Interim ex consuetudine quotidiana Indutiomarus ad castra accedit, atque ibi magnam partem diei consumit; equites tela conjiciunt, et [3]magna cum contumelia verborum nostros ad pugnam evocant. Nullo ab nostris dato responso, ubi visum est, sub vesperum [4]dispersi ac dissipati discedunt. Subito Labienus duabus portis omnem equitatum emittit; [5]præcipit atque interdicit, proterritis hostibus atque in fugam conjectis (quod fore, sicut accidit, videbat), unum omnes petant Indutiomarum; neu quis quem prius vulneret, quam illum interfectum viderit, quod [6]mora reliquorum spatium nactum illum effugere nolebat: magna proponit iis, qui occiderint, præmia: submittit cohortes equitibus subsidio. Comprobat [7]hominis consilium fortuna; et, cum unum omnes peterent, in ipso fluminis vado deprehensus Indutiomarus interficitur, [8]caputque ejus refertur in castra: redeuntes equites, quos possunt, consectantur atque occidunt. Hac re cognita, omnes Eburonum et Nerviorum, quæ convenerant, copiæ discedunt; pauloque habuit post id factum Cæsar quietiorem Galliam.

C JULII CÆSARIS

COMMENTARII

DE

BELLO GALLICO.

BOOK VI.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Commotions throughout nearly all Gaul, in consequence of the overthrow and death of Titurius.

Chap. 1. Cæsar, apprehending commotions in Gaul, augments his forces. 2, 3. Insurrection of the Treviri. The Nervii overcome by a sudden invasion of their territories. A council of the states of Gaul held at Lutetia Parisiorum. 4. The Senones and Carnutes sue for peace, and obtain it from Cæsar. 5, 6. The Menapii overcome. 7, 8. Labienus, pretending fear, suddenly attacks and routs the Treviri.

II. Cæsar's expedition against the Suevi.

Chap. 9. Cæsar crosses the Rhine a second time. 10. The Suevi retire on the approach of the Romans. 11–20. The manners of the Gauls, their religion, &c. 21–24. The manners of the Germans 25. The Hercynian forest. 26–28. Different kinds of wild animals found in the Hercynian forest.

III. Punishment of Ambiorix and the Eburones.

Chap. 29. Cæsar, fearing the want of provisions, repasses the Rhine and marches against Ambiorix. 30. The great power of fortune exemplified in the escape of Ambiorix. 31. Ambiorix disbands his troops, and counsels them to provide for their own safety. 32–34 Cæsar, having divided his forces, lays waste the territories of the Eburones. 35 A body of Sicambri cross the Rhine, in order to take part in the plundering of the Eburones, but turn off for the purpose of sur-

prising Atuatica. 36–43. The Roman camp attacked by the Sicambri. Some cohorts, which had gone out to forage, are in great danger. A part are cut to pieces, the rest make their way, by dint of fighting, back to the camp. The Germans return across the Rhine. The alarm of the Romans dissipated by the arrival of Cæsar. 44. The country of the Eburones being completely wasted, Cæsar holds a council of Gaul, and inquires into the conspiracy of the Senones and Carnutes. Acco punished. Cæsar places his troops in winter quarters, and sets out for Italy to hold the circuits.

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1. Multis de causis Cæsar, majorem Galliæ motum expectans, [1]per Marcum Silanum, Caium Antistium Reginum, Titum Sextium, legatos, [2]dilectum habère instituit: simul ab Cneio Pompeio [3]proconsule petit, [4]quoniam ipse ad urbem cum imperio reipublicæ causa remaneret, quos ex Cisalpina Gallia consulis [5]sacramento rogavisset, ad signa convenire et ad se proficisci juberet: [6]magni interesse etiam in reliquum tempus ad opinionem Galliæ existimans, tantas videri Italiæ facultates, ut, si quid esset in bello detrimenti acceptum, non modo id brevi tempore [7]sarciri, sed etiam [8]majoribus adaugeri copiis posset. [9]Quod cum Pompeius et reipublicæ et amicitiæ tribuisset, celeriter confecto [10]per suos dilectu, tribus ante exactam hiemem et constitutis et adductis legionibus, duplicatoque earum cohortium numero, quas cum Quinto Titurio amiserat, et celeritate et copiis locuit, quid [11]Populi Romani disciplina atque opes possent.

2. Interfecto Indutiomaro, [12]ut docuimus, ad ejus propinquos a Treviris imperium defertur. Illi finitimos Germanos solicitare et pecuniam polliceri non desistunt: cum ab proximis impetrare non possent, ulteriores tentant. Inventis nonnullis civitatibus, [13]jurejurando inter se confirmant, obsidibusque de pecunia cavent: Ambiorigem sibi societate et fœdere adjungunt. Quibus rebus cognitis, Cæsar, cum undique bellum parari videret, Nervios, Aduatucos, Menapios, adjunctis [14]Cisrhenanis omnibus Germanis, esse in armis, Senones [15]ad imperatum non venire, et cum Carnuti-

bus finitimisque civitatibus consilia communicare, a Treviris Germanos crebris legationibus solicitari; maturius sibi de bello cogitandum putavit.

3. Itaque [1]nondum hieme confecta, proximis quatuor coactis legionibus, de improviso in fines Nerviorum contendit, et prius, quam illi aut convenire aut profugere possent, magno pecoris atque hominum numero capto, atque ea præda militibus concessa, vastatisque agris, in deditionem venire atque obsides sibi dare coëgit. Eo celeriter confecto negotio, rursus in hiberna legiones reduxit. Concilio Galliæ primo vere, [2]uti instituerat, indicto, cum reliqui, præter Senones, Carnutes, Trevirosque, venissent, initium belli ac defectionis hoc esse arbitratus, ut [3]omnia postponere videretur, concilium Lutetiam Parisiorum transfert. Confines erant hi Senonibus, civitatemque patrum memoria conjunxerant; [4]sed ab hoc consilio afuisse existimabantur. [5]Hac re pro suggestu pronunciata, eodem die cum legionibus in Senones proficiscitur, magnisque itineribus eo pervenit.

4. Cognito ejus adventu, Acco, qui princeps ejus consilii fuerat, jubet in oppida multitudinem convenire; [6]conantibus, priusquam id effici posset, adesse Romanos nunciatur; necessario sententia desistunt, legatosque deprecandi causa ad Cæsarem mittunt; [7]adeunt per Æduos, quorum antiquitus erat in fide civitas. Libenter Cæsar petentibus Æduis [8]dat veniam, excusationemque accipit; quod æstivum tempus instantis belli, non quæstionis, esse arbitrabatur. Obsidibus imperatis centum, hos Æduis custodiendos tradit. Eodem Carnutes legatos obsidesque mittunt, usi [9]deprecatoribus Remis, quorum erant in clientela: eadem ferunt responsa. Peragit concilium Cæsar, equitesque imperat civitatibus.

5. Hac parte Galliæ pacata, [10]totus et mente et animo in bellum Trevirorum et Ambiorigis insistit. [11]Cavarinum cum equitatu Senonum secum proficisci jubet, ne quis aut ex hujus iracundia, aut ex eo, quod meruerat, odio civitatis

motus existat. His rebus constitutis, quod [1]pro explorato habebat, Ambiorigem prœlio non esse concertaturum, reliqua ejus consilia animo circumspiciebat. Erant Menapii propinqui Eburonum finibus, [2]perpetuis paludibus silvisque muniti, qui uni ex Gallia de pace ad Cæsarem legatos nunquam miserant. Cum iis esse [3]hospitium Ambiorigi sciebat: item per Treviros venisse Germanis in amicitiam, cognoverat. Hæc prius [4]illi detrahenda auxilia existimabat, quam ipsum bello lacesseret; ne, desperata salute, aut se [5]in Menapios abderet, aut cum Transrhenanis [6]congredi cogeretur. Hoc inito consilio, totius exercitus impedimenta ad Labienum in Treviros mittit, duasque legiones ad eum proficisci jubet: ipse cum legionibus expeditis quinque in Menapios proficiscitur. Illi, nulla coacta manu [7]loci præsidio freti, in silvas paludesque confugiunt, suaque eodem conferunt.

6. Cæsar, partitis copiis cum Caio Fabio legato et Marco Crasso quæstore, celeriterque effectis pontibus, [8]adit tripartito, ædificia vicosque incendit, magno pecoris atque hominum numero potitur. Quibus rebus coacti Menapii, legatos ad eum pacis petendæ causa mittunt. Ille, obsidibus acceptis hostium se habiturum numero confirmat, si aut Ambiorigem, aut ejus legatos, finibus suis recepissent. His confirmatis rebus, Commium Atrebatem cum equitatu custodis loco in Menapiis relinquit; ipse in Treviros proficiscitur.

7. Dum hæc a Cæsare geruntur, Treviri, magnis coactis peditatus equitatusque copiis, Labienum cum una legione, quæ in eorum finibus [9]hiemabat, adoriri parabant: jamque ab eo non longius bidui via aberant, cum duas venisse legiones missu Cæsaris cognoscunt. Positis castris [10]a millibus passuum quindecim, auxilia Germanorum expectare constituunt. Labienus, hostium cognito consilio, sperans, temeritate eorum fore aliquam dimicandi facultatem, præsidio cohortium quinque impedimentis relicto, [11]cum viginti

quinque cohortibus magnoque equitatu contra hostem proficiscitur, et, mille passuum intermisso spatio, castra communit. Erat inter Labienum atque hostem difficili transitu [1]flumen ripisque præruptis: hoc neque ipse transire in animo habebat, neque hostes transituros existimabat. [2]Augebatur auxiliorum quotidie spes. Loquitur in consilio palam, "quoniam Germani appropinquare dicantur, sese suas exercitusque fortunas [3]in dubium non devocaturum, et postero die prima luce castra moturum." Celeriter hæc ad hostes deferuntur, [4]ut ex magno Gallorum equitatus numero nonnullis Gallicis rebus favere natura cogebat. Labienus noctu, tribunis militum [5]primisque ordinibus coactis, [6]quid sui sit consilii, proponit, et, quo facilius hostibus timoris det suspicionem, majore strepitu et tumultu, quam Populi Romani fert consuetudo, castra moveri jubet. His rebus [7]fugæ similem profectionem efficit. Hæc quoque per exploratores ante lucem, in tanta propinquitate castrorum, ad hostes deferuntur.

8. Vix agmen novissimum extra munitiones processerat, cum Galli, cohortati inter se, "ne [8]speratam prædam ex manibus dimitterent; [9]longum esse, perterritis Romanis, Germanorum auxilium expectare, neque suam pati dignitatem, ut tantis copiis tam exiguam manum, præsertim fugientem atque [10]impeditam, adoriri non audeant;" flumen transire et iniquo loco prœlium committere non dubitant. Quæ fore suspicatus Labienus, ut omnes citra flumen eliceret, [11]eadem usus simulatione itineris, placide progrediebatur. Tum, præmissis paulum impedimentis atque in tumulo quodam collocatis, "Habetis," inquit, "milites, quam petistis, [12]facultatem: hostem impedito atque iniquo loco tenetis: [13]præstate eandem nobis ducibus virtutem, quam sæpenumero imperatori præstitistis: adesse eum et hæc coram cernere, existimate." Simul signa ad hostem converti aciemque dirigi jubet, et, paucis turmis præsidio [14]ad impedimenta dimissis, reliquos equites ad latera dis-

posuit. Celeriter nostri clamore sublato pila in hostes immittunt. Illi, ubi præter spem, quos fugere credebant, [1]infestis signis ad se ire viderunt, impetum modo ferre non potuerunt, ac, primo concursu in fugam conjecti, proximas silvas petierunt: quos Labienus equitatu consectatus, magno numero interfecto, compluribus captis, paucis post diebus civitatem recepit: nam Germani, qui auxilio veniebant, percepta Trevirorum fuga, sese domum contulerunt. Cum iis [2]propinqui Indutiomari, qui defectionis auctores fuerant, comitati eos, ex civitate excessere. Cingetorigi, quem ab initio permansisse in officio demonstravimus, principatus atque imperium est traditum.

9. Cæsar, postquam [3]ex Menapiis in Treviros venit, duabus de causis Rhenum transire constituit: quarum erat altera, quod auxilia contra se Treviris miserant; altera, ne Ambiorix ad eos receptum haberet. His constitutis rebus, paulum supra eum locum, quo ante exercitum transduxerat, facere pontem instituit. Nota atque instituta ratione, magno militum studio, paucis diebus opus efficitur. Firmo in Treviris præsidio ad pontem relicto, ne quis ab iis subito motus oriretur, reliquas copias equitatumque transducit. Ubii, qui ante obsides dederant atque in deditionem venerant, purgandi sui causa ad eum legatos mittunt, qui doceant, "neque ex sua civitate auxilia in Treviros missa, neque ab se fidem læsam:" petunt atque orant, "ut sibi parcat, [4]ne communi odio Germanorum innocentes pro nocentibus pœnas pendant:" si amplius obsidum velit, dare pollicentur. [5]Cognita Cæsar causa reperit, ab Suevis auxilia missa esse: Ubiorum satisfactionem accipit; aditus viasque in Suevos perquirit.

10. Interim paucis post diebus fit ab Ubiis certior, Suevos omnes unum in locum copias cogere, atque iis nationibus, quæ sub eorum sint imperio, denunciare, uti auxilia peditatus equitatusque mittant. His cognitis rebus, rem frumentariam providet, castris idoneum locum deligit, Ubiis

imperat, ut pecora deducant suaque omnia ex agris in oppida conferant, sperans, [1]barbaros atque imperitos homines, inopia cibariorum afflictos, ad iniquam pugnandi conditionem posse deduci: mandat, ut crebros exploratores in Suevos mittant, quæque apud eos gerantur, cognoscant. Illi imperata faciunt, et, paucis diebus intermissis, referunt, "Suevos omnes, posteaquam certiores nuncii de exercitu Romanorum venerint, cum omnibus suis sociorumque copiis, quas coëgissent, penitus ad extremos fines sese recepisse: silvam esse ibi [2]infinita magnitudine, quæ appellatur Bacenis: hanc longe introrsus pertinere, et, pro nativo muro objectam, Cheruscos [3]ab Suevis, Suevosque ab Cheruscis, injuris incursionibusque prohibere: ad ejus initium silvæ Suevos adventum Romanorum expectare constituisse."

11. Quoniam ad hunc locum perventum est, [4]non alienum, esse videtur, de Galliæ Germaniæque moribus, et quo differant eæ nationes inter sese, proponere. In Gallia, non solum in omnibus civitatibus atque [5]in omnibus pagis partibusque, sed pæne etiam in singulis domibus, factiones sunt: [6]earumque factionum principes sunt, qui summam auctoritatem eorum judicio habere existimantur, quorum ad arbitrium judiciumque summa omnium rerum consiliorumque redeat. [7]Idque ejus rei causa antiquitus institutum videtur, [8]ne quis ex plebe contra potentiorem auxilii egeret: suos enim [9]quisque opprimi et circumveniri non patitur, neque, aliter si faciant, ullam inter suos habent auctoritatem. [10]Hæc eadem ratio est in summa totius Galliæ: namque omnes civitates in partes divisæ sunt duas.

12. Cum Cæsar in Galliam venit, [11]alterius factionis principes erant Ædui, alterius Sequani. Hi cum per se minus valerent, quod summa auctoritas antiquitus erat in Æduis, magnæque eorum erant clientelæ, Germanos atque Ariovistum sibi adjunxerant, eosque ad se magnis [12]jacturis pollicitationibusque perduxerant. Prœliis vero compluribus factis secundis, atque omni nobilitate Æduorum interfecta

[1]tantum potentia antecesserant, ut magnam partem clientium ab Æduis ad se transducerent, obsidesque ab iis principum filios acciperent, et publice jurare cogerent, nihil se contra Sequanos consilii inituros; et partem finitimi agri, per vim occupatam, possiderent; Galliæque totius principatum obtinerent. Qua necessitate adductus Divitiacus, auxilii petendi causa [2]Romam ad Senatum profectus, infecta re redierat. Adventu Cæsaris facta [3]commutatione rerum, obsidibus Æduis redditis, veteribus clientelis restitutis, novis per Cæsarem comparatis (quod hi, qui se ad [4]eorum amicitiam aggregaverant, meliore conditione atque æquiore imperio se uti videbant), [5]reliquis rebus eorum, gratia, dignitate amplificata, Sequani principatum [6]dimiserant. In eorum locum Remi successerant; [7]quos quod adæquare apud Cæsarem gratia intelligebatur, ii, qui propter veteres inimicitias nullo modo cum Æduis conjungi poterant, [8]se Remis in clientelam dicabant. Hos illi diligenter tuebantur. Ita et novam et repente collectam auctoritatem tenebant. Eo tum statu res erat, ut longe principes haberentur Ædui, secundum locum dignitatis Remi obtinerent.

13. In omni Gallia eorum hominum, [9]qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, [10]genera sunt duo: nam plebes pæne servorum habetur loco, quæ per se nihil audet et nullo adhibetur consilio. Plerique, cum aut [11]ære alieno, aut [12]magnitudine tributorum, aut injuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus: [13]in hos eadem omnia sunt jura, quæ dominis in servos. Sed de his duobus generibus [14]alterum est Druidum, alterum equitum. [15]Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata [16]procurant, religiones interpretantur. Ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus [17]disciplinæ causa concurrit, magnoque [18]ii sunt apud eos honore. Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt; et, si quod est admissum facinus, [19]si cædes facta, si de hæreditate, si de finibus controversia est, iidem decernunt; præmia pœnasque constituunt: si qui aut

privatus aut publicus eorum decreto [1]non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur, iis omnes decedunt, [2]aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus [3]jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur. His autem omnibus Druidibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo, si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit; at, si sunt plures pares, suffragio Druidum deligitur, nonnunquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt. Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quæ regio [5]totius Galliæ media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato. Huc omnes undique, qui controversias habent, conveniunt, eorumque decretis judiciisque parent. [6]Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur: et nunc, qui [7]diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.

14. Druides a bello abesse consuerunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt; [8]militiæ vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis [9]excitati præmiis, et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt, et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum [10]ediscere dicuntur: itaque annos nonnulli vicenos in disciplina permanent. Neque fas esse existimant, [11]ea literis mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Græcis utantur literis. [12]Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur; quod neque in vulgum disciplinam efferri velint, neque eos, qui discant, literis confisos, minus memoriæ studere: quod fere plerisque accidit, ut præsidio literarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant. [13]In primis hoc volunt persuadere, [14]non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios: atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto Multa præterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de

mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de Deorum immortalium vi ac potestate [1]disputant et juventuti transdunt.

15. Alterum genus est equitum. Hi, [2]cum est usus, atque aliquod bellum incidit (quod ante Cæsaris adventum fere quotannis accidere solebat, uti aut ipsi injurias inferrent, aut illatas propulsarent), [3]omnes in bello versantur: atque eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita [4]plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habent. [5]Hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt.

16. Natio est omnium Gallorum [6]admodum dedita religionibus, atque ob eam causam, qui sunt affecti gravioribus morbis, quique in prœliis periculisque versantur, aut [7]pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolaturos vovent, administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur; quod, pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse aliter Deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur: [8]publiceque ejusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia. Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum [9]contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent, quibus succensis, circumventi flamma exanimantur homines. [10]Supplicia eorum, qui in furto, aut in latrocinio, aut aliqua noxa sint comprehensi, gratiora Diis immortalibus esse arbitrantur: sed, cum [11]ejus generis copia deficit, ad innocentium supplicia descendunt.

17. [12]Deum maxime Mercurium colunt: hujus sunt plurima simulacra, [13]hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc [14]ad quæstus pecuniæ mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur Post hunc, [15]Apollinem et [16]Martem et [17]Jovem et Minervam: [18]de his eandem fere, quam reliquæ gentes, habent opinionem; Apollinem morbos depellere, [19]Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia transdere; Jovem imperium cœlestium tenere; Martem bella regere. Huic, cum prœlio dimicare constituerunt, ea, quæ bello ceperint, plerumque de

vovent. [1]Quæ superaverint, animalia capta immolant; reliquas res in unum locum conferunt. Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos tumulos locis consecratis conspicari licet: neque sæpe accidit, ut, [2]neglecta quispiam religione, aut capta apud se occultare, aut posita tollere auderet: gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est.

18. Galli se omnes [3]ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant, idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam, [4]spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium, finiunt; dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic observant, [5]ut noctem dies subsequatur. [6]In reliquis vitæ institutis, hoc fere ab reliquis differunt, quod suos liberos, nisi cum adoleverint, ut munus militiæ sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur; filiumque puerili ætate in publico, in conspectu patris, assistere, turpe ducunt.

19. [7]Viri, quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis, æstimatione facta, cum dotibus communicant. Hujus omnis pecuniæ [8]conjunctim ratio habetur, fructusque servantur: uter eorum [9]vita superarit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum temporum pervenit. Viri in uxores, sicut in liberos, vitæ necisque habent potestatem: et, cum pater familiæ, illustriore loco natus, decessit, ejus propinqui conveniunt, et, de morte si res in suspicionem venit, de uxoribus [10]in servilem modum quæstionem habent, et, [11]si compertum est, igni atque omnibus tormentis excruciatas interficiunt. Funera sunt [12]pro cultu Gallorum magnifica et sumtuosa; omniaque, quæ [13]vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia: [14]ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, justis funeribus confectis, una cremabantur.

20. Quæ civitates [15]commodius suam rem publicam administrare existimantur, habent legibus sanctum, si quis quid de re publica a finitimis rumore ac fama acceperit

uti ad magistratum deferat, neve cum quo alio communicet: quod sæpe homines temerarios atque [1]imperitos falsis rumoribus terreri, et ad facinus impelli, et de summis rebus consilium capere cognitum est. Magistratus, [2]quæ visa sunt, occultant; quæque esse ex usu judicaverint, multitudini produnt. De re publica nisi [3]per concilium loqui non conceditur.

21. [4]Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt: [5]nam neque Druides habent, qui rebus divinis præsint, [6]neque sacrificiis student. Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, et quorum aperte opibus juvantur, Solem et [7]Vulcanum et Lunam: reliquos ne fama quidem [8]acceperunt. Vita omnis in venationibus atque [9]in studiis rei militaris consistit: ab parvulis labori ac duritiæ student. Qui diutissime [10]impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali hoc vires nervosque confirmari, putant. Intra annum vero vicesimum fœminæ notitiam habuisse, in turpissimis habent rebus: [11]cujus rei nulla est occultatio, quod et promiscue in fluminibus perluuntur, et pellibus [12]aut parvis rhenonum tegimentis utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda.

22. [13]Agriculturæ non student; majorque pars victus eorum in lacte, caseo, carne consistit: neque quisquam [14]agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios; sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos [15]gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierint, [16]quantum, et quo loco visum est, agri attribuunt, atque anno post alio transire cogunt. [17]Ejus rei multas afferunt causas; ne, assidua consuetudine capti, studium belli gerendi agricultura commutent; ne [18]latos fines parare studeant, potentioresque [19]humiliores possessionibus expellant; ne [20]accuratius ad frigora atque æstus vitandos ædificent; ne qua oriatur pecuniæ cupiditas, qua ex re factiones dissensionesque nascuntur; ut [21]animi æquitate plebem contineant, cum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis æquari videat.

23. Civitatibus maxima laus est, quam latissimas circum se [1]vastatis finibus solitudines habere. Hoc [2]proprium virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere, neque quenquam prope audere consistere: simul hoc se fore tutiores arbitrantur, repentinæ incursionis timore sublato. Cum bellum civitas aut illatum [3]defendit, aut infert; magistratus, qui ei bello præsint, ut vitæ necisque habeant potestatem, deliguntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, [4]sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos jus dicunt, controversiasque minuunt. Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines cujusque civitatis fiunt; atque ea juventutis exercendæ ac [5]desidiæ minuendæ causa fieri prædicant. Atque, ubi quis ex principibus in concilio dixit, "se ducem fore; qui sequi velint, [6]profiteantur;" consurgunt ii, qui et causam et hominem probant, suumque auxilium pollicentur, atque ab multitudine collaudantur: qui ex iis secuti non sunt, in desertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur, [7]omniumque iis rerum postea fides derogatur. [8]Hospites violare, fas non putant; qui quaque de causa ad eos venerint, ab injuria prohibent, sanctosque habent; iis omnium domus patent, victusque communicatur.

24. Ac fuit antea tempus, cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam [9]trans Rhenum colonias mitterent. Itaque ea, quæ fertilissima sunt, Germaniæ loca circum Hercyniam silvam (quam [10]Eratostheni et quibusdam Græcis fama notam esse video, quam illi Orcyniam appellant), Volcæ Tectosages occupaverunt, atque ibi consederunt. Quæ gens ad hoc tempus iis sedibus sese continet, [11]summamque habet justitiæ et bellicæ laudis opinionem: nunc quoque [12]in eadem inopia, egestate, patientia, qua Germani, permanent, eodem victu et cultu corporis utuntur; [13]Gallis autem Provinciæ propinquitas, et transmarinarum rerum notitia, [14]multa ad copiam atque usus largitur. Paulatim assuefacti superari, multisque victi prœliis, ne se quidem ipsi cum illis virtute comparant.

25. Hujus Hercyniæ silvæ, quæ supra demonstrata est, latitudo novem dierum iter [1]expedito patet: non enim aliter finiri potest, neque mensuras itinerum noverunt. [2]Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum finibus, rectaque fluminis Danubii regione pertinet ad fines Dacorum et Anartium: hinc se flectit [3]sinistrorsus, diversis ab flumine regionibus, multarumque gentium fines propter magnitudinem attingit: neque quisquam est [4]hujus Germaniæ, qui se aut adisse ad initium ejus silvæ dicat, cum dierum iter sexaginta processerit, aut quo ex loco oriatur, acceperit. Multa in ea genera ferarum nasci constat, quæ reliquis in locis visa non sint: ex quibus, quæ maxime differant ab ceteris et [5]memoriæ prodenda videantur, hæc sunt.

26. [6]Est bos cervi figura, cujus a media fronte inter aures unum cornu existit, excelsius magisque directum his, quæ nobis nota sunt, cornibus. Ab ejus summo, [8]sicut palmæ, rami quam late diffunduntur. Eadem est fœminæ marisque natura, eadem forma magnitudoque cornuum.

27. Sunt item, quæ appellantur [9]Alces. Harum est consimilis capreis figura et [10]varietas pellium; sed magnitudine paulo antecedunt, [11]mutilæque sunt cornibus, et crura [12]sine nodis articulisque habent; neque quietis causa procumbunt, neque, si [13]quo afflictæ casu conciderint, erigere sese aut sublevare possunt. His sunt arbores pro cubilibus: ad eas [14]se applicant, atque ita, paulum modo reclinatæ, quietem capiunt: quarum ex vestigiis cum est animadversum a venatoribus, quo se recipere consuerint, omnes eo loco aut [15]a radicibus subruunt, aut accidunt arbores tantum, ut summa species earum stantium relinquatur. Huc cum se consuetudine reclinaverint, [16]infirmas arbores pondere affligunt, atque una ipsæ concidunt.

28. [17]Tertium est genus eorum, qui Uri appellantur. Hi sunt magnitudine [18]paulo infra elephantos, specie et colore et figura tauri. Magna vis eorum, et magna velocitas: neque homini, neque feræ, quam conspexerint, parcunt

Hos studiose foveis captos interficiunt. Hoc se labore durant [2]adolescentes, atque hoc genere venationis exercent: et, qui plurimos ex his interfecerunt, relatis in publicum cornibus, [3]quæ sint testimonio, magnam ferunt laudem. [4]Sed assuescere ad homines, et mansuefieri, ne parvuli quidem excepti possunt. [5]Amplitudo cornuum et figura et species multum a nostrorum boum cornibus differt. Hæc studiose conquisita ab labris argento circumcludunt, atque in amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur.

29. [6]Cæsar, postquam per Ubios exploratores comperit, Suevos sese in silvas recepisse, [7]inopiam frumenti veritus, quod, ut supra demonstravimus, minime omnes Germani agriculturæ student, constituit, non progredi longius: sed, ne omnino metum reditus sui barbaris tolleret, atque ut eorum auxilia tardaret, reducto exercitu, partem ultimam pontis, quæ ripas Ubiorum contingebat, in longitudinem pedum ducentorum rescindit; atque in extremo ponte turrim tabulatorum quatuor constituit, præsidiumque cohortium duodecim pontis tuendi causa ponit, magnisque eum locum munitionibus firmat. Ei loco præsidioque Caium Volcatium Tullum adolescentem præfecit: ipse, cum maturescere frumenta inciperent, ad [8]bellum Ambiorigis profectus (per Arduennam silvam, quæ est totius Galliæ maxima, atque ab ripis Rheni finibusque Trevirorum ad Nervios pertinet, millibusque amplius quingentis in longitudinem patet), Lucium Minucium Basilum cum omni equitatu præmittit, [9]si quid celeritate itineris atque opportunitate temporis proficere possit; monet, ut ignes fieri in castris prohibeat, ne qua ejus adventus procul significatio fiat: sese confestim [10]subsequi dicit.

30. [11]Basilus, ut imperatum est, facit; celeriter contraque omnium opinionem confecto itinere, multos in agris inopinantes deprehendit; eorum indicio ad ipsum Ambiorigem contendit, quo in loco cum paucis equitibus esse dicebatur [12]Multum cum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari potest

fortuna. Nam sicut magno accidit casu, ut in ipsum incautum atque etiam imparatum incideret, [1]priusque ejus adventus ab hominibus videretur, quam fama ac nuncius adventus afferretur: sic [2]magnæ fuit fortunæ, omni militari instrumento, quod circum se habebat, erepto, rhedis equisque comprehensis, ipsum effugere mortem. Sed [3]hoc eo factum est, quod, ædificio circumdato silva (ut sunt fere domicilia Gallorum, qui, vitandi æstus causa, plerumque silvarum ac fluminum petunt propinquitates), comites familiaresque ejus [4]angusto in loco paulisper equitum nostrorum vim sustinuerunt His pugnantibus, illum in equum quidam ex suis intulit: fugientem silvæ texerunt. Sic et ad subeundum periculum, et ad vitandum, multum fortuna valuit.

31. [5]Ambiorix copias suas judicione non conduxerit, quod prœlio dimicandum non existimarit, an tempore exclusus et repentino equitum adventu prohibitus, cum reliquum exercitum subsequi crederet, dubium est: [6]sed certe, dimissis per agros nunciis, sibi quemque consulere jussit: quorum pars in Arduennam silvam, pars [7]in continentes paludes profugit: qui proximi Oceanum fuerunt, hi insulis sese occultaverunt, quas æstus efficere consuerunt: multi, ex suis finibus egressi, se suaque omnia [8]alienissimis crediderunt. Cativolcus, rex dimidiæ partis Eburonum, qui una cum Ambiorige consilium inierat, ætate jam confectus, cum laborem aut belli aut fugæ ferre non posset, [9]omnibus precibus detestatus Ambiorigem, qui ejus consilii auctor fuisset, [10]taxo cujus magna in Gallia Germaniaque copia est, se exanimavit.

32. Segni Condrusique, ex gente et numero Germanorum, qui sunt inter Eburones Trevirosque, legatos ad Cæsarem miserunt, oratum, ne se in hostium numero duceret, neve [11]omnium Germanorum, qui essent citra Rhenum, unam esse causam judicaret: nihil se de bello cogitavisse nulla Ambiorigi auxilia misisse. Cæsar, explorata re [12]quæstione captivorum, si qui ad eos Eburones ex fuga

convenissent, ad se ut reducerentur, imperavit: si ita fecissent, fines eorum se violaturum negavit. Tum copiis in tres partes distributis, impedimenta omnium legionum [1]Aduatucam contulit. Id castelli nomen est. Hoc fere est in mediis Eburonum finibus, ubi Titurius atque Aurunculeius hiemandi causa consederant. Hunc cum reliquis rebus locum probabat, tum, quod superioris anni munitiones integræ manebant, ut militum laborem sublevaret. Præsidio impedimentis legionem quatuordecimam reliquit, unam ex iis tribus, quas proxime conscriptas ex Italia transduxerat. Ei legioni castrisque [2]Quintum Tullium Ciceronem præficit, ducentosque equites attribuit.

33. Partito exercitu, Titum Labienum cum legionibus tribus ad Oceanum versus, in eas partes, quæ Menapios attingunt, proficisci jubet: Caium Trebonium cum pari legionum numero ad eam regionem, quæ Aduatucis adjacet, depopulandam mittit: ipse cum reliquis tribus ad flumen [3]Sabim, quod influit in Mosam, extremasque Arduennæ partes ire constituit, quo cum paucis equitibus profectum Ambiorigem audiebat. Discedens, [4]post diem septimum sese reversurum, confirmat; quam ad diem ei legioni, quæ in præsidio relinquebatur, frumentum deberi sciebat. Labienum Treboniumque hortatur, si reipublicæ commodo facere possint, ad eam diem revertantur; ut, rursus communicato consilio, exploratisque hostium rationibus, aliud belli initium capere possent.

34. Erat, [5]ut supra demonstravimus, manus certa nulla, non oppidum, non præsidium, quod se armis defenderet; sed omnes in partes dispersa multitudo. Ubi cuique aut vallis abdita, aut locus silvestris, aut palus impedita, spem præsidii aut salutis aliquam offerebat, consederat. Hæc loca [6]vicinitatibus erant nota, [7]magnamque res diligentiam requirebat, non in summa exercitus tuenda (nullum enim poterat universis ab perterritis ac dispersis periculum accidere), sed in singulis militibus conservandis; quæ tamen

ex parte res ad salutem exercitus pertinebat. Nam et prædæ cupiditas multos longius evocabat, et silvæ incertis occultisque itineribus [1]confertos adire prohibebant. Si negotium confici stirpemque hominum sceleratorum interfici vellet, dimittendæ plures manus diducendique erant milites: si continere ad signa manipulos [2]vellet, ut [3]instituta ratio et consuetudo exercitus Romani postulabat, locus ipse erat præsidio barbaris, neque ex occulto insidiandi et dispersos circumveniendi singulis deerat audacia. At in ejusmodi difficultatibus, quantum diligentia provideri poterat, providebatur; ut potius [4]in nocendo aliquid omitteretur, etsi omnium animi ad ulciscendum ardebant, quam cum aliquo militum detrimento noceretur. Cæsar ad finitimas civitates nuncios dimittit, omnes ad se evocat spe prædæ, ad diripiendos Eburones, ut potius in silvis Gallorum vita, quam [5]legionarius miles, periclitetur; simul ut, magna multitudine circumfusa, [6]pro tali facinore, stirps ac nomen civitatis [7]tollatur. Magnus undique numerus celeriter convenit.

35. Hæc in omnibus Eburonum partibus gerebantur, diesque [8]appetebat septimus, quem ad diem Cæsar ad impedimenta legionemque reverti constituerat. Hic, quantum in bello fortuna possit [9]et quantos afferat casus, cognosci potuit. Dissipatis ac perterritis hostibus, ut demonstravimus, [10]manus erat nulla, quæ parvam modo causam timoris afferret. Trans Rhenum ad Germanos pervenit fama, diripi Eburones, atque [11]ultro omnes ad prædam evocari. Cogunt equitum duo millia Sigambri, qui sunt proximi Rheno, a quibus receptos ex fuga Tenchtheros atque Usipetes [12]supra docuimus: transeunt Rhenum navibus ratibusque, triginta millibus passuum infra eum locum, ubi pons [13]erat perfectus præsidiumque ab Cæsare relictum: primos Eburonum fines adeunt, [14]multos ex fuga dispersos excipiunt, magno pecoris numero, cujus sunt cupidissimi barbari, potiuntur. Invitati præda, longius procedunt: [15]non hos palus, in bello latrociniisque natos, non silvæ morantur: quibus in locis sit

Cæsar, ex captivis quærunt; profectum longius reperiunt, omnemque exercitum discessisse cognoscunt. Atque unus ex captivis, "Quid vos," inquit, "hanc miseram ac tenuem sectamini prædam, quibus licet jam esse [1]fortunatissimis? Tribus horis Aduatucam venire potestis: huc omnes suas fortunas exercitus Romanorum contulit: [2]præsidii antum est, ut ne murus quidem cingi possit, neque quisquam egredi extra munitiones audeat." Oblata spe, Germani, quam nacti erant prædam, in occulto relinquunt, ipsi Aduatucam contendunt, [3]usi eodem duce, cujus hæc indicio cognoverant.

36. Cicero, qui per omnes superiores dies præceptis Cæsaris summa diligentia milites in castris continuisset, ac ne calonem quidem quemquam extra munitionem egredi passus esset, septimo die, diffidens [4]de numero dierum Cæsarem fidem servaturum, quod longius eum progressum audiebat, neque ulla de reditu ejus fama afferebatur; simul eorum permotus vocibus, [5]qui illius patientiam pæne obsessionem appellabant, si quidem ex castris egredi non liceret; [6]nullum ejusmodi casum expectans, quo, novem oppositis legionibus maximoque equitatu, dispersis ac pæne deletis hostibus, in millibus passuum tribus offendi posset; quinque cohortes frumentatum in proximas segetes misit, quas inter et castra unus omnino collis intererat. Complures erant in castris ex legionibus ægri relicti; ex quibus [7]qui hoc spatio dierum convaluerant, circiter trecenti sub vexillo una mittuntur: magna præterea multitudo calonum, magna vis jumentorum, quæ in castris [8]subsederat, facta potestate, sequitur.

37. Hoc ipso tempore, [9]casu Germani equites interveniunt, protinusque eodem illo, quo venerant, cursu [10]ab decumana porta in castra irrumpere conantur: nec prius sunt visi, objectis ab ea parte silvis, quam castris appropinquarent usque eo, ut, [11]qui sub vallo tenderent [12]mercatores, recipiendi sui facultatem non haberent. Inopinantes nostri re nova perturbantur, ac vix primum impetum cohors in statione sustinet. Circumfunduntur ex reliquis hostes partibus,

si quem aditum reperire possent. Ægro [1]portas nostri tuentur, reliquos aditus locus ipse per se munitioque defendit. Totis trepidatur castris, atque alius ex alio causam tumultus quærit; neque quo signa ferantur, [2]neque quam in partem quisque conveniat, provident. Alius capta jam castra pronunciat; alius, deleto exercitu atque imperatore, victores barbaros venisse contendit: [3]plerique novas sibi ex loco religiones fingunt, Cottæque et Titurii calamitatem, qui in eodem occiderint castello, ante oculos ponunt. Tali timore omnibus perterritis, confirmatur opinio barbaris, ut ex [4]captivo audierant, nullum esse intus præsidium. Perrumpere nituntur, seque ipsi adhortantur, ne tantam fortunam ex manibus dimittant.

38. Erat æger in præsidio relictus Publius Sextius Baculus, [5]qui primum pilum ad Cæsarem duxerat, cujus mentionem [6]superioribus prœliis fecimus, ac diem jam quintum cibo caruerat. Hic, diffisus suæ atque omnium saluti, inermis ex tabernaculo prodit: videt imminere hostes, atque in summo esse rem discrimine: capit arma a proximis atque in porta consistit. Consequuntur hunc centuriones ejus cohortis quæ [7]in statione erat: paulisper una prœlium sustinent. [8]Relinquit animus Sextium, gravibus acceptis vulneribus: ægre per manus tractus servatur. Hoc spatio interposito, reliqui sese confirmant tantum, ut in munitionibus consistere audeant, speciemque defensorum præbeant.

39. Interim confecta frumentatione, milites nostri clamorem exaudiunt; præcurrunt equites, quanto sit res in periculo, cognoscunt. Hic vero nulla munitio est, quæ perterritos recipiat: [9]modo conscripti, atque usus militaris imperiti, ad tribunum militum centurionesque ora convertunt: quid ab his præcipiatur, expectant. Nemo est tam fortis quin rei novitate perturbetur. Barbari, signa procul conspicati, oppugnatione desistunt: redisse primo legiones credunt, quas longius discessisse ex captivis cognoverant: postea, despecta paucitate, ex omnibus partibus impetum faciunt

40. [1]Calones in proximum tumulum procurrunt: hinc celeriter dejecti se in signa munipulosque conjiciunt: eo magis timidos perterrent milites. Alii, [2]cuneo facto ut celeriter perrumpant, censent, quoniam tam propinqua sint castra; et, [3]si pars aliqua circumventa ceciderit, at reliquos servari posse confidunt: alii, ut in jugo consistant, atque eundem omnes ferant casum. Hoc veteres non probant milites, quos sub vexillo una profectos docuimus. Itaque inter se cohortati, duce Caio Trebonio, equite Romano, qui eis erat præpositus, per medios hostes perrumpunt, incolumesque ad unum omnes in castra perveniunt. Hos subsecuti calones equitesque eodem impetu militum virtute servantur. At ii, qui in jugo constiterant, [4]nullo etiam nunc usu rei militaris percepto, neque in eo, quod probaverant, consilio permanere, ut se loco superiore defenderent, neque eam, quam profuisse aliis vim celeritatemque viderant, imitari potuerunt; sed, se in castra recipere conati, iniquum in locum demiserant. Centuriones, quorum nonnulli, [5]ex inferioribus ordinibus reliquarum legionum, virtutis causa, in superiores erant ordines hujus legionis transducti, ne ante partam rei militaris laudem amitterent, fortissime pugnantes conciderunt. Militum pars, horum virtute submotis hostibus, præter spem incolumis in castra pervenit; pars a barbaris circumventa periit.

41. Germani, desperata expugnatione castrorum, quod nostros jam constitisse in munitionibus videbant, cum ea præda, quam in silvis deposuerant, trans Rhenum sese receperunt. Ac tantus fuit etiam post discessum hostium terror, ut ea nocte, cum Caius Volusenus missus cum equitatu ad castra venisset, [6]fidem non faceret, adesse cum incolumi Cæsarem exercitu. Sic omnium animos timor præoccupaverat, ut, [7]pæne alienata mente, deletis omnibus copiis equitatum tantum se ex fuga recepisse, dicerent, neque, incolumi exercitu, Germanos castra oppugnaturos fuisse contenderent. Quem timorem Cæsaris adventus sustulit.

42 Reversus ille, eventus belli non ignorans, [1]unum, quod cohortes [2]ex statione et præsidio essent emissæ, questus, ne minimo quidem casu locum relinqui debuisse, multum fortunam in repentino hostium adventu potuisse indicavit; multo etiam amplius, quod pæne ab ipso vallo portisque castrorum barbaros avertisset. Quarum omnium rerum [3]maxime admirandum videbatur, quod Germani, qui eo consilio Rhenum transierant, ut Ambiorigis fines depopularentur, ad castra Romanorum delati, [4]optatissimum Ambiorigi beneficium obtulerint.

43. Cæsar, rursus ad vexandos hostes profectus, magno coacto numero ex finitimis civitatibus, in omnes partes dimittit. [5]Omnes vici atque omnia ædificia, quæ quisque conspexerat, incendebantur: præda ex omnibus locis agebatur: frumenta non solum a tanta multitudine jumentorum atque hominum consumebantur, sed etiam anni tempore atque imbribus procubuerant; ut, si qui etiam in præsentia se occultassent, tamen iis, deducto exercitu, rerum omnium inopia pereundum videretur. [6]Ac sæpe in eum locum ventum est, tanto in omnes partes diviso equitatu, ut modo visum ab se Ambiorigem in fuga captivi, nec plane etiam abisse ex conspectu contenderent, ut, spe consequendi illata atque infinito labore suscepto, qui se summam ab Cæsare gratiam inituros putarent, pæne naturam studio vincerent, semperque paulum [7]ad summam felicitatem defuisse videretur, atque ille latebris aut saltibus se eriperet et noctu occultatus alias regiones partesque peteret, non majore equitum præsidio, quam quatuor, quibus solis vitam suam committere audebat.

44. Tali modo vastatis regionibus, exercitum Cæsar [8]duarum cohortium damno Durocortorum Remorum reducit, concilioque in eum locum Galliæ indicto, de conjuratione Senonum et Carnutum quæstionem habere instituit; et [9]de Accone, qui princeps ejus consilii fuerat, graviore sententia pronunciata, [10]more majorum supplicium sumsit Nonnulli

judicium veriti profugerunt; [1]quibus cum aqua atque igni interdixisset, duas legiones ad fines Trevirorum, duas in Lingonibus, sex reliquas in Senonum finibus Agendici in hibernis collocavit; frumentoque [2]exercitu proviso, ut instituerat, in Italiam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

C. JULII CÆSARIS

COMMENTARII

DE

BELLO GALLICO.

BOOK VII.

THE ARGUMENT.

The war with Vercingetorix.

Chap. 1. The Gauls concert measures for renewing the war. 2, 3. The Carnutes massacre a number of Roman citizens at Genabum. 4. The command of the confederates given to Vercingetorix. 5. The Bituriges apply for aid to the Aedui, and, it being withheld, they join the confederates. 6. Cæsar's return to Gaul. 7, 8. The Arverni, who had revolted at the instigation of Vercingetorix, are overcome. 9, 10. Vercingetorix besieges Gergovia. Cæsar marches against him. 11. Vellaunodunum and Genabum taken by Cæsar. 12. Vercingetorix raises the siege of Gergovia, and marches against Cæsar, who is attacking Noviodunum. Cæsar defeats the cavalry of Vercingetorix, becomes master of Noviodunum, and marches towards Avaricum. 13–15. The Bituriges, by the advice of Vercingetorix, set fire to their towns that they may not furnish subsistence to the Romans. Avaricum alone is spared. 16, 17. The Romans before Avaricum suffer greatly for want of provisions. 18–21. Vercingetorix, being accused of treason, clears himself, and receives great applause. 22. The Gauls at Avaricum defend their walls with great skill and bravery. 23. The Gallic manner of building walls around their towns. 24–27. Avaricum, after a resolute defence, is taken, and the garrison and all the inhabitants put to the sword. 28. Vercingetorix consoles his men by a speech. 29-31. The war continued by Vercingetorix. 32, 33

Dissensions among the Aedui. Quieted by Cæsar. 34, 35. Cæsar marches towards Gergovia. Crosses the Elaver by a feint. Vercingetorix retires before him. 36. Cæsar encamps near Gergovia, and seizes upon an eminence. 37–39. Revolt of the Aeduan forces. 40. Quelled by the prudence and diligence of Cæsar. 41, 42. Roman camp attacked during Cæsar's absence. Fresh disturbances among the Aedui. 43–51. Cæsar carries three of the enemy's camps before Gergovia; but the Romans, pressing the attack too far, are repulsed with loss. 52. Cæsar reproves in a speech the rashness of his soldiers. 53–56. War begun by the Aedui. Cæsar crosses the Liger. 57–62. Labienus, after a successful expedition against the Parisii, returns to Cæsar with all his forces. 63, 64. The revolt of the Aedui followed by that of almost all Gaul. Preparations for war. Vercingetorix reappointed commander-in-chief. 65–67. The Gauls attack Cæsar, but are routed with great slaughter. 68. Vercingetorix retreats to Alesia, whither Cæsar pursues him. 69. Description of the place. 70. The Gauls again defeated in an engagement between the cavalry. 71. Vercingetorix sends away his cavalry. All Gaul summoned to the war. 72–74. Cæsar surrounds Alesia with lines of circumvallation and contravallation. 75, 76. The Gallic auxiliaries assemble from all quarters, and strive to compel Cæsar to raise the siege. 77, 78. Distress in Alesia. Remarkable speech of Critognatus. The Mandubii compelled to leave their own city. 79–87. The Gauls within and without make several attempts upon the Roman lines, but are always repulsed with loss. 88. At length the Romans, by a movement of the horse, defeat the Gauls with great slaughter. 89. Alesia surrenders, and with it Vercingetorix. 90. The Aedui and Arverni submit. Cæsar sends his army into winter quarters.

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1. Quieta Gallia, Cæsar, ut constituerat, in Italiam ad conventus agendos proficiscitur. Ibi [1]cognoscit de Clodii cæde: de [2]Senatusque consulto certior factus, [3]ut omnes Italiæ juniores conjurarent, dilectum tota provincia habere instituit. Eæ res in Galliam Transalpinam celeriter perferuntur. Addunt ipsi et affingunt rumoribus Galli, quod res poscere videbatur, [4]retineri urbano motu Cæsarem, neque in tantis dissensionibus ad exercitum venire posse. Hac impulsi occasione, qui jam ante se Populi Romani imperio subjectos dolerent, liberius atque audacius de bello consilia

inire incipiunt. Indictis inter se principes Galliæ conciliis, silvestribus ac remotis locis, queruntur [1]de Acconis morte; hunc casum ad ipsos recidere posse demonstrant; miserantur communem Galliæ fortunam; omnibus pollicitationibus ac præmiis [2]deposcunt, qui belli initium faciant et sui capitis periculo Galliam in libertatem vindicent. [3]Ejus in primis rationem habendam dicunt, priusquam eorum clandestina consilia efferantur, ut Cæsar ab exercitu intercludatur. Id esse facile, quod neque legiones, absente imperatore, audeant ex hibernis egredi; neque imperator sine præsidio ad legiones pervenire possit: postremo [4]in acie præstare interfici, quam non veterem belli gloriam libertatemque, quam a majoribus acceperint, recuperare.

2. His rebus agitatis, profitentur Carnutes, "se nullum periculum communis salutis causa recusare, principesque ex omnibus bellum facturos pollicentur; [5]et, quoniam in præsentia obsidibus inter se cavere non possint, ne res efferatur, ut jurejurando ac fide sanciatur, petunt, collatis militaribus signis (quo more eorum gravissimæ cerimoniæ continentur), ne, facto initio belli, ab reliquis deserantur." Tum, collaudatis Carnutibus, dato jurejurando ab omnibus qui aderant, tempore ejus rei constituto, ab concilio disceditur.

3. Ubi ea dies venit, Carnutes, Cotuato et Conetoduno ducibus, desperatis hominibus, Genabum dato signo concurrunt, civesque Romanos, qui negotiandi causa [6]ibi constiterant (in his Caium Fusium Citam, honestum equitem Romanum, qui rei frumentariæ jussu Cæsaris præerat), interficiunt, bonaque eorum diripiunt. Celeriter ad omnes Galliæ civitates fama perfertur: nam, ubi major atque [7]illustrior incidit res, clamore per agros regionesque significant; hunc alii deinceps excipiunt et proximis tradunt; ut tum accidit: nam, quæ Genabi oriente sole gesta essent, ante primam confectam vigiliam in finibus Arvernorum audita sunt; quod spatium est millium circiter [8]centum et sexagin-

4. [1]Simili ratione ibi Vercingetorix, Celtilli filius, Arvernus, summæ potentiæ adolescens (cujus pater principatum [2]Galliæ totius obtinuerat, et ob eam causam, quod regnum appetebat, ab civitate erat interfectus), convocatis suis clientibus, facile incendit. Cognito ejus consilio, ad arma concurritur: ab Gobanitione, patruo suo, reliquisque principibus, qui hanc tentandam fortunam non existimabant, expellitur ex oppido Gergovia: non destitit tamen, atque in agris habet dilectum egentium ac perditorum. Hac coacta manu, [3]quoscumque adit ex civitate, ad suam sententiam perducit: hortatur, ut communis libertatis causa arma capiant: magnisque coactis copiis, adversarios suos, a quibus paulo ante erat ejectus, expellit [4]ex civitate. Rex ab suis appellatur; dimittit quoquoversus legationes; obtestatur, ut in fide maneant. Celeriter sibi Senones, Parisios, Pictones, Cadurcos, Turones, Aulercos, Lemovices, Andes reliquosque omnes, [5]qui Oceanum attingunt, adjungit: omnium consensu ad eum defertur imperium. Qua oblata potestate, omnibus his civitatibus obsides imperat, certum numerum militum ad se celeriter adduci jubet, armorum quantum quæque civitas domi, quodque ante tempus [6]efficiat, constituit: in primis equitatui studet. Summæ diligentiæ [7]summam imperii severitatem addit; magnitudine supplicii dubitantes cogit: nam, majore commisso delicto, igni atque omnibus tormentis necat: leviore de causa, auribus desectis, [8]aut singulis effossis oculis, domum remittit, ut sint reliquis documento et magnitudine pœnæ perterreant alios.

5. His suppliciis celeriter coacto exercitu, Lucterium [9]Cadurcum, summæ hominem audaciæ, cum parte copiarum in Rutenos mittit: ipse in Bituriges proficiscitur. Ejus adventu Bituriges ad Æduos, quorum erant in fide, legatos mittunt subsidium rogatum, quo facilius hostium copias sustinere possint. Ædui [10]de consilio legatorum, quos Cæsar ad exercitum reliquerat, copias equitatus peditatusque subsidio Biturigibus mittunt. [11]Qui cum ad flumen Ligerim

venissent, quod Bituriges ab Æduis dividit, paucos dies ibi morati, neque flumen transire ausi, domum revertuntur, legatisque nostris renunciant, se Biturigum perfidiam veritos revertisse, quibus id consilii fuisse cognoverint, ut, si flumen transissent, una ex parte [1]ipsi, altera Arverni se circumsisterent. [2]Id eane de causa, quam legatis pronunciarunt, an perfidia adducti fecerint, [3]quod nihil nobis constat, non videtur pro certo esse ponendum. Bituriges eorum discessu statim se cum Arvernis conjungunt.

6. [4]His rebus in Italiam Cæsari nunciatis, cum jam ille [5]urbanas res virtute Cneii Pompeii commodiorem in statum pervenisse intelligeret, in Transalpinam Galliam profectus est. Eo cum venisset, magna difficultate afficiebatur, qua ratione ad exercitum pervenire posset. Nam, si legiones in Provinciam arcesseret, se absente in itinere prœlio dimicaturas intelligebat: si ipse ad exercitum contenderet, ne iis quidem, [6]qui eo tempore pacati viderentur, suam salutem recte committi videbat.

7. Interim Lucterius Cadurcus, in Rutenos missus, eam civitatem Arvernis conciliat. Progressus in Nitiobriges et Gabalos, ab utrisque obsides accipit, et, magna coacta manu, in Provinciam, Narbonem versus, eruptionem facere contendit. Qua re nunciata, [7]Cæsar omnibus consiliis antevertendum existimavit, ut Narbonem proficisceretur. Eo cum venisset, timentes confirmat, præsidia in [8]Rutenis provincialibus, Volcis Arecomicis, Tolosatibus, circumque Narbonem, quæ loca erant hostibus finitima, constituit: partem copiarum ex Provincia supplementumque, quod ex Italia adduxerat, [9]in Helvios, qui fines Arvernorum contingunt, convenire jubet.

8. His rebus comparatis, [10]represso jam Lucterio et remoto, quod intrare intra præsidia periculosum putabat, in Helvios proficiscitur: etsi mons Cevenna, qui Arvernos ab Helviis discludit, [11]durissimo tempore anni, altissima nive iter impediebat: tamen discussa nive sex in altitudinem pedum

atque ita viis patefactis, summo militum labore ad fines Arvernorum pervenit. Quibus oppressis inopinantibus, quod se Cevenna, ut muro, munitos existimabant, ac ne [1]singulari quidem unquam homini eo tempore anni semitæ patuerant, equitibus imperat, ut, quam latissime possint, vagentur et quam maximum hostibus terrorem inferant. Celeriter hæc fama ac nunciis ad Vercingetorigem perferuntur: quem perterriti omnes Arverni circumsistunt, atque obsecrant, ut suis fortunis consulat, neu se ab hostibus diripi patiatur; præsertim cum videat, omne ad se bellum translatum. Quorum ille precibus permotus, castra ex Biturigibus movet in Arvernos versus.

9. At Cæsar, biduum in iis locis moratus, [2]quod hæc de Vercingetorige usu ventura opinione præceperat, [3]per causam supplementi equitatusque cogendi ab exercitu discedit; Brutum adolescentem iis copiis præficit; hunc monet, ut in omnes partes equites quam latissime pervagentur: daturum se operam, ne longius triduo ab castris absit. His constitutis rebus, suis inopinantibus, quam maximis potest itineribus, Viennam pervenit. Ibi nactus [4]recentem equitatum, quem multis ante diebus eo præmiserat, neque diurno neque nocturno itinere intermisso, per fines Æduorum in Lingones contendit, ubi duæ legiones hiemabant, ut, si quid etiam de sua salute ab Æduis iniretur consilii, celeritate præcurreret Eo cum pervenisset, ad reliquas legiones mittit, priusque omnes in unum locum cogit, quam de ejus adventu Arvernis nunciari posset. Hac re cognita, Vercingetorix rursus in Bituriges exercitum reducit, atque inde profectus Gergoviam, Boiorum oppidum, quos ibi Helvetico prœlio victos Cæsar collocaverat [5]Æduisque attribuerat, [6]oppugnare instituit.

10. Magnam hæc res Cæsari difficultatem [7]ad consilium capiendum afferebat: si reliquam partem hiemis uno in loco legiones contineret, ne, [8]stipendariis Æduorum expugnatis, cuncta Gallia deficeret, quod nullum amicis in eo

præsidium videret positum esse: sin maturius ex hibernis educeret, [1]ne ab re frumentaria, duris subvectionibus, laboraret. Præstare visum est tamen, omnes difficultates perpeti, [2]quam, tanta contumelia accepta, omnium suorum voluntates alienare. Itaque cohortatus Æduos [3]de supportando commeatu, præmittit ad Boios, qui de suo adventu doceant, hortenturque, ut in fide maneant atque hostium impetum magno animo sustineant. Duabus Agendici legionibus atque impedimentis totius exercitus relictis, ad Boios proficiscitur.

11. [4]Altero die cum ad oppidum Senonum Vellaunodunum venisset, ne quem post se hostem relinqueret, quo expeditiore re frumentaria uteretur, oppugnare instituit, idque biduo circumvallavit: tertio die missis ex oppido legatis de deditione, [5]arma conferri, jumenta produci, sexcentos obsides dari jubet. Ea qui conficeret, Caium Trebonium legatum relinquit: [6]ipse, ut quam primum iter faceret Genabum Carnutum, proficiscitur, qui, tum primum allato nuncio de oppugnatione Vellaunoduni, [7]cum longius eam rem ductum iri existimarent, præsidium Genabi tuendi causa, quod eo mitterent, comparabant. Huc biduo pervenit; castris ante oppidum positis, diei tempore exclusus, in posterum oppugnationem differt, quæque ad eam rem usui sint, militibus imperat: [8]et, quod oppidum Genabum pons fluminis Ligeris continebat, veritus, ne noctu ex oppido profugerent, duas legiones in armis [9]excubare jubet. Genabenses, paulo ante mediam noctem silentio ex oppido egressi, flumen transire cœperunt. Qua re per exploratores nunciata, Cæsar legiones, quas expeditas esse jusserat, portis incensis, intromittit, atque oppido potitur, perpaucis ex hostium numero desideratis, quin cuncti vivi caperentur, quod pontis atque itinerum angustiæ multitudini fugam intercluserant. Oppidum diripit atque incendit, prædam militibus donat, exercitum Ligerim transducit atque in Biturigum fines pervenit.

12. Vercingetorix, ubi de Cæsaris adventu cognovit, [1]oppugnatione destitit atque obviam Cæsari proficiscitur. [2]Ille oppidum Noviodunum oppugnare instituerat. Quo ex oppido cum legati ad eum venissent, oratum, ut sibi ignosceret suæque vitæ consuleret; ut celeritate reliquas res conficeret, qua pleraque erat consecutus, arma [3]conferri, equos produci, obsides dari jubet. Parte jam obsidum transdita, [4]cum reliqua administrarentur, centurionibus et paucis militibus intromissis, qui arma jumentaque conquirerent, equitatus hostium procul visus est, qui agmen Vercingetorigis antecesserat. Quem simulatque oppidani conspexerunt, atque in spem auxilii venerunt; clamore sublato arma capere, portas claudere, murum complere cœperunt. Centuriones in oppido cum [5]ex significatione Gallorum novi aliquid ab his iniri consilii intellexissent, gladiis destrictis portas occupaverunt, suosque omnes incolumes receperunt.

13. Cæsar ex castris equitatum educi jubet, prœliumque equestre [6]committit: laborantibus jam suis Germanos equites circiter quadringentos submittit, quos ab initio secum habere instituerat. Eorum impetum Galli sustinere non potuerunt, atque in fugam conjecti, multis amissis, se ad agmen receperunt: quibus profligatis, rursus oppidani perterriti comprehensos eos, quorum opera plebem concitatam existimabant, ad Cæsarem perduxerunt, seseque ei dediderunt. Quibus rebus confectis, Cæsar ad oppidum Avaricum, quod erat maximum munitissimumque in finibus Biturigum atque agri fertilissima regione, profectus est; quod, eo oppido recepto, civitatem Biturigum se in potestatem redacturum confidebat.

14. Vercingetorix, tot continuis incommodis Vellaunoduni, Genabi, Novioduni acceptis, suos ad concilium convocat. Docet, " longe alia ratione esse bellum gerendum, atque antea sit gestum: omnibus modis huic rei studendum, ut pabulatione et commeatu Romani prohibeantur: id esse facile, quod equitatu ipsi abundent, et, quod [7]anni tempore

subleventur: pabulum secari non posse: necessario dispersos hostes ex ædificiis petere: hos omnes quotidie ab equitibus deleri posse. Præterea salutis causa rei familiaris commoda negligenda; vicos atque ædificia incendi oportere [1]hoc spatio, a Boia quoquo versus, quo pabulandi causa adire posse videantur. Harum ipsis rerum copiam suppetere, quod, quorum in finibus bellum geratur, eorum opibus subleventur: Romanos aut inopiam non laturos, aut magno cum periculo longius ab castris progressuros: [2]neque interesse, ipsosne interficiant impedimentisne exuant, quibus amissis bellum geri non possit. Præterea oppida incendi oportere, quæ non munitione et loci natura ab omni sint periculo tuta; [3]neu suis sint ad detractandam militiam receptacula, neu [4]Romanis proposita ad copiam commeatus prædamque tollendam. Hæc si gravia aut acerba videantur, multo illa gravius æstimare debere, liberos, conjuges in servitutem abstrahi, ipsos interfici; [5]quæ sit necesse accidere victis."

15. Omnium consensu hac sententia probata, uno die amplius viginti urbes Biturigum incenduntur. Hoc idem fit in reliquis civitatibus. In omnibus partibus incendia conspiciuntur; quæ etsi magno cum dolore omnes ferebant, tamen hoc sibi solatii [6]proponebant, explorata victoria, celeriter amissa recuperaturos. Deliberatur de Avarico in communi concilio, incendi placeret, an defendi. Procumbunt omnibus Gallis ad pedes Bituriges, "ne pulcherrimam prope totius Galliæ urbem, quæ et præsidio et ornamento sit civitati; suis manibus succendere cogerentur; facile se loci natura defensuros" dicunt, "quod, prope ex omnibus partibus [7]flumine et palude circumdata, unum habeat et perangustum aditum." Datur petentibus venia, dissuadente primo Vercingetorige, post concedente et precibus ipsorum et misericordia vulgi. Defensores oppido idonei deliguntur.

16. Vercingetorix minoribus Cæsarem itineribus subsequitur, et locum castris deligit, paludibus silvisque munitum,

ab Avarico longe millia passuum sexdecim. Ibi [1]per certos exploratores in singula diei tempora, quæ ad Avaricum agerentur, cognoscebat, et, quid fieri vellet, imperabat: omnes nostras pabulationes frumentationesque observabat, dispersosque, cum longius necessario procederent, adoriebatur, magnoque incommodo afficiebat: etsi, quantum ratione provideri poterat, ab nostris occurrebatur, ut [2]incertis temporibus diversisque itineribus iretur.

17. Castris ad eam partem oppidi positis, [3]Cæsar, quæ intermissa a flumine et palude aditum, ut supra diximus, angustum habebat, aggerem apparare, vineas agere, turres duas constituere cœpit: nam circumvallare loci natura prohibebat. De re frumentaria Boios atque Æduos adhortari non destitit: quorum [4]alteri, quod nullo studio agebant, non multum adjuvabant; alteri non magnis facultatibus, quod civitas erat exigua et infirma, celeriter, quod habuerunt, consumserunt. Summa difficultate rei frumentariæ [5]affecto exercitu, tenuitate Boiorum, indiligentia Æduorum, incendiis ædificiorum, usque eo, ut complures dies milites frumento caruerint, [6]et, pecore e longinquioribus vicis adacto, extremam famem sustentarent, nulla tamen vox est ab iis audita, Populi Romani majestate et superioribus victoriis indigna. Quin etiam [7]Cæsar cum in opere singulas legiones appellaret, et, si acerbius inopiam ferrent, se dimissurum oppugnationem diceret; [8]universi ab eo, "ne id faceret," petebant: "sic se complures annos illo imperante meruisse, ut nullam ignominiam acciperent, nunquam infecta re discederent: hoc se ignominiæ laturos loco, si inceptam oppugnationem reliquissent: præstare, omnes perferre acerbitates, [9]quam non civibus Romanis, qui [10]Genabi perfidia Gallorum interissent, parentarent." Hæc eadem centurionibus tribunisque militum mandabant, ut per eos ad Cæsarem deferrentur.

18. Cum jam muro turres appropinquassent, ex captivis Cæsar cognovit, Vercingetorigem consumto pabulo castra

movisse propius Avaricum, atque ipsum cum equitatu expeditisque, qui inter equites prœliari consuessent, insidiarum causa eo profectum, quo nostros postero die pabulatum venturos arbitraretur. Quibus rebus cognitis, media nocte silentio profectus, ad hostium castra mane pervenit. Illi, celeriter per exploratores adventu Cæsaris cognito, carros impedimentaque sua [1]in arctiores silvas abdiderunt, copias omnes in loco edito atque aperto instruxerunt. Qua re nunciata, Cæsar celeriter sarcinas conferri, arma expediri jussit.

19. Collis erat leniter ab infimo acclivis: hunc ex omnibus fere partibus palus difficilis atque impedita cingebat, non latior pedibus quinquaginta. Hoc se colle, interruptis pontibus, Galli fiducia loci continebant, [2]generatimque distributi in civitates, [3]omnia vada ac saltus ejus paludis certis custodiis obtinebant, sic animo parati, ut, si eam paludem Romani perrumpere conarentur, [4]hæsitantes premerent ex loco superiore: [5]ut, qui propinquitatem loci videret, paratos prope æquo Marte ad dimicandum existimaret; qui iniquitatem conditionis perspiceret, inani simulatione sese ostentare cognosceret. Indignantes milites Cæsar, quod conspectum suum hostes ferre possent, tantulo spatio interjecto, et signum prœlii exposcentes, edocet, [6]"quanto detrimento et quot virorum fortium morte necesse sit constare victoriam: quos cum sic animo paratos videat, ut nullum pro sua laude periculum recusent, summæ se iniquitatis condemnari debere, nisi eorum vitam sua salute habeat cariorem." Sic milites consolatus, eodem die reducit in castra; reliquaque, quæ ad oppugnationem oppidi pertinebant, administrare instituit.

20. Vercingetorix, cum ad suos redisset, proditionis insimulatus, [7]quod castra propius Romanos movisset, quod cum omni equitatu discessisset, quod sine imperio tantas copias reliquisset, quod ejus discessu Romani tanta opportunitate et celeritate venissent; non hæc omnia fortuito au

sine consilio accidere potuisse; regnum illum Galliæ malle Cæsaris concessu, quam ipsorum habere beneficio: tali modo accusatus ad hæc respondit: "Quod castra movisset, factum inopia pabuli, etiam ipsis hortantibus: quod propius Romanos accessisset, persuasum loci opportunitate, qui se ipsum [1]munitione defenderet: equitum vero operam neque in loco palustri desiderari debuisse, et illic fuisse utilem, quo sint profecti: summam imperii se consulto nulli discedentem tradidisse, ne is multitudinis studio ad dimicandum impelleretur; [2]cui rei propter animi mollitiem studere omnes videret, quod diutius laborem ferre non possent. [3]Romani si casu intervenerint, fortunæ; si alicujus indicio vocati, huic habendam gratiam, quod et paucitatem [4]eorum ex loco superiore cognoscere, et virtutem despicere, potuerint, qui, dimicare non ausi, turpiter se in castra receperint. Imperium se ab Cæsare per proditionem nullum desiderare, quod habere victoria posset, quæ jam esset sibi atque omnibus Gallis explorata: [5]quin etiam ipsis remittere, si sibi magis honorem tribuere, quam ab se salutem accipere videantur. Hæc ut intelligatis," inquit, "a me sincere pronunciari, audite Romanos milites." Producit [6]servos, quos in pabulatione paucis ante diebus exceperat et fame vinculisque excruciaverat. Hi, jam ante edocti, quæ interrogati pronunciarent, "milites se esse legionarios" dicunt: "fame et inopia adductos clam ex castris exisse, si quid frumenti aut pecoris in agris reperire possent: simili omnem exercitum inopia premi, nec jam vires sufficere cuiquam, nec ferre [7]operis laborem posse: itaque statuisse imperatorem, si nihil in oppugnatione oppidi profecisset, triduo exercitum deducere. Hæc," inquit, "a me," Vercingetorix, "beneficia habetis, quem proditionis insimulatis, cujus opera sine vestro sanguine tantum exercitum victorem fame pæne consumtum videtis; quem, turpiter se ex hac fuga recipientem, ne qua civitas suis finibus recipiat, a me provisum est."

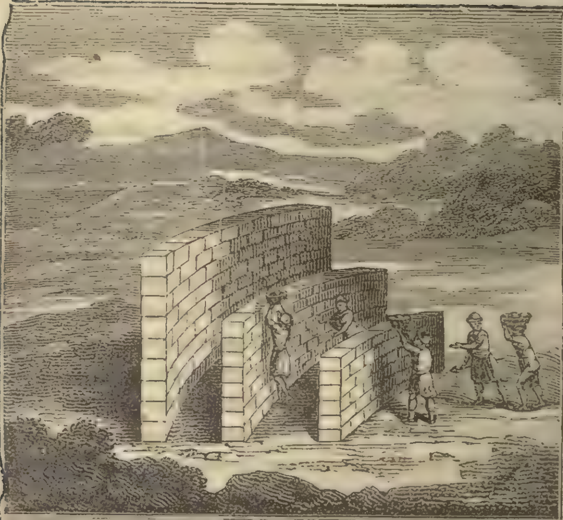
21 Conclamat omnis multitudo, et suo more [8]armis con

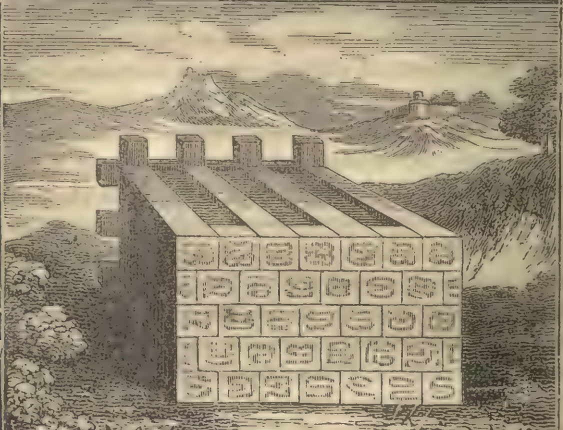
crepat; quod facere in eo consuerunt, cujus orationem approbant; summum esse Vercingetorigem ducem, nec de ejus fide dubitandum; nec [1]majore ratione bellum administrari posse. Statuunt, ut decem millia hominum delecta ex omnibus copiis in oppidum submittantur, nec solis Biturigibus communem salutem committendam censent; [2]quod penes eos, si id oppidum retinuissent, summam victoriæ constare intelligebant.

22. [3]Singulari militum nostrorum virtuti consilia cujusque modi Gallorum occurrebant, [4]ut est summæ genus solertiæ atque ad omnia imitanda atque efficienda, quæ ab quoque tradantur, aptissimum. Nam et [5]laqueis falces avertebant, [6]quas cum destinaverant, tormentis introrsus reducebant; et [7]aggerem cuniculis subtrahebant, eo scientius, quod apud eos [8]magnæ sunt ferrariæ, atque omne genus cuniculorum notum atque usitatum est. [9]Totum autem murum ex omni parte turribus contabulaverant, atque has [10]coriis intexerant. Tum crebris diurnis nocturnisque eruptionibus aut [11]aggeri ignem inferebant, aut milites occupatos in opere adoriebantur; [12]et nostrarum turrium altitudinem, quantum has [13]quotidianus agger expresserat, commissis suarum turrium malis, adæquabant; et [14]apertos cuniculos præusta et præacuta materia et pice fervefacta et maximi ponderis saxis morabantur, mœnibusque appropinquare prohibebant.

23. Muris autem omnibus Gallicis hæc fere forma est. [15]Trabes directæ, perpetuæ in longitudinem, [16]paribus intervallis distantes inter se binos pedes, in solo collocantur; [17]hæ revinciuntur introrsus et multo aggere vestiuntur. Ea autem, quæ diximus, [18]intervalla grandibus in fronte saxis effarciuntur. His collocatis et coagmentatis alius insuper ordo adjicitur, ut [19]idem illud intervallum servetur, neque inter se contingant trabes, [20]sed, paribus intermissis spatiis, singulæ singulis saxis interjectis, arcte contineantur. Sic deinceps omne opus contexitur, dum justa muri altitudo expleatur. [21]Hoc cum in speciem varietatemque opus de

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forme non est, alternis trabibus ac saxis, quæ rectis lineis suos ordines servant; tum ad utilitatem et defensionem urbium summam habet opportunitatem; [1]quod et ab incendio lapis et ab ariete materia defendit, quæ, [2]perpetuis trabibus pedes quadragenos plerumque introrsus revincta, neque perrumpi, neque distrahi potest.

24. Iis tot rebus impedita oppugnatione, milites, cum toto tempore luto, frigore, et assiduis imbribus tardarentur, tamen continenti labore omnia hæc superaverunt, et diebus viginti quinque aggerem, latum pedes trecentos et triginta, altum pedes octoginta, exstruxerunt. Cum is murum hostium pæne contingeret, et Cæsar ad opus consuetudine excubaret militesque cohortaretur, ne quod omnino tempus ab opere intermitteretur: paulo ante tertiam vigiliam est animadversum, fumare aggerem, quem cuniculo hostes succenderant: eodemque tempore toto muro clamore sublato, duabus portis ab utroque latere turrium eruptio fiebat. Alii faces atque aridam materiem de muro in aggerem eminus jaciebant, [3]picem reliquasque res, quibus ignis excitari potest, fundebant, [4]ut, quo primum occurreretur, aut cui rei ferretur auxilium, vix ratio iniri posset. Tamen, quod [5]instituto Cæsaris duæ semper legiones pro castris excubabant, pluresque partitis temporibus erant in opere, celeriter factum est, ut alii eruptionibus resisterent, alii [6]turres reducerent, aggeremque interscinderent, omnis vero ex castris multitudo ad restinguendum concurreret.

25. Cum in omnibus locis, consumta jam reliqua parte noctis, pugnaretur, semperque hostibus spes victoriæ redintegraretur; eo magis, [7]quod deustos pluteos turrium videbant, [8]nec facile adire apertos ad auxiliandum animum advertebant, semperque ipsi recentes defessis succederent, omnemque Galliæ salutem in illo vestigio temporis positam arbitrarentur: accidit, inspectantibus nobis, quod, [9]dignum memoria visum, prætermittendum non existimavimus. Quidam ante portam oppidi Gallus, qui [10]per manus sevi ac

picis transditas glebas in ignem e regione turris projiciebat, scorpione ab latere dextro transjectus exanimatusque concidit. Hunc ex proximis unus jacentem [1]transgressus, eodem illo munere fungebatur: eadem ratione ictu scorpionis exanimato altero, successit tertius et tertio quartus; nec prius ille est a [2]propugnatoribus vacuus relictus locus, quam, [3]restincto aggere atque omni parte submotis hostibus, finis est pugnandi factus.

26. Omnia experti Galli, quod res nulla successerat, postero die consilium ceperunt ex oppido [4]profugere, hortante et jubente Vercingetorige. Id, silentio noctis conati, non magna jactura suorum sese effecturos sperabant, propterea quod neque longe ab oppido castra Vercingetorigis aberant, et palus perpetua, quæ intercedebat, Romanos ad insequendum tardabat. Jamque hoc facere noctu apparabant, cum matres familiæ repente in publicum procurrerunt flentesque, projectæ ad pedes suorum, omnibus precibus petierunt, ne se et communes liberos hostibus ad supplicium dederent, quod ad capiendam fugam [5]naturæ et virium infirmitas impediret. Ubi eos in sententia perstare viderunt, quod plerumque in summo periculo timor [6]misericordiam non recipit, conclamare et significare de fuga Romanis cœperunt. Quo timore perterriti Galli, ne ab equitatu Romanorum viæ præoccuparentur, consilio destiterunt.

27. Postero die Cæsar, promota turri, [7]directisque operibus, quæ facere instituerat, magno coorto imbri, [8]non inutilem hanc ad capiendum consilium tempestatem arbitratus, quod paulo incautius custodias in muro dispositas videbat, suos quoque languidius in opere versari jussit, et, quid fieri vellet, ostendit. Legiones [9]intra vineas in occulto [10]expeditas cohortatur, ut aliquando pro tantis laboribus fructum victoriæ perciperent: his, qui primi murum ascendissent, [11]præmia proposuit, militibusque signum dedit. Illi subito ex omnibus partibus evolaverunt, murumque celeriter compleverunt

28. Hostes, re nova perterriti, muro turribusque dejecti, in foro ac locis patentioribus cuneatim constiterunt, hoc animo, ut, si qua ex parte [1]obviam veniretur, [2]acie instructa depugnarent. Ubi neminem in æquum locum sese demittere, sed toto undique muro circumfundi viderunt, veriti, ne omnino spes fugæ tolleretur, abjectis armis, ultimas oppidi partes [3]continenti impetu petiverunt: parsque ibi, [4]cum angusto portarum exitu se ipsi premerent, a militibus; pars, jam egressa portis, ab equitibus est interfecta: nec fuit quisquam, qui prædæ studeret. Sic et [5]Genabensi cæde et labore operis incitati, non ætate confectis, non mulieribus, non infantibus pepercerunt. Denique ex omni eo numero, qui fuit circiter quadraginta millium, vix octingenti, qui primo clamore audito se ex oppido ejecerant, incolumes ad Vercingetorigem pervenerunt. Quos ille, multa jam nocte, silentio ex fuga excepit (veritus, ne qua in castris [6]ex eorum concursu et misericordia vulgi seditio oriretur), ut, procul in via dispositis familiaribus suis principibusque civitatum, [7]disparandos deducendosque ad suos curaret, [8]quæ cuique civitati pars castrorum ab initio obvenerat.

29. Postero die concilio convocato consolatus cohortatusque est, "ne se admodum animo demitterent, neve perturbarentur incommodo: non virtute, neque in acie vicisse Romanos, sed [9]artificio quodam et scientia oppugnationis, cujus rei fuerint ipsi imperiti: errare, si qui in bello omnes secundos rerum proventus expectent: sibi nunquam placuisse, Avaricum defendi, cujus rei testes ipsos haberet; sed factum imprudentia Biturigum, et [10]nimia obsequentia reliquorum, uti hoc incommodum acciperetur: id tamen se celeriter majoribus commodis sanaturum. Nam, quæ ab reliquis Gallis civitates dissentirent, has sua diligentia adjuncturum, atque unum consilium totius Galliæ effecturum, cujus [11]consensu ne orbis quidem terrarum possit obsistere: idque se prope jam effectum habere. Interea æquum esse, ab iis communis salutis causa impetrari, [12]ut castra munire

institueront, quo facilius repentinos hostium impetus sustinere possent."

30. Fuit hæc oratio non ingrata Gallis, maxime, quod ipse animo non defecerat, tanto accepto incommodo, neque se in occultum abdiderat et conspectum multitudinis fugerat: [1]plusque animo providere et præsentire existimabatur, quod, re integra, primo incendendum Avaricum, post deserendum censuerat. Itaque, ut reliquorum imperatorum res adversæ auctoritatem minuunt, sic hujus ex contrario dignitas, incommodo accepto, in dies augebatur: simul in spem veniebant, ejus affirmatione, de reliquis adjungendis civitatibus, primumque eo tempore Galli castra munire instituerunt, et sic sunt animo consternati, homines [2]insueti laboris, ut omnia, quæ imperarentur, sibi patienda et perferenda existimarent.

31. Nec minus, quam est pollicitus, Vercingetorix animo laborabat, ut reliquas civitates adjungeret, atque earum principes donis pollicitationibusque alliciebat. Huic rei idoneos homines deligebat, quorum quisque aut oratione subdola aut amicitia facillime capi posset. [3]Qui Avarico expugnato refugerant, armandos vestiendosque curat. Simul ut deminutæ copiæ redintegrarentur, imperat [4]certum numerum militum civitatibus, quem, et quam ante diem in castra adduci velit; sagittariosque omnes, quorum erat permagnus in Gallia numerus, conquiri et ad se mitti jubet. His rebus celeriter id, quod Avarici deperierat, expletur. Interim [5]Teutomarus, Olloviconis filius, rex Nitiobrigum, cujus pater ab Senatu nostro amicus erat appellatus, cum magno equitum suorum numero, et quos ex Aquitania conduxerat, ad eum pervenit.

32. Cæsar, [6]Avarici complures dies commoratus, summamque ibi copiam frumenti et reliqui commeatus nactus, exercitum ex labore atque inopia refecit. Jam prope hieme confecta, cum ipso anni tempore ad gerendum bellum vocaretur et ad hostem proficisci constituisset, sive

eum ex paludibus silvisque elicere, sive obsidione premere posset; legati ad eum principes Æduorum veniunt, oratum, "ut maxime necessario tempore civitati subveniat: summo esse in periculo rem; quod, [1]cum singuli magistratus antiquitus creari atque regiam potestatem annum obtinere consuessent, [2]duo magistratum gerant, et se uterque eorum legibus creatum esse dicat. Horum esse alterum Convictolitanem, florentem et illustrem adolescentem; alterum Cotum, antiquissima familia natum, atque ipsum hominem summæ potentiæ et magnæ cognationis; cujus frater Valetiacus proximo anno eundem magistratum gesserit: civitatem omnem esse in armis, divisum senatum, divisum populum; [3]suas cujusque eorum clientelas. Quod si diutius alatur controversia, fore, uti pars cum parte civitatis confligat; id ne accidat, positum in ejus diligentia atque auctoritate."

33. Cæsar, etsi a bello atque hoste discedere [4]detrimentosum esse existimabat, tamen non ignorans, quanta ex dissensionibus incommoda oriri consuessent, ne tanta et tam conjuncta Populo Romano civitas, quam ipse semper aluisset, omnibusque rebus ornasset, ad vim atque ad arma descenderet, atque [5]ea pars, quæ minus sibi confideret, auxilia a Vercingetorige arcesseret, huic rei prævertendum existimavit; et quod legibus Æduorum his, qui summum magistratum obtinerent, excedere ex finibus non liceret, [6]ne quid de jure aut de legibus eorum deminuisse videretur, ipse in Æduos proficisci statuit, senatumque omnem, et quos inter controversia esset, ad se Decetiam evocavit. Cum prope omnis civitas eo convenisset, [7]docereturque, paucis clam convocatis, alio loco, alio tempore, atque oportuerit, fratrem a fratre [8]renunciatum, cum leges, duo ex una familia, vivo utroque, non solum magistratus creari vetarent, sed etiam in senatu esse prohiberent: Cotum imperium deponere coëgit; Convictolitanem, [9]qui per sacerdotes more civitatis, intermissis magistratibus, esset creatus, potestatem obtinere jussit.

34. Hoc decreto interposito, cohortatus Æduos, ut con controversiarum ac dissensionum obliviscerentur, atque, omnibus omissis his rebus, huic bello servirent, eaque, quæ meruissent, præmia ab se, devicta Gallia, expectarent, equitatumque omnem et peditum millia decem sibi celeriter mitterent, [1]quæ in præsidiis rei frumentariæ causa disponeret, exercitum in duas partes divisit; quatuor legiones in Senones Parisiosque Labieno ducendas dedit; sex ipse in Arvernos, ad oppidum Gergoviam secundum flumen Elaver, duxit: equitatus partem [2]illi attribuit, partem sibi reliquit. Qua re cognita Vercingetorix, omnibus interruptis ejus fluminis pontibus, [3]ab altera Elaveris parte iter facere cœpit

35. [4]Cum uterque utrique esset exercitus in conspectu, fereque e regione castris castra poneret, dispositis exploratoribus, necubi effecto ponte Romani copias transducerent erat in magnis Cæsari difficultatibus res, ne majorem æstatis partem flumine impediretur; [5]quod non fere ante autumnum Elaver vado transiri solet. Itaque, ne id accideret, silvestri loco castris positis, [6]e regione unius eorum pontium, quos Vercingetorix rescindendos curaverat, postero die cum duabus legionibus in occulto restitit; reliquas copias cum omnibus impedimentis, ut consueverat, misit, [7]captis quibusdam cohortibus, uti numerus legionum constare videretur. His, quam longissime possent, progredi jussis, cum jam ex diei tempore conjecturam caperet in castra perventum, [8]iisdem sublicis, quarum pars inferior integra remanebat, pontem reficere cœpit. Celeriter effecto opere legionibusque transductis, et loco castris idoneo delecto, reliquas copias revocavit. Vercingetorix, re cognita, ne contra suam voluntatem dimicare cogeretur, magnis itineribus antecessit.

36 Cæsar ex eo loco [9]quintis castris Gergoviam pervenit, equestrique prœlio eo die levi facto, [10]perspecto urbis situ, quæ, posita in altissimo monte, omnes aditus difficiles habebat, [11]de expugnatione desperavit; de obsessione non prius

agendum constituit, quam rem frumentariam expedisset. At Vercingetorix, castris prope oppidum in monte positis, mediocribus circum se intervallis separatim singularum civitatum copias collocaverat; atque omnibus ejus jugi collibus occupatis, [1]qua despici poterat, [2]horribilem speciem præbebat: principesque earum civitatum, quos sibi ad consilium capiendum delegerat, prima luce quotidie ad se jubebat convenire, seu quid communicandum, seu quid administrandum videretur: neque ullum fere diem intermittebat, quin equestri prœlio, interjectis sagittariis, [3]quid in quoque esset animi ac virtutis suorum, periclitaretur. Erat e regione oppidi collis sub ipsis radicibus montis, egregie munitus, atque ex omni parte circumcisus (quem si tenerent nostri, et aquæ magna parte et pabulatione libera [4]prohibituri hostes videbantur; sed is locus præsidio ab iis non nimis firmo tenebatur): tamen silentio noctis Cæsar, ex castris egressus, prius quam subsidio ex oppido veniri posset, dejecto præsidio, potitus loco, duas ibi legiones collocavit, fossamque duplicem duodenum pedum a majoribus castris ad minora perduxit, [5]ut tuto ab repentino hostium incursu etiam singuli commeare possent.

37. Dum hæc [6]ad Gergoviam geruntur, Convictolitanis Æduus, cui magistratum assignatum a Cæsare demonstravimus, solicitatus ab Arvernis pecunia, cum quibusdam adolescentibus [7]colloquitur, quorum erat princeps Litavicus atque ejus fratres, amplissima familia nati adolescentes. Cum iis [8]præmium communicat, hortaturque, "ut se liberos et imperio natos meminerint: unam esse Æduorum civitatem, quæ certissimam Galliæ victoriam distineat; [9]ejus auctoritate reliquas contineri; qua transducta, locum consistendi Romanis in Gallia non fore: [10]esse nonnullo se Cæsaris beneficio affectum, sic tamen, ut justissimam apud eum causam obtinuerit: sed plus communi libertati tribuere. cur enim potius Ædui de suo jure et de legibus ad Cæsarem [1]disceptatorem, quam Romani ad Æduos, veniant?" Celer

iter adolescentibus et oratione magistratus et præmio deductis, cum se vel principes ejus consilii fore profiterentur ratio perficiendi quærebatur, quod civitatem temere ad suscipiendum bellum adduci posse non confidebant. Placuit, uti Litavicus [1]decem illis millibus, quæ Cæsari ad bellum mitterentur, præficeretur, atque ea ducenda curaret, fratresque ejus ad Cæsarem præcurrerent. Reliqua, qua ratione agi placeat, constituunt.

38. Litavicus, accepto exercitu, cum millia passuum circiter triginta ab Gergovia abesset, convocatis subito militibus, lacrimans, "Quo proficiscimur," inquit, "milites? Omnis noster equitatus, omnis nobilitas interiit: principes civitatis, Eporedirix et Viridomarus, insimulati proditionis, ab Romanis indicta causa interfecti sunt. Hæc ab iis cognoscite, qui ex ipsa cæde fugerunt: nam ego, fratribus atque omnibus meis propinquis interfectis, dolore prohibeor, quæ gesta sunt, pronunciare." Producuntur ii, quos ille edocuerat, quæ dici vellet, atque eadem, quæ Litavicus pronunciaverat, multitudini exponunt: "omnes equites Æduorum interfectos, quod collocuti cum Arvernis dicerentur; ipsos se inter multitudinem militum occultasse atque ex media cæde profugisse." Conclamant Ædui, et Litavicum, ut sibi consulat, obsecrant. "Quasi vero," inquit ille, "consilii sit res, ac non necesse sit nobis Gergoviam contendere et cum Arvernis nosmet conjungere. An dubitamus, [2]quin, nefario facinore admisso, Romani jam ad nos interficiendos concurrant? Proinde, si quid est in nobis animi, persequamur eorum mortem, qui indignissime interierunt, atque hos latrones interficiamus." [3]Ostendit cives Romanos, qui ejus præsidii fiducia una erant. Continuo magnum numerum frumenti commeatusque diripit, ipsos crudeliter excruciatos interficit: nuncios tota civitate Æduorum dimittit, eodem mendacio, de cæde equitum et principum permovet; hortatur, ut simili ratione, atque ipse fecerit, [4]suas injurias persequantur.

39. Eporedirix Æduus, summo loco natus adolescens et summæ domi potentiæ, et una Viridomarus, pari ætate et gratia, sed [1]genere dispari, quem Cæsar, sibi ab Divitiaco transditum, ex humili loco ad summam dignitatem perduxerat, in equitum numero convenerant, nominatim ab eo evocati. His erat inter se de principatu contentio, et in illa magistratuum controversia alter pro Convictolitane, alter pro Coto, summis opibus pugnaverant. Ex iis Eporedirix, cognito Litavici consilio, media fere nocte rem ad Cæsarem defert; orat, "ne patiatur, civitatem pravis adolescentium consiliis ab amicitia Populi Romani deficere, quod futurum provideat, si se tot hominum millia cum hostibus conjunxerint, [2]quorum salutem neque propinqui negligere, neque civitas levi momento æstimare posset."

40. Magna affectus solicitudine hoc nuncio Cæsar, quod semper Æduorum civitati præcipue indulserat, [3]nulla interposita dubitatione legiones expeditas quatuor equitatumque omnem ex castris educit: nec fuit spatium tali tempore ad contrahenda castra, quod res posita in celeritate videbatur. Caium Fabium legatum cum legionibus duo castris præsidio relinquit. Fratres Litavici cum comprehendi jussisset, paulo ante reperit ad hostes profugisse. Adhortatus milites, "ne necessario tempore itineris labore permoveantur," cupidissimis omnibus, progressus millia passuum viginti quinque, agmen Æduorum conspicatus, [4]immisso equitatu, iter eorum moratur atque impedit, interdicitque omnibus, ne quemquam interficiant. Eporedirigem et Viridomarum, quos illi interfectos existimabant, inter equites versari suosque appellare jubet. Iis cognitis et Litavici fraude perspecta, Ædui manus tendere, [5]deditionem significare, et projectis armis mortem deprecari incipiunt. Litavicus [6]cum suis clientibus, quibus more Gallorum nefas est etiam in extrema fortuna deserere patronos, Gergoviam profugit.

41. Cæsar, nunciis ad civitatem Æduorum missis, [7]qui suo beneficio conservatos docerent, quos jure belli interfi-

cere potuisset, tribusque horis noctis exercitui ad quietem datis, castra [1]ad Gergoviam movit. Medio fere itinere [2]equites, ab Fabio missi, quanto res in periculo fuerit, exponunt; summis copiis castra oppugnata demonstrant; cum crebro integri defessis succederent nostrosque assiduo labore defatigarent, quibus propter magnitudinem castrorum perpetuo esset [3]eisdem in vallo permanendum; multitudine sagittarum atque omni genere telorum multos vulneratos: ad hæc sustinenda magno usui fuisse tormenta: Fabium discessu eorum, duabus relictis portis, obstruere ceteras, [4]pluteosque vallo addere, et se in posterum diem similem ad casum parare. His rebus cognitis, Cæsar summo studio militum ante ortum solis in castra pervenit.

42. Dum hæc ad Gergoviam geruntur, Ædui, primis nunciis ab Litavico acceptis, nullum sibi [5]ad cognoscendum spatium relinquunt. Impellit alios avaritia, alios iracundia et temeritas, quæ maxime illi hominum generi est innata, ut levem auditionem habeant pro re comperta. Bona civium Romanorum diripiunt, cædes faciunt, in servitutem abstrahunt. [6]Adjuvat rem proclinatam Convictolitanis, plebemque ad furorem impellit, ut, facinore admisso, ad sanitatem pudeat reverti. Marcum Aristium tribunum militum, iter ad legionem facientem, [7]data fide ex oppido Cabillono educunt: idem facere cogunt eos, qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant. Hos continuo in itinere adorti, omnibus impedimentis exuunt; repugnantes diem noctemque obsident; multis utrimque interfectis, majorem multitudinem ad arma concitant.

43. Interim nuncio allato, omnes eorum milites in potestate Cæsaris teneri, concurrunt ad Aristium; nihil publico factum consilio demonstrant; [8]quæstionem de bonis direptis decernunt; Litavici fratrumque bona publicant; legatos ad Cæsarem sui purgandi gratia mittunt. Hæc faciunt [9]recuperandorum suorum causa: sed, contaminati facinore et capti compendio ex direptis bonis, quod ea res ad multos

pertinebat, et timore pœnæ exterriti, consilia clam de bello inire incipiunt, civitatesque reliquas legationibus solicitant Quæ tametsi Cæsar intelligebat, tamen, quam mitissime potest, legatos appellat: [1]"nihil se propter inscientiam levitatemque vulgi gravius de civitate judicare, neque de sua in Æduos benevolentia deminuere." Ipse, majorem Galliæ motum expectans, ne ab omnibus civitatibus circumsisteretur, consilia inibat, quemadmodum ab Gergovia discederet ac rursus [2]omnem exercitum contraheret; ne profectio, nata ab timore defectionis, similis fugæ videretur.

44. Hæc cogitanti [3]accidere visa est facultas bene gerendæ rei. Nam, cum minora in castra operis perspiciendi causa venisset, animadvertit collem, qui ab hostibus tenebatur, nudatum hominibus, qui superioribus diebus vix præ multitudine cerni poterat. Admiratus quærit ex perfugis causam, quorum magnus ad eum quotidie numerus confluebat. Constabat inter omnes, quod jam ipse Cæsar per exploratores cognoverat, [4]dorsum esse ejus jugi prope æquum; sed hunc silvestrem et angustum, qua esset aditus ad alteram oppidi partem: huic loco vehementer illos timere, nec jam aliter sentire, [5]uno colle ab Romanis occupato, si alterum amisissent, quin pæne circumvallati atque omni exitu et pabulatione interclusi viderentur: ad hunc muniendum locum omnes a Vercingetorige evocatos.

45. Hac re cognita, Cæsar mittit complures equitum turmas eo de media nocte: iis imperat, ut paulo tumultuosius omnibus in locis pervagarentur. [6]Prima luce magnum numerum impedimentorum ex castris detrahi [7]mulionesque cum cassidibus, equitum specie ac simulatione, collibus circumvehi jubet. His paucos addit equites, qui latius [8]ostentationis causa vagarentur. Longo circuitu easdem omnes jubet petere regiones. Hæc procul ex oppido videbantur, ut erat a Gergovia despectus in castra; neque [9]tanto spatio, certi quid esset, explorari poterat. Legionem unam [10]eodem iugo mittit, et paulo progressam inferiore constituit loco,

silvisque occultat. Augetur Gallis suspicio, atque omnes [1]illo ad munitionem copiæ transducuntur. Vacua castra hostium Cæsar conspicatus, tectis [2]insignibus suorum occultatisque signis militaribus, [3]raros milites, ne ex oppido animadverterentur, ex majoribus castris in minora transducit, legatisque, quos singulis legionibus præfecerat, quid fieri vellet, ostendit: in primis monet, ut contineant milites, ne studio pugnandi aut spe prædæ longius progrediantur: quid iniquitas loci habeat incommodi, proponit: hoc una celeritate posse vitari: [4]occasionis esse rem, non prœlii His rebus expositis, signum dat, et ab dextera parte alio ascensu eodem tempore Æduos mittit.

46. Oppidi murus ab planitie atque initio ascensus, [5]recta regione, si nullus anfractus intercederet, mille et ducentos passus aberat: [6]quicquid huic circuitus ad molliendum clivum accesserat, id spatium itineris augebat. At medio fere colle in longitudinem, ut natura montis ferebat, ex grandibus saxis sex pedum murum, qui nostrorum impetum tardaret, [7]præduxerant Galli, atque, inferiore omni spatio vacuo relicto, superiorem partem collis usque ad murum oppidi densissimis castris compleverant. Milites, dato signo, celeriter ad munitionem perveniunt, eamque transgressi, [8]trinis castris potiuntur. Ac tanta fuit in castris capiendis celeritas, ut Teutomarus, rex Nitiobrigum, subito in tabernaculo oppressus, ut meridie conquieverat, [9]superiore corporis parte nudata, vulnerato equo, vix se ex manibus prædantium militum eriperet.

47. [10]Consecutus id, quod animo proposuerat, Cæsar receptui cani jussit, legionisque decimæ, qua tum erat comitatus, signa constitere. At reliquarum milites legionum, non exaudito tubæ sono, quod satis magna vallis intercedebat, tamen ab tribunis militum legatisque, ut erat a Cæsare præceptum, [11]retinebantur: sed, elati spe celeris victoriæ et hostium fuga superiorumque temporum secundis prœliis, nihil adeo arduum sibi existimabant quod non virtute con-

...qui possent, neque prius finem sequendi fecerunt, quam muro oppidi portisque appropinquarent. Tum vero ex omnibus urbis partibus orto clamore, qui longius aberant, repentino tumultu perterriti, cum hostem intra portas esse existimarent, sese ex oppido ejecerunt. Matres familiæ de muro [1]vestem argentumque jactabant, et, [2]pectoris fine prominentes, passis manibus obtestabantur Romanos, ut sibi parcerent, neu, sicut Avarici fecissent, ne mulieribus quidem atque infantibus abstinerent. Nonnullæ, de muris per manus demissæ, sese militibus transdebant. Lucius Fabius, centurio legionis octavæ, quem inter suos eo die dixisse constabat, excitari se [3]Avaricensibus præmiis neque commissurum, ut prius quisquam murum ascenderet, [4]tres suos nactus manipulares, atque ab iis sublevatus, murum ascendit. Eos ipse rursus singulos [5]exceptans, in murum extulit.

48. Interim ii, qui ad alteram partem oppidi, ut supra demonstravimus, [6]munitionis causa convenerant, primo exaudito clamore, inde etiam crebris nunciis incitati, oppidum ab Romanis teneri, præmissis equitibus, magno concursu eo contenderunt. Eorum ut quisque primus venerat, sub muro consistebat, suorumque pugnantium numerum augebat. Quorum cum magna multitudo convenisset, matres familiæ, quæ paulo ante Romanis de muro manus tendebant, suos obtestari, et more Gallico passum capillum ostentare, liberosque in conspectum proferre cœperunt. Erat Romanis [7]nec loco, nec numero, æqua contentio: simul, et cursu et [8]spatio pugnæ defatigati, non facile recentes atque integros sustinebant.

49. Cæsar, cum iniquo loco pugnari hostiumque augeri copias videret, [9]præmetuens suis, ad Titum Sextium legatum, quem minoribus castris præsidio reliquerat, mittit, ut cohortes ex castris celeriter educeret, et sub infimo colle ab dextro latere hostium constitueret: ut, si nostros loco depulsos vidisset, quo minus libere hostes insequerentur, ter-

reret. Ipse paulum ex eo loco cum legione progressus, ubi constiterat, eventum pugnæ expectabat.

50. Cum acerrime cominus pugnaretur, hostes loco et numero, nostri virtute confiderent, subito sunt Ædui visi, [1]ab latere nostris aperto, quos Cæsar ab dextra parte alio ascensu, manus distinendæ causa, miserat Hi [2]similitudine armorum vehementer nostros perterruerunt: ac, tametsi dextris humeris [3]exertis animadvertebantur, quod insigne pacatis esse consuerat, tamen id ipsum sui fallendi causa milites ab hostibus factum existimabant. Eodem tempore Lucius Fabius centurio, quique una murum ascenderant, circumventi atque interfecti de muro præcipitantur. Marcus Petreius, ejusdem legionis centurio, cum portas [4]excidere conatus esset, a multitudine oppressus ac sibi desperans, multis jam vulneribus acceptis, manipularibus suis, qui illum secuti erant, "Quoniam," inquit, "me una vobiscum servare non possum, vestræ quidem certe vitæ prospiciam, quos cupiditate gloriæ adductus in periculum deduxi. Vos, data facultate, vobis consulite." Simul in medios hostes irrupit, duobusque interfectis, reliquos a porta paulum submovit. Conantibus auxiliari suis, "Frustra," inquit, "meæ vitæ subvenire conamini, quem jam sanguis viresque deficiunt: proinde hinc abite, dum est facultas, vosque ad legionem recipite." Ita pugnans post paululum concidit, [5]ac suis saluti fuit.

51. Nostri, cum undique premerentur, quadraginta sex centurionibus amissis, dejecti sunt loco: sed [6]intolerantius Gallos insequentes legio decima tardavit, quæ pro subsidio paulo æquiore loco constiterat. Hanc rursus decimæ tertiæ legionis cohortes [7]exceperunt, quæ, ex castris minoribus eductæ, cum Tito Sextio legato locum ceperant superiorem. Legiones, ubi primum planitiem attigerunt, infestis contra hostes signis constiterunt. Vercingetorix ab radicibus collis suos intra munitiones reduxit. Eo die milites sunt paulo minus septingentis desiderati.

52. Postero die Cæsar, concione advocata, "Temeritatem cupiditatemque militum reprehendit, quod sibi ipsi judicavissent, [1]quo procedendum, aut quid agendum videretur, neque signo recipiendi dato constitissent, neque a tribunis militum legatisque retineri potuissent: [2]exposito, quid iniquitas loci posset, quid ipse ad Avaricum sensisset cum, sine duce et sine equitatu deprehensis hostibus, exploratam victoriam [3]dimisisset, ne parvum modo detrimentum in contentione propter iniquitatem loci accideret. [4]Quanto opere eorum animi magnitudinem admiraretur, quos non castrorum munitiones, non altitudo montis, non murus oppidi tardare potuisset; tanto opere licentiam arrogantiamque reprehendere, quod [5]plus se, quam imperatorem, de victoria atque exitu rerum sentire existimarent: nec minus se in milite modestiam et continentiam, quam virtutem atque animi magnitudinem desiderare."

53. Hac habita concione, et [6]ad extremum oratione confirmatis milibitus, "ne ob hanc causam animo permoverentur, neu, quod iniquitas loci attulisset, id virtuti hostium tribuerent:" [7]eadem de profectione cogitans, quæ ante senserat, legiones ex castris eduxit, aciemque idoneo loco constituit. Cum Vercingetorix nihilo magis in æquum locum descenderet, levi facto equestri prœlio atque eo secundo, in castra exercitum [8]reduxit. Cum hoc idem postero die fecisset, satis ad Gallicam ostentationem minuendam militumque animos confirmandos factum existimans, in Æduos castra movit. Ne tum quidem insecutis hostibus, tertio die ad flumen Elaver pontem refecit, atque exercitum transduxit.

54. Ibi a Viridomaro atque Eporedirige Æduis [9]appellatus, discit, cum omni equitatu Litavicum ad solicitandos Æduos profectum esse: opus esse, et ipsos antecedere ad confirmandam civitatem. Etsi multis jam rebus perfidiam Æduorum perspectam habebat, atque [10]horum discessu admaturari defectionem civitatis existimabat; tamen eos retinendos non censuit, ne aut inferre injuriam videretur, aut

dare timoris aliquam suspicionem. Discedentibus his brev iter sua in Æduos merita exponit: "quos et quam humiles accepisset, compulsos in oppida, [1]multatos agris, omnibus ereptis copiis, imposito stipendio, obsidibus summa cum contumelia extortis; et quam in fortunam, [2]quamque in amplitudinem deduxisset, ut non solum in pristinum statum redissent, sed [3]omnium temporum dignitatem et gratiam antecessisse viderentur." His datis mandatis, eos ab se dimisit.

55. Noviodunum erat oppidum Æduorum, ad ripas Ligeris opportuno loco positum. [4]Huc Cæsar omnes obsides Galliæ, frumentum, pecuniam publicam, suorum atque exercitus impedimentorum magnam partem contulerat: huc magnum numerum equorum, hujus belli causa in Italia atque Hispania coëmtum, miserat. Eo cum Eporedirix Viridomarusque venissent et de statu civitatis cognovissent, Litavicum [5]Bibracte ab Æduis receptum, quod est oppidum apud eos maximæ auctoritatis, Convictolitanem magistratum magnamque partem senatus ad eum convenisse, legatos ad Vercingetorigem de pace et amicitia concilianda publice missos: non prætermittendum [6]tantum commodum existimaverunt. Itaque, interfectis Novioduni custodibus, quique eo negotiandi aut itineris causa convenerant, pecuniam atque equos inter se partiti sunt; obsides civitatum Bibracte ad magistratum deducendos curaverunt; oppidum, quod ab se teneri non posse judicabant, ne cui esset usui Romanis, incenderunt; frumenti quod subito potuerunt, navibus avexerunt; reliquum flumine atque incendio corruperunt; ipsi ex finitimis regionibus copias cogere, præsidia custodiasque ad ripas Ligeris disponere, equitatumque omnibus locis, injiciendi timoris causa, ostentare cœperunt, [7]si ab re frumentaria Romanos excludere possent. Quam ad spem multum eos adjuvabat, quod Liger [8]ex nivibus creverat, ut omnino vado non posse transiri videretur.

56. Quibus rebus cognitis, Cæsar maturandum sibi censuit, [9]si esset in perficiendis pontibus periclitandum, ut

prius, quam essent majores eo coactæ copiæ, dimicaret Nam, ut commutato consilio iter in Provinciam converteret, [1]id nemo tunc quidem necessario faciendum existimabat, cum quod infamia atque indignitas rei et oppositus mons Cevenna viarumque difficultas impediebat, tum maxime, [2]quod abjuncto Labieno atque iis legionibus, quas una miserat, vehementer timebat. Itaque, admodum magnis diurnis atque nocturnis itineribus confectis, contra omnium opinionem ad Ligerim pervenit; vadoque per equites invento, [3]pro rei necessitate opportuno, ut brachia modo atque humeri ad sustinenda arma liberi ab aqua esse possent, disposito equitatu, qui vim fluminis refringeret, atque hostibus primo aspectu perturbatis, incolumem exercitum transduxit: frumentumque in agris et pecoris copiam nactus, repleto iis rebus exercitu, iter in Senonas facere instituit.

57. Dum hæc apud Cæsarem geruntur, Labienus eo supplemento, quod nuper ex Italia venerat, relicto Agendici, ut esset impedimentis præsidio, cum quatuor legionibus Lutetiam proficiscitur (id est oppidum Parisiorum, positum in insula fluminis Sequanæ), cujus adventu ab hostibus cognito, magnæ ex finitimis civitatibus copiæ convenerunt. Summa imperii transditur Camulogeno Aulerco, qui, prope confectus ætate, tamen propter singularem scientiam rei militaris ad eum est honorem evocatus. Is cum animum advertisset, [4]perpetuam esse paludem, quæ influeret in Sequanam atque illum omnem locum magnopere impediret, hic consedit nostrosque transitu prohibere instituit.

58. Labienus primo vineas agere, cratibus atque aggere paludem explere atque iter munire conabatur. Postquam id [5]difficilius confieri animadvertit, silentio e castris tertia vigilia egressus, eodem, quo venerat, itinere Melodunum pervenit. Id est oppidum Senonum, in insula Sequanæ positum, ut paulo ante Lutetiam diximus. Deprehensis navibus circiter quinquaginta celeriterque conjunctis, atque eo militibus impositis et rei novitate perterritis oppidanis quo-

rum magna pars ad bellum erat evocata, sine contentione oppido potitur. Refecto ponte, quem superioribus diebus hostes resciderant, exercitum transducit et secundo flumine ad Lutetiam iter facere cœpit. Hostes, re cognita ab iis qui a Meloduno profugerant, Lutetiam incendunt pontesque ejus oppidi rescindi jubent: ipsi [1]profecti a palude, in ripis Sequanæ, e regione Lutetiæ, contra Labieni castra considunt.

59. Jam Cæsar a Gergovia discessisse audiebatur; jam de Æduorum defectione et [2]secundo Galliæ motu rumores afferebantur, Gallique in colloquiis, interclusum itinere et Ligeri Cæsarem, inopia frumenti coactum, in Provinciam contendisse confirmabant. Bellovaci autem, defectione Æduorum cognita, qui ante erant per se [3]infideles, manus cogere atque aperte bellum parare cœperunt. Tum Labienus, tanta rerum commutatione, longe aliud sibi capiendum consilium, atque antea senserat, intelligebat: neque jam, ut aliquid acquireret, [4]prœlioque hostes lacesseret; sed ut incolumem exercitum Agendicum reduceret, cogitabat. Namque altera ex parte Bellovaci, quæ civitas in Gallia [5]maximam habet opinionem virtutis, instabant; alteram Camulogenus parato atque instructo exercitu tenebat: tum legiones, a præsidio atque impedimentis interclusas, maximum flumen [6]distinebat. Tantis subito difficultatibus objectis, ab animi virtute auxilium petendum videbat.

60. Itaque sub vesperum consilio convocato, cohortatus, ut ea, quæ imperasset, diligenter industrieque administrarent, naves, quas a Meloduno deduxerat, singulas equitibus Romanis attribuit, et, prima confecta vigilia, quatuor millia passuum secundo flumine silentio progredi ibique se expectari jubet. Quinque cohortes, quas minime firmas ad dimicandum esse existimabat, [8]castris præsidio relinquit: quinque ejusdem legionis reliquas de media nocte cum omnibus impedimentis adverso flumine magno tumultu proficisci imperat. [9]Conquirit etiam lintres: has, magno sonitu remorum incitatas, in eandem partem mittit. Ipse post

paulo, silentio egressus, cum tribus legionibus [1]eum locum petit, quo naves appelli jusserat.

61. Eo cum esset ventum, exploratores hostium, ut omni fluminis parte erant dispositi, inopinantes, quod magna subito erat coorta tempestas, ab nostris opprimuntur: [2]exercitus equitatusque, equitibus Romanis [3]administrantibus, quos ei negotio præfecerat, celeriter transmittitur. Uno fere tempore sub lucem hostibus nunciatur, in castris Romanorum [4]præter consuetudinem tumultuari et magnum ire agmen adverso flumine, sonitumque remorum in eadem parte exaudiri, et paulo infra milites navibus transportari. Quibus rebus auditis, quod existimabant tribus locis transire legiones, atque omnes, perturbatos defectione Æduorum, fugam parare, suas quoque copias in tres partes distribuerunt. Nam, et præsidio e regione castrorum relicto, et parva manu [5]Metiosedum versus missa, quæ tantum progrederetur, quantum naves processissent, reliquas copias contra Labienum duxerunt.

62. Prima luce et nostri omnes erant transportati et hostium acies cernebatur. Labienus, milites cohortatus, "ut suæ pristinæ virtutis et tot secundissimorum prœliorum memoriam retinerent, atque ipsum Cæsarem, cujus ductu sæpenumero hostes superassent, præsentem adesse existimarent," dat signum prœlii. Primo concursu ab dextro cornu, ubi septima legio consisterat, hostes pelluntur atque in fugam conjiciuntur: ab sinistro, quem locum duodecima legio tenebat, cum primi ordines hostium transfixi pilis concidissent, tamen acerrime reliqui resistebant, [6]nec dabat suspicionem fugæ quisquam. Ipse dux hostium Camulogenus suis aderat atque eos cohortabatur. At, incerto etiam nunc exitu victoriæ, cum septimæ legionis tribunis esset nunciatum, quæ in sinistro cornu gererentur, post tergum hostium legionem ostenderunt signaque intulerunt. Ne eo quidem tempore quisquam loco cessit, sed circumventi omnes interfectique sunt. [7]Eandem fortunam tulit Camuloge-

nus. At ii, qui præsidio [1]contra castra Labieni erant relicti cum prœlium commissum audissent, subsidio suis ierunt collemque ceperunt, neque nostrorum militum victorum impetum sustinere potuerunt. Sic, cum suis fugientibus permixti, quos non silvæ montesque texerunt, ab equitatu sunt interfecti. [2]Hoc negotio confecto, Labienus revertitur Agendicum, ubi impedimenta totius exercitus relicta erant: inde cum omnibus copiis ad Cæsarem pervenit.

63. Defectione Æduorum cognita, bellum augetur. Legationes in omnes partes circummittuntur: quantum gratia, auctoritate, pecunia valent, ad solicitandas civitates nituntur. Nacti obsides, quos Cæsar apud eos deposuerat, [3]horum supplicio dubitantes territant. Petunt a Vercingetorige Ædui, ad se veniat, [4]rationesque belli gerendi communicet. [5]Re impetrata, contendunt ut ipsis summa imperii transdatur; et, re in controversiam deducta, totius Galliæ concilium Bibracte indicitur. Eodem conveniunt undique frequentes. [6]Multitudinis suffragiis res permittitur: ad unum omnes Vercingetorigem probant imperatorem. Ab hoc concilio Remi, Lingones, Treviri afuerunt: [7]illi, quod amicitiam Romanorum sequebantur; Treviri, quod aberant longius et ab Germanis premebantur: quæ fuit causa, quare toto abessent bello et neutris auxilia mitterent. Magno dolore Ædui ferunt, se dejectos principatu; queruntur fortunæ commutationem, [8]et Cæsaris in se indulgentiam requirunt; neque tamen, suscepto bello, [9]suum consilium ab reliquis separare audent. Inviti, summæ spei adolescentes, Eporedirix et Viridomarus, Vercingetorigi parent.

64. Ille imperat reliquis civitatibus obsides: [10]denique ei rei constituit diem: huc omnes equites, [11]quindecim millia numero, celeriter convenire jubet: peditatu, quem ante habuerit, se fore contentum dicit, neque fortunam tentaturum, aut in acie dimicaturum; sed, quoniam abundet equitatu, perfacile esse factu, frumentationibus pabulationibusque Romanos prohibere: æquo modo animo sua ipsi frument cor

rumpant ædificiaque incendant, qua rei familiaris jactura perpetuum imperium libertatemque se consequi videant His constitutis rebus, Æduis Segusianisque, qui sunt finitimi [1]Provinciæ, decem millia peditum imperat: huc addit equites octingentos. His præficit fratrem Eporedirigis, bellumque inferre Allobrogibus jubet. Altera ex parte Gabalos proximosque pagos Arvernorum in Helvios, item Rutenos Cadurcosque ad fines Volcarum Arecomicorum depopulandos mittit. Nihilo minus clandestinis nunciis legationibusque Allobrogas solicitat, [2]quorum mentes nondum ab superiore bello resedisse sperabat. Horum principibus pecunias, civitati autem imperium totius povinciæ pollicetur.

65. [3]Ad hos omnes casus provisa erant præsidia cohortium duarum et viginti, quæ ex ipsa coacta provincia ab Lucio Cæsare legato ad omnes partes opponebantur. Helvii, sua sponte cum finitimis prœlio congressi, pelluntur, et Caio Valerio Donotauro, Caburi filio, principe civitatis compluribusque aliis interfectis, intra oppida murosque compelluntur. Allobroges, crebris ad Rhodanum dispositis præsidiis, magna cum cura et diligentia [4]suos fines tuentur. Cæsar, quod hostes equitatu superiores esse intelligebat, et, interclusis omnibus itineribus, nulla re ex Provincia atque Italia sublevari poterat, trans Rhenum in Germaniam mittit ad eas civitates, quas superioribus annis pacaverat, equitesque ab his arcessit, et levis armaturæ pedites, qui inter eos prœliari consueverant. Eorum adventu, quod minus idoneis equis utebantur, a tribunis militum reliquisque, [5]sed et equitibus Romanis atque [6]evocatis, equos sumit, Germanisque distribuit.

66. Interea, dum hæc geruntur, hostium copiæ ex Arvernis, equitesque, qui [7]toti Galliæ erant imperati, conveniunt. Magno horum coacto numero, cum Cæsar in Sequanos per extremos Lingonum fines iter faceret, quo facilius subsidium Provinciæ ferri posset, circiter millia passuum decem ab Romanis trinis castris Vercingetorix consedit: convocatis-

que ad concilium præfectis equitum, "venisse tempus victoriæ," demonstrat: "fugere in Provinciam Romanos Galliaque excedere: id sibi ad præsentem obtinendam libertatem satis esse; ad reliqui temporis pacem atque otium parum profici: majoribus enim coactis copiis reversuros, neque finem belli facturos. Proinde in agmine impeditos adoriantur. Si pedites suis auxilium ferant [1]atque in eo morentur, iter confici non posse; si (id quod magis futurum confidat), relictis impedimentis, suæ saluti consulant, et usu rerum necessariarum [2]et dignitate spoliatum iri. Nam de equitibus hostium, quin nemo eorum progredi modo extra agmen audeat, ne ipsos quidem debere dubitare. Id quo majore faciant animo, [3]copias se omnes pro castris habiturum, et terrori hostibus futurum." Conclamant equites, "sanctissimo jurejurando confirmari oportere, ne tecto recipiatur, ne ad liberos, ne ad parentes, ne ad uxorem aditum habeat, qui non bis per agmen hostium perequitarit."

67. Probata re atque omnibus ad jusjurandum adactis, postero die in tres partes distributo equitatu, [4]duæ se acies ab duobus lateribus ostendunt: [5]una a primo agmine iter impedire cœpit. Qua re nunciata, Cæsar suum quoque equitatum, tripartito divisum, contra hostem ire jubet. Pugnatur una tunc omnibus in partibus: consistit agmen: impedimenta inter legiones recipiuntur. Si qua in parte nostri laborare aut gravius premi videbantur, [6]eo signa inferri Cæsar aciemque converti jubebat: quæ res et hostes ad insequendum tardabat et nostros [7]spe auxilii confirmabat. Tandem [8]Germani ab dextro latere, summum jugum nacti, hostes loco depellunt; fugientes usque ad [9]flumen, ubi Vercingetorix cum pedestribus copiis consederat, persequuntur, compluresque interficiunt. Qua re animadversa, reliqui, ne circumvenirentur, veriti, se fugæ mandant. Omnibus locis fit cædes: tres nobilissimi Ædui capti ad Cæsarem perducuntur: [10]Cotus, præfectus equitum, qui controversiam cum Convictolitane proximis comitiis habuerat; et Cavarillus,

qui post defectionem Litavici pedestribus copiis præfuerat; et Eporedirix, quo duce ante adventum Cæsaris Ædui cum Sequanis bello contenderant.

68. Fugato omni equitatu, Vercingetorix copias suas, [1]ut pro castris collocaverat, reduxit; protinusque [2]Alesiam, quod est oppidum Mandubiorum, iter facere cœpit; celeriterque impedimenta ex castris educi et se subsequi jussit. Cæsar, impedimentis in proximum collem deductis, duabusque legionibus præsidio relictis, secutus, quantum diei tempus est passum, circiter [3]tribus millibus hostium ex novissimo agmine interfectis, altero die ad Alesiam castra fecit. Perspecto urbis situ, perterritisque hostibus, quod equitatu, [4]quo maxime confidebant, erant pulsi, adhortatus ad laborem milites, Alesiam circumvallare instituit.

69. Ipsum erat oppidum in colle summo, admodum edito loco, ut, nisi obsidione, expugnari posse non videretur. Cujus collis radices [5]duo duabus ex partibus flumina subluebant. Ante id oppidum planities circiter millia passuum trium in longitudinem patebat: reliquis ex omnibus partibus [6]colles, mediocri interjecto spatio, pari altitudinis fastigio, oppidum cingebant. Sub muro, quæ pars collis ad orientem solem spectabat, hunc omnem locum copiæ Gallorum compleverant, fossamque et [7]maceriam sex in altitudinem pedum præduxerant. [8]Ejus munitionis, quæ ab Romanis instituebatur, circuitus undecim millium passuum tenebat. Castra opportunis locis erant posita, ibique [9]castella viginti tria facta; quibus in castellis interdiu stationes disponebantur, ne qua subito eruptio fieret: hæc eadem noctu [10]excubitoribus ac firmis præsidiis tenebantur.

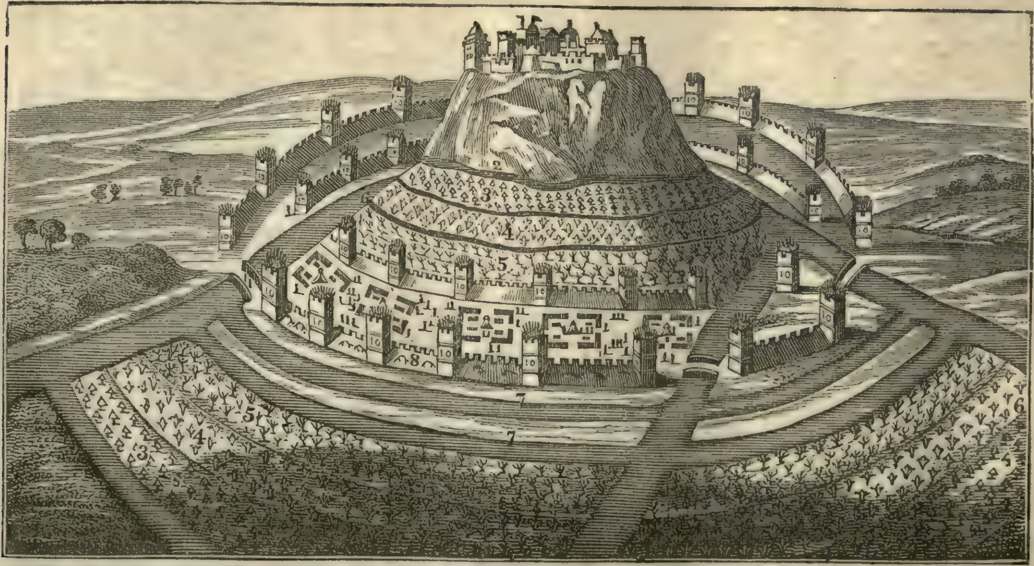
70. [11]Opere instituto, fit equestre prœlium in ea planitie quam intermissam collibus tria millia passuum in longitudinem patere, supra demonstravimus. Summa vi ab utrisque contenditur. Laborantibus nostris Cæsar Germanos submittit, legionesque pro castris constituit, ne qua subito irruptio ab hostium peditatu fiat. Præsidio legionum addito,

nostris animus augetur: hostes, in fugam conjecti, se ipsi multitudine impediunt [1]atque angustioribus portis relictis coarctantur. Tum Germani acrius usque ad munitiones sequuntur. Fit magna cædes: nonnulli, relictis equis, fossam transire et maceriam transcendere conantur. Paulum legiones Cæsar, quas pro vallo constituerat, promoveri jubet. Non minus, qui intra munitiones erant, Galli perturbantur; [2]veniri ad se confestim existimantes, ad arma conclamant; nonnulli perterriti in oppidum irrumpunt. Vercingetorix portas jubet claudi, ne castra nudentur. Multis interfectis, compluribus equis captis, Germani sese recipiunt.

71. Vercingetorix, priusquam munitiones ab Romanis perficiantur, consilium capit, omnem ab se equitatum noctu [3]dimittere. Discedentibus mandat, "ut suam quisque eorum civitatem adeat, omnesque, qui per ætatem arma ferre possint, ad bellum cogant; sua in illos merita proponit, obtestaturque, ut suæ salutis rationem habeant, neu se, de communi libertate optime meritum, hostibus in cruciatum dedant: quod si indiligentiores fuerint, millia hominum delecta octoginta una secum interitura demonstrat; [4]ratione inita, frumentum se exigue dierum triginta habere, sed paulo etiam longius tolerare posse parcendo." His datis mandatis, qua erat nostrum opus [5]intermissum, secunda vigilia silentio equitatum dimittit; frumentum omne ad se referri jubet; capitis pœnam iis, qui non paruerint, constituit: pecus, cujus magna erat ab Mandubiis compulsa copia, viritim distribuit; frumentum parce et paulatim metiri instituit: copias omnes, quas pro oppido collocaverat, in oppidum recipit. His rationibus auxilia Galliæ expectare et bellum administrare parat.

72. Quibus rebus ex perfugis et captivis cognitis, Cæsar hæc genera munitionis instituit. Fossam [6]pedum viginti directis lateribus duxit, ut ejus fossæ solum tantundem pateret, quantum summa labra distabant. [7]Reliquas omnes munitiones ab ea fossa pedes quadringentos reduxit: id hoc

ALESIA.



1. Alesia, situated on a high hill. 2. Ditch made by Cæsar under the hill. 3. Stimuli. 4. Lilies. 5. Cippi 6. Pits covered with bushes .. Two ditches, fifteen feet broad. 8. Rampart and battlements. 9. Stakes in the form of a stag's horns 10. Towers.

consilio (quoniam tantum esset necessario spatium complexus, [1]nec facile totum opus corona militum cingeretur), ne de improviso aut noctu ad munitiones hostium multitudo advolaret; aut interdiu tela in nostros, [2]operi destinatos, conjicere possent. [3]Hoc intermisso spatio, duas fossas, quindecim pedes latas, eadem altitudine perduxit: quarum interiorem, campestribus ac demissis locis, aqua ex flumine derivata complevit. [4]Post eas aggerem ac vallum duodecim pedum exstruxit; huic loricam pinnasque adjecit, [5]grandibus cervis eminentibus ad commissuras pluteorum atque aggeris, qui ascensum hostium tardarent; et [6]turres toto opere circumdedit, quæ pedes octoginta inter se distarent

73. Erat eodem tempore et [7]materiari et frumentari et tantas munitiones fieri necesse, [8]deminutis nostris copiis quæ longius ab castris progrediebantur: ac nonnunquam opera nostra Galli tentare, atque eruptionem ex oppido pluribus portis summa vi facere conabantur. Quare ad hæc rursus opera addendum Cæsar putavit, quo minore numero militum munitiones defendi possent. Itaque truncis arborum aut admodum firmis ramis [9]abscisis, [10]atque horum delibratis ac præacutis cacuminibus, [11]perpetuæ fossæ, quinos pedes altæ, ducebantur. [12]Huc illi stipites demissi et ab infimo revincti, ne revelli possent, ab ramis eminebant. Quini erant ordines, conjuncti inter se atque implicati; [13]quo qui intraverant, se ipsi acutissimis vallis induebant. [14]Hos cippos appellabant. Ante hos, obliquis ordinibus in [15]quincuncem dispositos, [16]scrobes trium in altitudinem pedum fodiebantur, paulatim angustiore ad infimum fastigio. Huc teretes stipites, feminis crassitudine, ab summo præacuti et præusti, demittebantur ita, ut non amplius digitis quatuor ex terra eminerent: [17]simul, confirmandi et stabiliendi causa, singuli ab infimo solo pedes terra exculcabantur: reliqua pars scrobis ad occultandas insidias viminibus ac virgultis integebatur. Hujus generis octoni ordines ducti, ternos inter se pedes distabant. [18]Id ex similitudine floris lilium

appellabant. Ante hæc [1]taleæ, pedem longæ, ferreis hamis infixis, totæ in terram infodiebantur; mediocribusque intermissis spatiis, omnibus locis disserebantur, quos stimulos nominabant.

74. His rebus perfectis, [2]regiones secutus quam potuit æquissimas pro loci natura, quatuordecim millia passuum complexus, pares ejusdem generis munitiones, diversas ab his, contra exteriorem hostem perfecit, ut ne magna quidem multitudine, si ita accidat [3]ejus discessu, munitionum præsidia circumfundi possent: [4]neu cum periculo ex castris egredi cogantur, dierum triginta pabulum frumentumque habere omnes convectum jubet.

75. Dum hæc ad Alesiam geruntur, Galli, concilio [5]principum indicto, non omnes, qui arma ferre possent, ut censuit Vercingetorix, convocandos statuunt, sed certum numerum cuique civitati imperandum; ne, tanta multitudine confusa, nec moderari, nec discernere suos, nec [6]frumentandi rationem habere possent. Imperant Æduis atque eorum clientibus, Segusianis, Ambivaretis, [7]Aulercis Brannovicibus, millia triginta quinque; parem numerum Arvernis, adjunctis Eleutetis Cadurcis, Gabalis, Velaunis, qui sub imperio Arvernorum esse consuerunt, Senonibus, Sequanis, Biturigibus, Santonis, Rutenis, Carnutibus duodena millia; Bellovacis decem; totidem Lemovicibus; octona Pictonibus et Turonis et Parisiis et Helviis; Suessionibus, Ambianis, Mediomatricis, Petrocoriis, Nerviis, Morinis, Nitiobrigibus quina millia, Aulercis Cenomanis totidem; Atrebatibus quatuor; Bellocassis, Lexoviis, Aulercis Eburovicibus terna; Rauracis et Boiis triginta; universis civitatibus, quæ Oceanum attingunt, quæque eorum consuetudine Armoricæ appellantur (quo sunt in numero Curiosolites, Rhedones, Ambibari, Caletes, Osismii, [8]Lemovices, Veneti, Unelli), sex. Ex his Bellovaci suum numerum non contulerunt, quod se suo nomine atque arbitrio cum Romanis bellum gesturos dicerent, neque cujusquam imperio obtem-

peraturos: rogati tamen ab Commio, pro ejus hospitio bina millia miserunt.

76. [1]Hujus opera Commii, ita ut antea demonstravimus, fideli atque utili superioribus annis erat usus in Britannia Cæsar: quibus ille pro meritis [2]civitatem ejus immunem esse jusserat, [3]jura legesque reddiderat, atque ipsi Morinos attribuerat. Tanta tamen universæ Galliæ consensio fuit libertatis vindicandæ, et pristinæ belli laudis recuperandæ, ut neque beneficiis, neque amicitiæ memoria, moverentur; omnesque et animo et opibus in id bellum incumberent, coactis equitum octo millibus et peditum circiter ducentis et quadraginta. [4]Hæc in Æduorum finibus recensebantur numerusque inibatur: præfecti constituebantur: Commio Atrebati, Viridomaro et Eporedirigi, Æduis, Vergasillauno Arverno, consobrino Vercingetorigis, summa imperii transditur. His delecti ex civitatibus attribuuntur, quorum consilio bellum administraretur. Omnes alacres et fiduciæ pleni ad Alesiam proficiscuntur: neque erat omnium quisquam, qui aspectum modo tantæ multitudinis sustineri posse arbitraretur; præsertim [5]ancipiti prœlio, cum ex oppido eruptione pugnaretur, [6]foris tantæ copiæ equitatus peditatusque cernerentur.

77. At ii, qui Alesiæ obsidebantur, [7]præterita die, qua suorum auxilia expectaverant, consumto omni frumento, inscii, quid in Æduis gereretur, concilio coacto, de exitu fortunarum suarum consultabant. Apud quos variis dictis sententiis, quarum pars deditionem, pars, dum vires suppeterent, eruptionem censebant, non prætereunda videtur oratio Critognati, propter ejus singularem ac nefariam crudelitatem. Hic, summo in Arvernis ortus loco, et magnæ habitus auctoritatis, "Nihil," inquit, "de eorum sententia dicturus sum, qui turpissimam servitutem deditionis nomine appellant; neque hos habendos civium loco, neque ad concilium adhibendos, censeo. Cum iis mihi res sit, qui eruptionem probant: quorum in consilio, omnium vestrum con

sensu, pristinæ residere virtutis memoria videtur. Animi est ista mollities, non virtus, inopiam paulisper ferre non posse. Qui ultro morti offerant, facilius reperiuntur, quam qui dolorem patienter ferant. Atque ego hanc sententiam probarem ([1]nam apud me multum dignitas potest), si nullam, præterquam vitæ nostræ, jacturam fieri viderem; sed in consilio capiendo omnem Galliam respiciamus, quam ad nostrum auxilium concitavimus. Quid, hominum [2]millibus octoginta uno loco interfectis, propinquis consanguineisque nostris animi fore existimatis, si pæne in ipsis cadaveribus prœlio decertare cogentur? Nolite hos vestro auxilio [3]exspoliare, qui vestræ salutis causa suum periculum neglexerint; [4]nec stultitia ac temeritate vestra, aut imbecillitate animi, omnem Galliam prosternere et perpetuæ servituti addicere. An, quod ad diem non venerunt, de eorum fide constantiaque dubitatis? Quid ergo? Romanos in illis ulterioribus munitionibus [5]animine causa quotidie exerceri putatis? Si [6]illorum nunciis confirmari non potestis, omni aditu præsepto; iis utimini testibus, appropinquare eorum adventum; cujus rei timore exterriti diem noctemque in opere versantur. Quid ergo mei consilii est? Facere, quod nostri majores, nequaquam pari bello Cimbrorum Teutonumque, fecerunt; qui in oppida compulsi, ac simili inopia subacti, [7]eorum corporibus, qui ætate inutiles ad bellum videbantur, vitam toleraverunt, neque se hostibus transdiderunt. Cujus rei [8]si exemplum non haberemus, tamen libertatis causa institui et posteris prodi pulcherrimum judicarem. [9]Nam quid illi simile bello fuit? [10]Depopulata Gallia, Cimbri, magnaque illata calamitate, finibus quidem nostris aliquando excesserunt, atque alias terras petierunt; jura, leges, agros, libertatem nobis reliquerunt: Romani vero quid petunt aliud, aut quid volunt, nisi invidia adducti, quos fama nobiles potentesque bello cognoverunt, horum in agris civitatibusque considere, atque his æternam injungere servitutem? Neque enim unquam alia conditione bella gesserunt

Quod si ea, quæ in longinquis nationibus geruntur, ignoratis, respicite finitimam Galliam, quæ in provinciam redacta, jure et legibus commutatis, [1]securibus subjecta, perpetua premitur servitute."

78. Sententiis dictis, constituunt, ut, qui valetudine aut ætate inutiles sint bello, oppido excedant, atque omnia [2]prius experiantur, quam ad Critognati sententiam descendant: illo tamen potius utendum consilio, si res cogat atque auxilia morentur, quam aut deditionis aut pacis subeundam conditionem. Mandubii, qui eos oppido receperant, cum liberis atque uxoribus exire coguntur. Hi, cum ad munitiones Romanorum accessissent, flentes omnibus precibus orabant, ut se, in servitutem receptos, cibo juvarent. At Cæsar, dispositis in vallo custodiis, [3]recipi prohibebat.

79. Interea Commius et reliqui duces, quibus summa imperii permissa erat, cum omnibus copiis ad Alesiam perveniunt, et, colle exteriore occupato, non longius mille passibus ab nostris munitionibus considunt. Postero die equitatu ex castris educto, omnem eam [4]planitiem, quam in longitudinem tria millia passuum patere demonstravimus, complent, pedestresque copias paulum ab eo loco [5]abductas in locis superioribus constituunt. Erat ex oppido Alesia despectus in campum. Concurritur, his auxiliis visis: fit gratulatio inter eos, atque omnium animi ad lætitiam excitantur. Itaque productis copiis ante oppidum considunt, et proximam fossam cratibus integunt atque aggere explent, seque ad eruptionem atque omnes casus comparant.

80. Cæsar, omni exercitu [6]ad utramque partem munitionum disposito, ut, si usus veniat, suum quisque locum teneat et noverit, equitatum ex castris educi et prœlium committi jubet. Erat ex omnibus castris, quæ summum undique jugum tenebant, despectus; atque omnium militum intenti animi pugnæ [7]proventum expectabant. Galli inter equites [8]raros sagittarios expeditosque levis armaturæ interjecerant, qui suis cedentibus auxilio succurrerent, et nostrorum equi-

um impetus sustinerent. Ab his complures de improviso vulnerati prœlio excedebant. Cum suos [1]pugnæ superiores esse Galli confiderent et nostros multitudine premi viderent, ex omnibus partibus et ii, qui munitionibus continebantur, [2]et ii, qui ad auxilium convenerant, clamore et ululatu suorum animos confirmabant. Quod in conspectu omnium res gerebatur, neque recte ac turpiter factum celari poterat; utrosque et laudis cupiditas et timor ignominiæ ad virtutem excitabant. Cum a meridie prope ad solis occasum dubia victoria pugnaretur, Germani una in parte [3]confertis turmis in hostes impetum fecerunt, eosque propulerunt: quibus in fugam conjectis, sagittarii circumventi interfectique sunt. Item ex reliquis partibus nostri, cedentes usque ad castra insecuti, sui colligendi facultatem non dederunt. At ii, qui ab Alesia processerant, mœsti, prope victoria desperata, se in oppidum receperunt.

81. Uno die intermisso, Galli, atque hoc spatio magno cratium, scalarum, [4]harpagonum numero effecto, media nocte silentio ex castris egressi, ad [5]campestres munitiones accedunt. Subito clamore sublato, qua significatione, qui in oppido obsidebantur, de suo adventu cognoscere possent, crates projicere, fundis, sagittis, lapidibus nostros de vallo deturbare, reliquaque, quæ ad oppugnationem pertinent, administrare. Eodem tempore, clamore exaudito, dat tuba signum suis Vercingetorix atque ex oppido educit. Nostri, ut superioribus diebus suus cuique locus erat definitus, ad munitiones accedunt: fundis, [6]libralibus, sudibusque, quas in opere disposuerant, ac [7]glandibus Gallos perterrent. Prospectu tenebris ademto, multa utrimque vulnera accipiuntur; complura tormentis tela conjiciuntur. At Marcus Antonius et Caius Trebonius, legati, quibus eæ partes ad defendendum obvenerant, qua ex parte nostros premi intellexerant, iis auxilio ex [8]ulterioribus castellis deductos submittebant.

82. Dum longius ab munitione aberant Galli, [9]plus mul

titudine telorum proficiebant: posteaquam propius successerunt, aut se ipsi stimulis inopinantes induebant, aut in scrobes delapsi transfodiebantur, aut ex vallo ac turribus transjecti [1]pilis muralibus interibant. Multis undique vulneribus acceptis, nulla munitione perrupta, cum lux [2]appeteret, veriti, ne ab latere aperto ex superioribus castris eruptione circumvenirentur, se ad suos receperunt. At [3]interiores, dum ea, quæ a Vercingetorige ad eruptionem præparata erant, proferunt, priores fossas explent; diutius in iis rebus administrandis morati, prius suos discessisse cognoverunt, quam munitionibus appropinquarent. Ita, re infecta, in oppidum reverterunt.

83. Bis magno cum detrimento repulsi Galli, quid agant, consulunt: locorum peritos adhibent: ab his [4]superiorum castrorum situs munitionesque cognoscunt. Erat a septentrionibus collis, quem propter magnitudinem circuitus opere circumplecti non potuerant nostri, necessarioque [5]pæne iniquo loco et leniter declivi castra fecerant. Hæc Caius Antistius Reginus et Caius Caninius Rebilus, legati, cum duabus legionibus obtinebant. Cognitis per exploratores regionibus, duces hostium sexaginta millia ex omni numero deligunt earum civitatum, quæ maximam virtutis opinionem habebant; quid quoque pacto agi placeat, occulte inter se constituunt; adeundi tempus definiunt, cum meridies esse videatur. Iis copiis [6]Vergassillaunum Arvernum, unum ex quatuor ducibus, propinquum Vercingetorigis, præficiunt. Ille ex castris prima vigilia egressus, prope confecto sub lucem itinere, post montem se occultavit, militesque ex nocturno labore sese reficere jussit. Cum jam meridies appropinquare videretur, ad ea castra, quæ supra demonstravimus, contendit: eodemque tempore equitatus ad campestres munitiones accedere et reliquæ copiæ pro castris sese ostendere cœperunt.

84. Vercingetorix ex arce Alesiæ suos conspicatus, ex oppido egreditur; [7]a castris longurios, musculos, falces rel-

iquaque, quæ eruptionis causa paraverat, profert. Pugnatur uno tempore omnibus locis acriter, atque [1]omnia tentantur: qua minime visa pars firma est, huc concurritur. Romanorum manus tantis munitionibus distinetur, nec facile pluribus locis occurrit. Multum ad terrendos nostros valuit clamor, qui post tergum pugnantibus extitit, [2]quod suum periculum in aliena vident virtute constare: omnia enim plerumque, quæ absunt, vehementius hominum mentes perturbant.

85. Cæsar idoneum locum nactus, quid quaque in parte geratur, cognoscit, laborantibus auxilium submittit. [3]Utrisque ad animum occurrit, unum illud esse tempus, quo maxime contendi conveniat. Galli, nisi perfregerint munitiones, de omni salute desperant: Romani, [4]si rem obtinuerint, finem laborum omnium expectant. Maxime ad superiores munitiones laboratur, quo Vergasillaunum missum demonstravimus. [5]Exiguum loci ad declivitatem fastigium magnum habet momentum. Alii tela conjiciunt; alii testudine facta subeunt; defatigatis in vicem integri succedunt. [6]Agger, ab universis in munitionem conjectus, et ascensum dat Gallis, et [7]ea, quæ in terram occultaverant Romani, contegit: nec jam arma nostris, nec vires suppetunt.

86. His rebus cognitis, Cæsar Labienum cum cohortibus sex subsidio laborantibus mittit: imperat, si sustinere non possit, [8]deductis cohortibus eruptione pugnet: id, nisi necessario, ne faciat. Ipse adit reliquos; cohortatur, ne labori succumbant; omnium superiorum dimicationum fructum in eo die atque hora docet consistere. Interiores, desperatis campestribus locis propter magnitudinem munitionum, [9]loca prærupta ex ascensu tentant: huc ea, quæ paraverant, conferunt: multitudine telorum ex turribus propugnantes deturbant: [10]aggere et cratibus fossas explent, aditus expediunt: falcibus vallum ac loricam rescindunt.

87. Cæsar mittit primo Brutum adolescentem cum cohortibus sex, post cum aliis septem Caium Fabium legatum: postremo ipse, cum vehementius pugnarent, integros sub-

sidio adducit. Restituto prœlio ac repulsis hostibus, eo, quo Labienum miserat, contendit; cohortes quatuor ex proximo castello deducit; equitum se partem sequi, partem [1]circumire exteriores munitiones, et ab tergo hostes adoriri jubet. Labienus, postquam neque [2]aggeres, neque fossæ vim hostium sustinere poterant, coactis undequadraginta cohortibus, quas ex proximis præsidiis deductas fors obtulit, Cæsarem per nuncios facit certiorem, quid faciendum existimet. Accelerat Cæsar, ut prœlio intersit.

88. Ejus adventu [3]ex colore vestitus [4]cognito, turmisque equitum et cohortibus visis, quas se sequi jusserat, [5]ut de ocis superioribus hæc declivia et devexa cernebantur, hostes prœlium committunt. Utrimque clamore sublato, excipit rursus ex vallo atque omnibus munitionibus clamor. Nostri, omissis pilis, gladiis rem gerunt. Repente post tergum equitatus cernitur: cohortes aliæ appropinquant: hostes terga vertunt: fugientibus equites occurrunt: fit magna cædes. Sedulius, dux et princeps Lemovicum, occiditur: Vergasillaunus Arvernus vivus in fuga comprehenditur: signa militaria septuaginta quatuor ad Cæsarem referuntur: pauci ex tanto numero se incolumes in castra recipiunt. Conspicati ex oppido cædem et fugam suorum, desperata salute, copias a munitionibus reducunt. [6]Fit protinus, hac re audita, ex castris Gallorum fuga. Quod nisi [7]crebris subsidiis ac totius diei labore milites essent defessi, omnes hostium copiæ deleri potuissent. De media nocte missus equitatus novissimum agmen consequitur: magnus numerus capitur atque interficitur, reliqui ex fuga in civitates discedunt.

89. Postero die Vercingetorix, concilio convocato, id se bellum suscepisse non suarum necessitatum, sed communis libertatis causa, demonstrat; et quoniam sit fortunæ cedendum, ad utramque rem se illis offerre, seu morte sua Romanis satisfacere, seu vivum transdere velint. Mittuntur de his rebus ad Cæsarem legati Jubet arma transdi prin-

cipes produci. Ipse in munitione pro castris consedit: eo duces producuntur. [1]Vercingetorix deditur, arma projiciuntur. Reservatis Æduis atque Arvernis, si [2]per eos civitates recuperare posset, [3]ex reliquis captivis toto exercitu capita singula prædæ nomine distribuit.

90. His rebus confectis, in Æduos proficiscitur; [4]civitatem recipit. Eo legati ab Arvernis missi, quæ imperaret, se facturos pollicentur. Imperat magnum numerum obsidum. Legiones in hiberna mittit: captivorum circiter viginti millia Æduis Arvernisque reddit: Titum Labienum duabus cum legionibus et equitatu in Sequanos proficisci jubet: huic Marcum Sempronium Rutilum attribuit: Caium Fabium et Lucium Minucium Basilum cum duabus legionibus in Remis collocat, ne quam ab finitimis Bellovacis calamitatem accipiant. Caium Antistium Reginum in Ambivaretos, Titum Sextium in Bituriges, Caium Caninium Rebilum in Rutenos cum singulis legionibus mittit. Quintum Tullium Ciceronem et Publium Sulpicium Cabilloni et Matiscone in Æduis ad Ararim, rei frumentariæ causa, collocat. Ipse Bibracte hiemare constituit. His rebus literis Cæsaris cognitis, Romæ dierum viginti supplicatio indicitur.

ΓΑΙΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ

ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ.

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΓΑΛΑΤΙΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Α.

ΠΑ͂ΣΑ μὲν ἡ Γαλατία εἰς τρία μέρη διῄρηται· ὧν τὸ μὲν οἱ Βέλγαι· τὸ δὲ οἱ Ἀκυϊτανοί· τὸ τρίτον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχωρίως μὲν Κέλτοι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν φωνὴν Γάλλοι ὀνομαζόμενοι, κατοικοῦσι· [1]καὶ οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ἔς τε τὴν διάλεκτον καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων [2]κεχωρίδαται. Τοὺς δὲ Κελτοὺς ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν Ἀκυϊτανῶν ὁ [3]Γαρούμνας· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Βελγῶν ὅ τε Ματρόνας καὶ ὁ Σεκάνας διορίζουσι ποταμοί. Πάντων τούτων κράτιστοί εἰσιν οἱ Βέλγαι· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι πολὺ ἀφιστᾶσι τῆς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπαρχίᾳ [4]ἡμερότητος τῆς διαγωγῆς, καὶ οὐ μὴ πολλάκις ἔμποροι σφίσιν ἐπιμίσγονται, τὰ φιλοῦντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θρύπτειν καὶ ἐκθηλύνειν ἄγειν εἰωθότες· ἔπειτα δὲ, ὅτι πρόσχωροί εἰσι τοῖς πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου Γερμανοῖς, οἷς συνεχῶς πολεμοῦσι. Δι' αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ [5]Ἑλβήτιοι κράτιστοί εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς Κέλτοις· καθ' ἑκάστην μὲν γὰρ σχεδὸν μάχην τοῖς καθ' αὑτοὺς Γερμανοῖς συνάπτουσιν, ἐκ τῆς σφῶν ἐξελαύνοντες, ἢ καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἐμβάλλοντες. Ἡ μὲν οὖν Κελτικὴ, ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ἀρχομένη, τῷ ποταμῷ Γαρούμνᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ Ὠκεανῷ περιλαμβάνεται, καὶ προσψαύει τῷ Ῥήνῳ κατὰ τοὺς Σεκανούς τε καὶ τοὺς Ἑλβητίους· ῥέπει δὲ πρὸς Ἄρκτους· ἡ δὲ Βελγικὴ, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν τῆς Κελτικῆς μεθορίων ἀρχομένη, διήκει μέχρις ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω τοῦ Ῥήνου· τέτραπται δὲ πρὸς Ἄρκτον καὶ ἀνατολήν· ἡ δὲ Ἀκυϊτανία διήκει μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Γαρούμνα μέχρις ἐπὶ τὰ Πυῤῥηναῖα ὄρη, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀτλαντικοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ εἰς Ἰβηρίαν τείνοντα· ἀφορᾷ δὲ τὰ μεταξὺ Ἄρκτων τε καὶ ἀνατολῶν.

II. [1]Ἦν δέ ποτε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλβητίοις ἀνὴρ πλουσιώτατος, καὶ τῷ γένει λαμπρότατος, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Ὀργέτορυξ. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Μάρκου Μεσσάλα τε καὶ Μάρκου Πείσωνος, τοῦ

βασιλεύειν μάλιστα ἐπιθυμῶν, πρῶτον μὲν μετὰ τῶν εὐγενεστέρων συνώμοσεν· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέπεισε πανδημεὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκστρατεύειν, ῥᾷστον ἐπιδείξας εἶναι αὐτοῖς κρατίστοις οὖσι πάσης τῆς Γαλατίας ἄρχειν. Τοσούτῳ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ οἱ Ἐλβήτιοι ἐπίστευσαν, ὅσῳ πανταχόθεν τῆς σφῶν χώρας αὐτοὶ περιφράττονται· τῇ μὲν, τῷ ʽΡήνῳ εὐρυτάτῳ τε καὶ βαθυτάτῳ ὄντι, τήν θ' ʽΕλβητικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Γερμανῶν ἀποτέμνοντι· τῇ δὲ, τῷ ʼΙούρᾳ, ὄρει ὑψηλοτάτῳ τ' ὄντι, καὶ τὴν ʽΕλβητικὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Σεκανικῆς διορίζοντι· τῇ δὲ, τῇ τε Λεμάνῳ λίμνῃ, καὶ τῷ ʽΡοδανῷ ποταμῷ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ʽΡωμαίων ἐπαρχίας διαχωρίζοντι. Αὗται μὲν οὖν ἦσαν αἱ αἰτίαι τοῦ αὐτούς τε τοῦ μὴ πολὺ εἰς εὐρὺ διασπείρεσθαι, καὶ δυσχερέστερον ἐπὶ τοὺς προσχώρους πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν· ὥστε αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες φιλοπόλεμοι μάλιστα ὄντες, διὰ τοῦτο ἐλυποῦντο ἰσχυρῶς. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ, πρός τε τὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων πλῆθος καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἀρετὴν σφῶν δόξαν, στενωτατην χώραν ἐνόμιζον ἔχειν, μῆκος μὲν, [1]χίλια ἐννεακόσια καὶ εἴκοσι στάδια, εὖρος δὲ χίλια τετρακόσια καὶ εἴκοσι περιέχουσαν.

III. *Τούτοις μὲν οὖν πειθόμενοι, καὶ τῷ τοῦ ʼΟργετόρυγος ἀξιώματι παρορμηθέντες, τὰ πρὸς ὁδοιπορίαν πάντα ἐψηφίσαντο παρασκευάζεσθαι, οἷον ὑποζύγιά τε καὶ ἅρματα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα παντοδαπὰ ὡς πλεῖστα ὠνεῖσθαι, καὶ σπόρους ὡς πλείστους, ἵνα ὁ σῖτος σφίσι καθ' ὁδὸν διαρκοίη, ποιεῖσθαι, εἰρήνην δὲ καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις ποιήσασθαι. Εἰς δὲ τὸ ταῦτα διαπράττειν δύο ἔτη σφίσι διαρκέσειν νομίσαντες, τῷ τρίτῳ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἐπεκύρωσαν. Τὸν δ' ʼΟργετόρυγα τοῦτο κατεργασόμενον ἀποδείξαντες, ἐκεῖνος τὴν πρεσβειαν μὲν προσεδέξατο. Καθ' ὁδὸν δὲ Κάστικον τὸν Καταμανταλέδους, τοῦ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τοῖς Σεκανοῖς βασιλεύσαντος, καὶ φίλου ὑπό τε τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ʽΡωμαίων κληθέντος, τῇ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πόλεως τοῦ πατρὸς τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνέπεισε· καὶ Δουμνόρυγα τὸν ʽΕδουέα, τὸν Διβιτιακοῦ, τοῦ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἐδουέων ἀρίστου τε καὶ ἀρεστοῦ τῷ πλήθει ὄντος, ἀδελφὸν, ταυτο ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀναπείσας, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα ἐκείνῳ [2]προυξένησε, ῥᾷστον εἶναι φάσκων ἐξικνεῖσθαι ταύτης τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ʽΕλβήτιοι, ἔφη, πάντων τῶν Κελτῶν δυνατώτατοι εἶναι ὁμολογοῦνται· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀναμφιλόγως βασιλεύσω, ὥστε τῇ τ' ἐμῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ στρατιᾷ τὰς βασιλείας ὑπισχνοῦμαι ὑμῖν ταύτας συγκατεργάσεσθαι. Τούτοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς λόγοις πειθόμενοι, καὶ δεξιὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις δόντες καὶ λαβόντες, ἀπῆλθον· προσδοκῶντες, εἰ ταύτας τὰς βασιλείας τρισὶ τούτοις μεγάλοις δήμοις κατάσχοιεν, ῥᾳδίως ἂν πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην Γαλατίαν ὑποχείριον ποιήσεσθαι.*

IV. *Τούτων δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τοῖς Ἑλβητίοις σημανθέντων αὐτοὶ τὸν Ὀργετόρυγα δήσαντες, κατὰ τὸ σφίσι σύνηθες ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς λόγον τῶν πεπραγμένων διδόναι ἐκέλευον· ἑαλωκότι δ' αὐτῷ ζημίαν ἐπέθεσαν τὸ ζῶον καυθήσεσθαι. Κυρίας δὲ δὴ ἡμέρας τῆς δίκης ἐπελθούσης, ὁ Ὀργέτορυξ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίαν εἰς τοὺς μυρίους ἄνδρας οὖσαν, πάντας τε πρὸς τούτοις τοὺς ὑπηκόους τε καὶ χρεωφειλέτας (πάμπολλοι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν) εἰς τὸ συνέδριον συναγαγὼν, δι' αὐτῶν μὲν ἔτυχε τὸ μὴ τὰς εὐθύνας ὑποδύεσθαι· θορύβου δ' οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόντος, καὶ αὐτῆς τὸ ἑαυτῇ δικαίωμα δι' ὅπλων φυλάττεσθαι ἐπιχειρούσης, τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ συναγειρόντων, μετήλλαξεν ὁ Ὀργέτορυξ, ὥςγε ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑποπτεύεται τῶν Ἑλβητίων, ἑαυτὸν ἀποσφάξας.*

V. *Αὐτοῦ δ' ἀποθανόντος, οὐδέν τι ἧττον οἱ Ἑλβήτιοι τὸ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπιχείρημα ἀποτελεῖν ἐπειράσαντο. Ἐπειδὴ μὲν γὰρ τάχιστα παρεσκευάσθαι ἐνόμισαν,* [1]*πάσας μὲν τὰς πόλεις δώδεκα οὔσας, τά τ' ἄλλα πάντα ἴδια ἕκαστος οἰκοδομήματα καταφλέξαντες, πάντα δὲ τὸν σῖτον, πλὴν οὗ συσκευάζεσθαι ἔμελλον, (ἵνα τῆς ἐπ' οἴκου ἐπανόδου ἀπογνόντες, προθυμότεροι τοὺς κινδύνους ὑποδύοιντο) ἐμπρήσαντες, ἑκάστῳ μὲν ἄλφιτα ἑαυτῷ εἰς τρεῖς μῆνας οἴκοθεν φέρεσθαι ἐπήγγειλαν. Τοὺς δὲ Ῥαύρακας καὶ τοὺς* [2]*Τουλίγγους ταυτὸ ποιήσασθαί τε καὶ ἅμα σφίσι συνεξιέναι ἀναπείσαντες, Βοΐους τε τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου πάλαι μὲν οἰκήσαντας, νῦν δὲ εἰς τὴν Νορικὴν μεταστάντας, καὶ τὴν Νορηΐαν πορθήσαντας, προσδεξάμενοι συμμάχους ἐποιήσαντο.*

VI. *Ἦσαν δὲ παντάπασιν ὁδοὶ δύο, δι' ὧν ἐξιέναι αὐτοῖς οἷόν τ' ἦν· ἡ μὲν διὰ τῆς τῶν Σεκανῶν χώρας στενή τε ἦν καὶ δύσβατος, μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Ἰούρα ὄρους καὶ* [3]*τοῦ Ῥήνου ποταμοῦ, ᾗ μόλις ἂν ἅμαξα διάγοιτο, ὄρος δ' Ἰούρα προσέτι ἠλίβατον ἐπεκρέματο· ὥστε ἀμήχανος ἦν αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι, εἰ καὶ ὀλίγοι κωλύοιεν. Ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπαρχίας πολὺ ῥᾳδιωτέρα τ' ἦν καὶ ἐλάττων. Μεταξὺ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἑλβητίων, καὶ τῶν νεωστὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συμμάχων γεγενημένων Ἀλλοβρόγων, ὧν ἐσχάτη πόλις τε καὶ τῶν Ἑλβητίων ἐγγυτάτη ἐστὶν ἡ Γενοΐα, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ γέφυρα εἰς τὴν Ἑλβητικὴν διήκει, μόνος ὁ Ῥοδανὸς ἐστιν οὐ πορεύσιμος διαῤῥεῖ. Τοὺς δὲ Ἀλλόβρογας ἢ πείσαντες, ὡς οὔπω πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν σφίσι δοκοῦντας, ἤτ' οὖν βιασάμενοι, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας πορεύσεσθαι ἤλπιζον. Πάντα μὲν οὖν τὰ πρὸς ὁδοιπορίαν συσκευασάμενοι, ἐντὸς ῥητῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ὄχθαις πάντας*

συνελθεῖν προεῖπον. Αὕτη δ' ἦν [1]εἰκοστὴ ὀγδόη τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς, ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Μάρκου Πείσωνος καὶ Αὔλου Γαβηνίου.

VII. *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ὄντι, ἀπηγγέλθη, τοὺς Ἑλβητίους ἐν νῷ ἔχειν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐπαρχίας τὴν ὁδὸν ποιεῖσθαι, διὰ τάχους τῆς πόλεως ἐξήλασεν, καὶ ὡς ἠδύνατο τάχιστα ἐν τῇ πέραν τῶν Ἀλπέων Γαλατίᾳ παραγενομενος, πάσῃ μὲν τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ ὁπόσους τ' ἠδύνατο καὶ ἀρίστους στρατιώτας τὸ πρότερον ἑνὸς τάγματος ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὄντος ἐπήγγειλεν· τὴν δ' ἐν τῇ Γενούᾳ γέφυραν διέλυσεν. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλβήτιοι, ὡς ᾔσθοντο τάχιστα τὸν Καίσαρα ἀφιγμένον, πρέσβεις αὐτῷ πέμπουσι τοὺς ἀρίστους τῆς σφῶν πόλεως, Νουμηΐου τε καὶ Βεροδοξίου ἡγουμένων, εἰπεῖν· τοὺς Ἑλβητίους ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἀσινῶς διὰ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, ὡς διὰ φιλίας, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος σφίσι τὴν ὁδὸν συγχωροῦντος ταύτην, ἐπεὶ ἄλλη γ' οὐκ ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς, πορεύεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τὸν μὲν Λούκιον Κάσσιον τὸν ὕπατον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλβητίων τεθνηκέναι, τὴν δὲ ἐκείνου στρατιὰν ἅπασαν διαφθαρῆναί τε καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν πεμφθῆναι μεμνημένος, ἐκείνοις ταῦτα συγχωρητέα εἶναι οὐχ ἡγήσατο. Οὐκ ᾤετο μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρας δυσμενεῖς διὰ παντὸς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διαγεγενημένους, νῦν συγχωρηθείσης σφίσι ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ, τοῦ δῃοῦν τε καὶ πορθεῖν τὴν ἐπικράτειαν ἀφέξεσθαι. Ὅμως δὲ, ἵνα ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ ἀνὰ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν ἐπαγγελθέντες στρατιῶται συνελθεῖν ἔμελλον, παρέλθῃ, τοῖς μὲν πρεσβεῦσι τούτοις ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι ἡμέραν πρὸς τὸ περὶ τούτου βουλεύσεσθαι αἱρήσεται· εἰ δέ τι αὐτῷ βούλοιντο, τῇ τρίτῃ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀπρίλλου μηνὸς πάλιν ἐκέλευεν ἐπανιέναι.*

VIII. *Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τε σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντι τάγματι, καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐπαρχίας προσεληλυθόσι αὐτῷ στρατιώταις, ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τὸν [2]Ῥῆνον ἐμβαλλούσης Λεμάνου λίμνης μέχρις ἐπὶ τὸ τοὺς Σεκανοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλβητίων διορίζον Ἰούρα ὄρος, τεῖχος τὸ μὲν μῆκος [3]ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα δύο στάδια, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἓξ καὶ δέκα πόδας διοικοδομήσας, περιετάφρευσε. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιησάμενος, φρουρὰν ἐγκατέστησεν, ἐρύματά τ' ἐμποδίζειν ἕνεκα τοὺς Ἑλβητίους, εἰ βίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἐπικράτειαν παριέναι ἐπιχειρήσειαν, ἐκράτυνε. Ῥητῆς δὲ ἡμέρας, ἐπελθούσης καὶ κατὰ τὸ συντεθὲν τῶν πρέσβεων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανελθόντων, ἄντικρυς αὐτοῖς ἀπηρνήσατο μὴ δύνασθαι τινὶ, κατά γε τὸ νομιζόμενον καὶ σύνηθες τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὴν διὰ τῆς ἐπαρχίας συγχωρεῖν ὁδόν· εἰ δὲ βίᾳ διελθεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειαν, ἐμποδίσειν αὐτοὺς ἐδίδασκε. Ταύτης μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος οἱ Ἑλβήτιοι σφαλέντες, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν πολλὰς σχεδίας τε καὶ πολλὰ πλοῖα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιζεύξαντες, οἱ δὲ ᾗ πορεύσιμός τε καὶ οὐκ ἰσχυρῶς ἦν βαθὺς ὁ Ῥοδανὸς, ἐνίοτε μὲν καθ' ἡμέραν, πολλῷ πλεῖον δὲ νυκτὸς,*

οἱ πηδᾷν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπεχείρησαν· τέλος δὲ ὑπό τε τῆς τοῦ ἔργου στεῤῥότητος, τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν ἐπιβοηθούντων τε καὶ βέλεσιν αὐτοὺς βαλλόντων ἀπεωσμένοι, τούτου τοῦ ἐπιχειρήματος ἐπαύσαντο.

IX. Μία μὲν οὖν ἔθ᾽ ἑτέρα ὁδὸς διὰ τῆς τῶν Σεκανῶν χώρας αὐτοῖς ὑπόλοιπος ἦν, ᾗ βίᾳ ἰέναι οὐχ οἷόν τ᾽ ἦν· στενὴ γὰρ ἦν ἡ πάροδος. Ὡς δὲ τούτους οὐκ ἔπειθον, πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Εδουέα Δουμνόρυγα ἔπεμψαν, δεόμενοι αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα σφίσι συμπράττειν. Ὁ δὲ Δούμνορυξ οὗτος τότε ἐν τοῖς Σεκανοῖς ἤνθει, καὶ δωροδοκίαις ηὐδοκίμει· προσφιλὴς δ᾽ ἦν τοῖς Ἑλβητίοις, ἅτε γεγαμηκὼς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν πόλεως οὔσης τὴν τοῦ Ὀργετόρυγος θυγατέρα· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ βασιλεύειν ἐπιθυμῶν, ἐνεωτέριζε, καὶ ὡς ἠδύνατο πλείστας πόλεις δωροδοκῶν ἀναρτᾶσθαι ἐπεχείρει. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν τῷ πράγματι ἐκεῖνος ἐγχειρήσας, παρά τε τῶν Σεκανῶν, τοὺς Ἑλβητίους διὰ τῆς σφῶν χώρας πορεύσεσθαι διεπράξατο, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ὁμήρους διδόναι ἐποιήσατο· ἐφ᾽ ᾧ οἱ μὲν Σεκανοὶ τῆς παρόδου τοὺς Ἑλβητίους οὐκ ἀπείρξουσιν· οἱ δὲ Ἑλβήτιοι ἦ μὴν ἀσινῶς πορεύσεσθαι τοῖς Σεκανοῖς ὀμόσουσιν.

X. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ τοὺς Ἑλβητίους ἐνθυμηθῆναι διὰ τῆς τῶν Σεκανῶν γῆς εἰς τὴν τῶν Σαντόνων πορεύσεσθαι ἀκούσας, (αὕτη δ᾽ ἡ χώρα οὐ μακρὰν τῆς τῶν Τολοσαιῶν πόλεως ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείᾳ οὔσης, ἀπέχει) καὶ εἰ ταῦτα συμβήσεται, κινδυνεύσειν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐνθυμούμενος, εἰ [1]δυνατώτατοί τε καὶ κράτιστοι ἄνδρες, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιοι, ἐν τόποις εὐρυτάτοις τε καὶ ἐνεργοτάτοις πρόσχωροι τῆς ἐπικρατείας γένοιντο· τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐνθυμούμενος, τὸν μὲν ὕπαρχον Τίτον Λαβιηνὸν τούτῳ τῷ ἐρύματι, περὶ οὗ ἤδη ἐῤῥέθη, ἐπέστησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἠδυνήθη τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπάρας, ἐκεῖ τε δύο νέα τάγματα κατελέξατο, καὶ ἄλλα τρία πρὸς τῇ Ἀκυληΐᾳ παραχειμάζοντα ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων ἐξήγαγε, καὶ ταῦτα πέντε ἔχων, ᾗ διὰ τῶν Ἀλπέων εἰς τὴν πέραν Γαλατίαν ἦν συντομωτάτη ὁδὸς, ταύτῃ ἐπορεύετο. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τούς τε Κεντρόνας καὶ τοὺς Γαροκέλους, τούς τε Κατούρυγας, τὰ ἄκρα τῶν Ἀλπέων κατασχόντας, καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἀποκωλύοντας ἐντεῦθεν ἀπωσάμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀκέλου, ἐσχάτης τῆς ἐπὶ θάτερα τῶν Ἀλπέων Γαλατίας πόλεως οὔσης, εἰς τὴν τῶν Βοκοντίων χώραν ἐν τῇ πέραν ἐπαρχίᾳ οὖσαν, ἑβδομαῖος ἀφίκετο· ἐντεῦθεν δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ἀλλοβρόγων χώραν, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Σεκουσιανῶν ἦγε τὸν στρατόν.

IX. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλβήτιοι ἤδη διὰ τῶν τῆς Σεκανικῆς στενῶν εἰς τὴν τῶν [2]Εδουέων χώραν τὸν στρατὸν διαπορευσάμενοι, αὐτὴν

ἔφερον καὶ ἦγον. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἐδουεῖς ἑαυτούς τε καὶ τὰ σφῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν διασώζειν μὴ δυνηθέντες, πρέσβεις τῷ Καίσαρι ἔπεμψαν, δεόμενοι συμμαχίας· τοιοῦτοι διὰ παντὸς περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους γενέσθαι διδάσκοντες, ὥστε ἄδικον εἶναι τούς τε σφῶν ἀγροὺς πορθεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, τάς τε σφῶν πόλεις ἀναστάτους γίνεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς ὄψιν σχεδὸν τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ γίνεσθαι. Ἐν τἀυτῷ δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀμβάῤῥοι, ἀναγκαῖοί τε καὶ συγγενεῖς τῶν Ἐδουέων, πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα διαφυγόντες, ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐ δύναιντο, καὶ δηϊωθέντων γε τῶν ἀγρῶν, ῥᾳδίως τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀποσοβεῖν. Οἵ τε Ἀλλόβρογες, οἱ πέραν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ κώμας τε καὶ κτήματα ἔχοντες, πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀνεχώρησαν, αὐτὸν διδάσκοντες ὡς πλὴν τοῦ γηπέδου οὐδὲν σφίσιν ἄλλο ὑπόλοιπον ἦν. Τούτοις μὲν οὖν πεισθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις ὁ Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἀναμενητέον εἶναι ἐδόκει αὐτῷ, ἕως οὗ οἱ Ἐλβήτιοι πάντα τὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχων χρήματα ἐξαναλώσαντες, εἰς τὴν Σαντονικὴν ἀφίκοιντο.

XII. Ἔστι δέ τις ποταμὸς, Ἄραρις ὄνομα, τοσαύτῃ εἰς τὸν Ῥοδανὸν εἰσβάλλων ἀτρεμίᾳ, ὥστε ὅποι ῥεῖ, τῇ ὄψει μὴ διακρίνεσθαι. Τοῦτον οἱ Ἐλβήτιοι [1]πολλὰς σχεδίας ἀλλήλαις ἐπιζεύξαντες, διέβαινον. Μαθὼν δὲ παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰς μὲν τρεῖς [2]φυλὰς τῶν Ἐλβητίων ἤδη τὸν ποταμὸν διαβῆναι, τὴν δὲ τετάρτην ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔτι ὑπόλοιπον εἶναι, ἀμφὶ τὴν τρίτην φυλακὴν σὺν τρισὶ τάγμασι λάθρα τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἄρας, ἐπὶ τοὺς οὔπω τῶν Ἐλβητίων τὸν ποταμὸν διαβεβηκότας ὥρμησε, καὶ τούτοις ἀπροσδοκήτοις τε καὶ ἀμφὶ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν ἀσχολουμένοις ἄφνω ἐπιπεσὼν, παμπόλλους αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ φυγῇ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησίον νάπη διεσώθησαν. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ φυλὴ Τυγουρίνη ἐπεκαλεῖτο· τέτταρες γὰρ φυλαὶ τῶν Ἐλβητίων διῄρηνται· ὧν αὕτη μόνη ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἐξελθοῦσα, αὐτόν τε τὸν ὕπατον Λούκιον Κάσσιον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκείνου στράτευμα νικήσασα, ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν ἐπέμψατο. Οὕτως οὖν ἢ ἐκ συντυχίας τινὸς, ἤ τ' οὖν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θείου γνώμης, οὗτοι τῶν Ἐλβητίων οἱ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πάλαι δεινῶς κακώσαντες, τότε τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα δίκας ἔτισαν. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ κατεργασάμενος, οὐ μόνον τῶν πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὕβρεων αὐτοὺς ἐτιμωρήσατο· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Κασσίου τοῦ ὑπάτου ὑποστράτηγον Λούκιον Πείσωνα, τὸν τοῦ Λουκίου Πείσωνος, πενθεροῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, πάππον, τῇ αὐτῇ ᾗ καὶ Κάσσιον μάχῃ οἱ Ἐλβήτιοι ἀπεκτόνεσαν.

XIII. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ποιησάμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ, τὸν Ἄραριν ποταμὸν, ἵνα θᾶττον τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν Ἐλβητίων στράτευμα κατα-

λαβεῖν δύναιτο, ἐγεφύρωσε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ στράτευμα διεβίβασε. *Οἱ δὲ Ἐλβήτιοι τῇ αὐτοῦ ταχίστῃ ἐφόδῳ μεταπλαγέντες, ὅτι ἃ αὐτοὶ ἐπιπόνως ἐν εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις ἐποιήσαντο, ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ῥᾳδίως κατεπράξατο, πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπέμψαντο τοὺς τῆς σφῶν πόλεως ἐπιφανεστάτους. Ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν Δίβικος, ἐν τῇ κατὰ Κάσσιον μάχῃ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἐλβητίων γενόμενος, ὃς καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀφικόμενος ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν, ἔφη, Καῖσαρ, ὑμεῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλβητίους εἰρηνεῖτε, οἱ Ἐλβήτιοι ὅποι ἂν ἐθέλητε καὶ προστάξητε πορεύσονταί τε καὶ ἐκεῖ μενοῦσιν· εἰ δ' αὐτοῖς πολεμοῦντες διατελεῖτε, μέμνησθε μόνον τῆς τε τῶν Ἐλβητίων ἀρχαίας ἀρετῆς, καὶ τῆς τοὐναντίον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀτυχίας. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ μιᾷ ἡμῶν φυλῇ, καὶ ταύτῃ ἐξ οὐ προειδότος, καὶ τῶν τὸν ποταμὸν ἤδη διαβεβηκότων ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτῇ μὴ δυναμένων, ἄφνω ἐπελθόντες, ταύτης ἐκρατήσατε, μήτε διὰ τοῦτο μέγα φρονεῖτε, ἢ καὶ ἡμᾶς κακοὺς νομίζετε· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων μᾶλλον ἀρετῇ, ἢ πλεονεξίαις τε καὶ δολώσεσι κρατεῖν δεδιδάγμεθα. Ἀλλ' ὅρα μή πως οὗτος ἐν ᾧ νῦν ἐσμὲν τόπος ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυστυχίας καὶ τῆς τούτου τοῦ ἐκείνων στρατοῦ πανολεθρίας ἐπώνυμος γένηται, ἢ γοῦν ταύτης μνημεῖον εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ ἔπειτα χρόνον ὑπολειφθῇ. Δίβικος μὲν οὖν οὕτως εἶπεν.*

XIV. *Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὧδέ πως αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ νῦν ὑπὸ σοῦ ῥηθέντα διὰ μνήμης ἔχοντες ἧττον ἀποροῦμεν· τοσούτῳ δὲ βαρύτερον ταύτην τὴν δυστυχίαν φέρομεν, ὅσῳ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παρ' ἀξίαν σφῶν ταύτην πεπονθέναι ἴσμεν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς τι περὶ ὑμᾶς ἠδικηκόσι συνῄδεσαν, ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἐφυλάξαντο· νῦν δὲ ἐξηπατήθησαν, οὔτε τι ἑαυτοὺς πρᾶξαι ἐφ' ᾧ φοβεῖσθαι μέλλοιεν, οὔτε γε οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας οὔσης φοβητέον εἶναι νομίζοντες. Εἰ δὲ ταύτης τῆς παλαιᾶς ὑμῶν ἀδικίας περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι βουλοίμην, πῶς καὶ ταύτης τῆς πρῴην ὕβρεως τὴν μνήμην ἀποτίθεσθαι δυναίμην; πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ἐμοῦ ἄκοντος, βίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἐπικράτειαν παριέναι ἐπεχειρήσατε· ἔπειτα δὲ τούς θ' Ἐδουεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ἀμβάῤῥους καὶ τοὺς Ἀλλόβρογας δεινῶς ἐκακώσατε. Ὅτι δ' οὕτω σοβαρῶς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ νίκῃ ἀναπτεροῦσθε, καὶ ὑμᾶς τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἀζημίους διαγεγενῆσθαι θαυμάζετε, εἰς ταυτὸ τοῦτο ῥέπει. Φιλεῖ μὲν γὰρ τὸ θεῖον οὓς ἀντ' ἀδικίας σφῶν πικρῶς τιμωρεῖσθαι θέλῃ, τούτους ἀζημίους τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον εὐδαίμονας ἐᾶν, ἵνα τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολῇ μᾶλλον βαρύνωνται. Εἶεν ταῦτα πάντα· ὅμως, ἔφη, ἂν ὁμήρους δῶτε πιστόν τι ἡμᾶς διδάσκειν ὡς ἐμπεδώσετε ἃ λέγετε, ἄν τε τὰς περί τε τοὺς Ἐδουεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ἀλλόβρογας ὕβρεις ἐκείνοις*

ἐκδικεῖτε, ἡμεῖς πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλβητίους εἰρηνεύσομεν. Καῖσαρ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν. Ὁ δὲ Δίβικος, Ἀλλὰ, Καῖσαρ, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἑλβήτιοι ὁμήρους παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' οὐ διδόναι εἰώθαμεν· τούτου τε ὑμεῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μάρτυρές ἐστέ. Ταῦτα ἀποκρινάμενος ὁ Δίβικος ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο.

XV. *Καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ Ἑλβήτιοι μετεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. Ὁ Καῖσαρ δὲ ταυτὸ ἐποιήσατο, πάντας τοὺς ἱππέας ἔκ τε τῶν Ἐδουέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους ἑαυτῷ ἠθροισμένους, ποῖ πορεύσοιντο οἱ πολέμιοι σκοπησομένους προπέμψας. Οὗτοι δ' οἱ ἱππεῖς ἀνδριζόμενοι πλησιώτερον ἢ ἔδει τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπηκολούθησαν· ὥστε ἔν τινι δυσχωρίᾳ τοῖς τῶν Ἑλβητίων ἱππεῦσι συμμίξαντες, ἡττήθησαν· ὀλίγοι μέντοι αὐτῶν ἔπεσον. Ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ οἱ Ἑλβήτιοι ἐπαρθέντες, ὅτι πεντακοσίοις μόνον ἱππεῦσι τοσοῦτο ἱππέων στῖφος ἐνίκησαν, θρασύτερον μὲν ὑπέμενον, καὶ ἐνίοτέ γε τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀπισθοφύλακας εἰς μάχην προυκαλοῦντο. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας μάχεσθαι οὐκ εἴα· ἠγάπα δ' εἰ μόνον δύναιτο τὴν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχων χώραν ἀδῄωτον διαφυλάττειν· Ὥστε ἡμέραι πέντε καὶ δέκα παρῆλθον, ἐν αἷς μεταξὺ τῶν ἐσχάτων τῶν Ἑλβητίων καὶ τῶν πρώτων τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐ πλεῖον [1]ὀκτὼ σταδίων διελείπετο.*

XVI. *Ἐν τούτῳ δ' ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ τοὺς Ἐδουεῖς ὃν δημοσίᾳ αὐτῷ ὑπέσχοντο σῖτον ἀπῄτει. Διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ψύχος (πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ Γαλατία, ὡς καὶ ἄνω προείρηται, ἀρκτῴα ἐστὶν) οὐχ ὅπως πέπων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὁ σῖτος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χιλοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατῷ αὐτάρκεια ἦν. Ἔπειτα δὲ οὐδὲ τῷ διὰ τοῦ Ἀράρεως ἐπεισάκτῳ σίτῳ χρῆσθαι οὐκ εἶχεν, ὅτι οἱ Ἑλβήτιοι, ὧν ἀπολείπεσθαι οὐκ ἠβούλετο, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράρεως ἀπετράπησαν. Οἱ δ' Ἐδουεῖς ἐξ ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν ἀναβολὰς ἐποίουν· νῦν μὲν ἀθροίζεσθαι τὸν σῖτον, ποτὲ δ' ἄγεσθαι, ἄλλοτε δὲ καὶ παρεῖναι λέγοντες ἔστ' ἂν παρέτεινον τὸν Καίσαρα. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ὡς τάχιστα τοῦτο ᾔσθετο, [2]συγκαλέσας αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἳ πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ στρατοπέδῳ ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τόν τε Διβιτιακὸν καὶ τὸν Λίσκον, τὸ μέγιστον τῶν Ἐδουέων ἀξίωμα Βεργόβρετον καλούμενον ἔχοντας (τοῦτο δὲ τὸ τέλος κατ' ἔτος χειροτονεῖται, καὶ βίου τε καὶ θανάτου κρίνειν τοὺς ὑπηκόους δύναται) πικρῶς αὐτοὺς ἐμέμψατο, ὅτι οὐχ οἵου τε ὄντος αὐτῷ οὔτε τὸν σῖτον ὠνεῖσθαι, οὔτε γε ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συγκομίζειν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τοσαύτης ἀπορίας οὔσης, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὕτω πλησίων, ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ὠφελεῖτο, καὶ ταῦτα δι' ἐκείνων τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον ἀράμενος· μᾶλλον δ' ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐγκατελείφθη, ᾐτιάσατο.*

XVII. *Ταῦτα δ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ Λίσκος τοῖς ἐκεί-*

νου λόγοις πεισθεὶς, τότε ἐφανέρωσεν ἃ κρύπτειν πρότερον ἦν παρεσκευασμένος. Ἐνίους μὲν γὰρ ἔφασκεν εἶναι παρὰ τῷ πλήθει μέγα ἰσχύοντας καὶ δημότας ὄντας πλεῖον αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρχόντων δυναμένους. Οὗτοι δ', ἔφη, εἰσὶν οἱ τοῖς σφῶν στασιώδεσί τε καὶ ἀνοσίοις λόγοις τὸ πλῆθος, μὴ ὑμῖν ἀποδοθῇ ὁ ὀφειλόμενος σῖτος, ἀποτρέποντες. Κἂν μὲν οἱ τοιοῦτοι τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν μὴ δύνωνται καταλαβεῖν, μᾶλλον αὐτὴν τῶν Ἑλβητίων, ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι [1]ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. Ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ πάντα τὰ [2]ἡμῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα τοῖς Ἑλβητίοις διαγγέλλονται. Καί τι, ἔφη, Καῖσαρ, ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα σοι ἀναγκαῖον ἀναγκασθεὶς σχεδὸν κατεῖπον, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ διὰ τοῦτο μεγάλως κινδυνεύσων· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἐφ' ὅσον ἠδυνήθην τοῦτο ἐσιώπησα. Λίσκος μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν.

XVIII. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τούτῳ τῷ ἐκείνου λογῷ ὑποσημαίνεσθαι τὸν τοῦ Διβιτιακοῦ ἀδελφὸν Δουμνόρυγα τεκμαιρόμενος, τοῦτο δ' ἐναντίον πολλῶν διασπείρεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενος, εὐθὺς μὲν διέλυσε τὴν ἀγοράν. Τὸν δὲ Λίσκον κατασχὼν, ἤρετο μὲν αὐτὸν κατὰ μόνας, εἰ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ῥηθέντα ἀληθῆ εἴη. Ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μετὰ πλείονος τότε ἐδήλωσε παῤῥησίας. Ἄλλους δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ταῦτα ἐρωτῶν, ἀληθῆ ὄντα κατέμαθεν εἶναι μὲν τὸν Δουμνόρυγα θρασὺν ἄνδρα, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος δωροδοκίαις ἀναρτήσασθαι, νεωτερίζειν δ' ἐπιθυμοῦντα, τούς τε φόρους καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Ἐδουέων προσόδους εὐώνους πολλὰ ἔτη ἐσχηκέναι· αὐτοῦ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὰς τιμήσαντος, οὐδεὶς ἀντιτιμᾶν ἐτόλμα. Ὥστε ἐκ τούτων, ἔφασαν, τόν θ' ἑαυτοῦ ηὔξησεν οἶκον, καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις εἰς τὰς δωροδοκίας χρήματα συνελέξατο· καὶ ἱππέας μὲν πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ τρέφει δαπάνης, καὶ ἀεὶ τούτους περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔχει· οὐ μόνον δ' οἴκοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖστον, παρὰ τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ δύναται· ὥστε τὴν μὲν μητέρα ἐν τοῖς Βιτούριξιν ἀνδρὶ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τε καὶ ἐκεῖ δυνατωτάτῳ συνῴκισεν· αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἑλβητίων χώρας γυναῖκα εἰς γάμον ἤγαγεν· καὶ τὴν πρὸς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν, καὶ πάσας πρὸς τούτοις τὰς προσηκούσας, ἄλλην ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει, ἐξέδωκεν· καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἑλβητίων φρονεῖ τε καὶ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν ταύτην εὐνοεῖ. Μισεῖ δέ σε ἰδίᾳ, Καῖσαρ, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ παραγενόμενοι, τὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἠλαττώσατε, Διβιτιακὸν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἀξιώματί τε καὶ δυνάμει κατεστήσατε. Ὥστ', ἔφασαν, ἢν μέν ποτε δεινόν τι πάθωσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐν μεγάλῃ ἐλπίδι τῆς διὰ τῶν Ἑλβητίων βασιλείας ἐστίν· ἂν δὲ τοὐναντίον τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατέστερα γένηται, οὐχ ὅπως τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἧς νῦν ἔχει δυνάμεως οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα ποιεῖται. Οἱ μὲν

οὖν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον. Κατέμαθε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἐν τῇ ὀλίγων πρόσθεν ἡμερῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἱππέων γεγενημένῃ ἥττᾳ ὁ Δούμνοριξ τε καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου ἱππεῖς τῆς φυγῆς προκατῆρξαν· τούτων δε φυγόντων, πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον τραπῆναί τε, καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ὁρμῆσαι· (τῶν μὲν γὰρ εἰς συμμαχίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπὸ τῶν 'Εδουέων πεμφθέντων ἱππέων ἵππαρχος ὁ Δούμνορυξ ἀπεδέδεικτο.)

XIX. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀκούσας ὁ Καῖσαρ, καί, πρὸς ἣν ἤδη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶχεν ὑποψίαν, σαφῆ πράγματα προσεῖναι γνοὺς, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Δουμνόρυγα διὰ τῆς Σεκανικῆς τοὺς 'Ελβητίους διαπορεῦσαι· ἔπειτα δὲ τούς τε Σεκανοὺς καὶ ἐκείνους ὁμήρους ἀλλήλοις δοῦναι ποιήσασθαι· καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ὅπως ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν 'Εδουέων ἀκέλευστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνους λαθόντα ποιήσασθαι· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τῶν 'Εδουέων ἄρχοντος Λίσκου κατηγορεῖσθαι ἐκεῖνον ὁρῶν, ἱκανὰς ἔχειν αἰτίας ἐνόμιζεν τοῦ ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνον μετέρχεσθαι, ἢ καὶ τοῦτο τῇ τῶν Εδουέων πόλει προστάττειν. Ἓν δὲ τοῦτο μόνον ταύτῃ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γνώμῃ ἐναντιοῦτο, ὅτι τὸν τοῦ Δουμνόρυγος τούτου ἀδελφὸν Διβιτιακὸν μάλιστά τε τὰ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων φρονοῦντα, ἰσχυρῶς θ' ἑαυτῷ εὐνοοῦντα, καὶ ἄνδρα πρὸς τούτοις ἅμα καὶ σώφρονα καὶ μέτριον ὄντα ἑώρα· ὥστε, μὴ τὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πάθος ἐκεῖνος βαρέως φέροι, ὁ Καῖσαρ περιεφοβεῖτο. Τοιγαροῦν πρίν τι τούτων ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν Διβιτιακὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἑαυτοῦ μεταστησάμενος ἑρμηνέας, διὰ τοῦ Γαΐου Βαληρίου Προακίλλου, τοῦ τῆς ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐπαρχίας ἄρχοντος, ἑαυτῷ τε φίλου πιστοτάτου ὄντος, αὐτῷ διελέχθη. Πάντα δὲ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παρόντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Δουμνόρυγος ῥηθέντα, καὶ [1]ἕκαστος παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἐν ἀποῤῥήτῳ ἐκείνου κατηγόρησε, δηλώσας αὐτῷ· Δέομαι σου, ἔφη, ὦ Διβιτιακὲ, μὴ λυπεῖσθαι, ἐὰν τὸν σὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦτον Δουμνόρυγα μετέλθω ἢ καὶ τῇ τῶν 'Εδουέων πόλει ἐκεῖνον κολάζειν κελεύω.

XX. Τότε δὲ ὁ Διβιτιακὸς τὸν Καίσαρα περιλαβὼν, σὺν πολλοῖς δακρύοις λιπαρεῖν ἤρξατο, μή τι δεινὸν πάθοι ὁ ἀδελφός. Πάντα μὲν ταῦτα, ἔφη, ἃ λέγεις, ἀληθῆ ὄντα γινώσκω· οὐδεὶς τ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτα βαρύτερον φέρει. 'Εμοῦ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖον ἔν τε τῇ ἐμῇ χώρᾳ καὶ παρὰ τῇ ἄλλῃ πάσῃ Γαλατίᾳ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ ἰσχύσαντος, τοῦ δ' ἀδελφοῦ ἧττον διὰ τὴν νεότητα δυνηθέντος, δι' ἑαυτοῦ νῦν μεγάλην δύναμιν κέκτηται· ᾗ οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἐμὴν καθαίρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν σχεδὸν ἀπώλειαν χρῆται. 'Εγὼ δ' ὅμως τῆς τε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν φιλοστοργίας καὶ τῆς πάντων ἐντρέπομαι δόξης. Τοσοῦτον μὲν γάρ μου παρὰ σοὶ ἰσχύοντος, ἔπειτα εἴ τι δεινὸν πάθοι ὑπὸ σοῦ

ὁ ἐμὸς ἀδελφὸς, οὐδεὶς ἔσται ὅστις μὴ νομιῇ τοῦ μὴ ταῦτα ἐμοῦ συμπράττοντος γενέσθαι· ὥστε πάντες ἂν οἱ Γάλλοι ἣν νῦν ἔχουσι πρός με εὔνοιαν προήσοιντο. Ταῦτα τοῦ Διβιτιακοῦ σὺν πολλοῖς δακρύοις παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος δεομένου, ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν δεξιωσάμενος παρεμυθήσατο, μὴ πλεῖον λιπαρεῖν κελεύων. Τοσοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, ἔφη, παρ' ἐμοὶ μόναι αἱ σαὶ δεήσεις δύνανται, ὥστε καὶ ὧν ὁ σὸς ἀδελφὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἠδίκησεν, ἧς τε διὰ τοῦτο εἶχον λύπης, ἐκείναις μόναις συγγινώσκω. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν, καὶ ἐκεῖνον παραλαβὼν, τὸν Δουμνόρυγα μετεπέμψατο· καὶ ἃ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνον αἰτιᾶται, ἃ δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἐδουέων αὐτῷ μέμφεται, δηλώσας, παρῄνει οὕτω ποιεῖν, ὥστ' εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἀνεπίληπτον διατελεῖν, τὰ παρεληλυθότα τῷ ἐκείνου ἀδελφῷ Διβιτιακῷ συγγινώσκειν λέγων. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνον νουθετήσας ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιήσατο, ἵνα τί τε ποιήσει, οἷς τε συνέσεται, γινώσκειν δύνηται.

XXI. Ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν κατασκόπων μαθὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ, τοὺς πολεμίους, ὄρος ἔμπροσθεν σφῶν ποιησαμένους, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἑξήκοντα τέτταρας σταδίους στρατοπεδεύσασθαι, ἄνδρας πῶς ἔχοι τῆς τε φύσεως καὶ τῆς κύκλῳ ἐφόδου τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος ἐπισκεψομένους ἐπέμψατο. Τούτων δὲ ῥᾳδίαν εἶναι ἀπαγγειλάντων, τῷ μὲν [1]ὑποστρατηγῷ Τίτῳ Λαβιηνῷ ἐκ τῆς τρίτης φυλακῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν τοῦ ὄρους, τοῖς τὴν ὁδὸν ἤδη προμαθοῦσιν ἡγεμόσι χρησάμενον, δύο τάγματα ἀναβιβάζειν παρήγγειλε, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἐκείνῳ ἀνακοινωσάμενος. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ τετάρτῃ φυλακῇ ἄρας, τῇ αὐτῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁδῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦγεν· καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον προπέμψας, τὸν μὲν Πούπλιον Κονσίδιον, ἄνδρα ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικωτάτοις ἀγόμενον, καὶ τῷ Λουκίῳ Σύλλᾳ, μετέπειτα δὲ καὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ Κράσσῳ συστρατευσάμενον, σὺν τοῖς κατασκόποις προέπεμψεν.

XXII. Ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, τοῦ μὲν Τίτου Λαβιηνοῦ ἤδη ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν τοῦ ὄρους σὺν τοῖς δυσὶ τάγμασιν ἀναβάντος, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐ πλεῖον [2]δύο καὶ δέκα σταδίων ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφεστῶτος, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων, ὡς καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔλεγον οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι, ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν [3]εἰδότων, οὗτος ὁ Κονσίδιος ἱδροῦντι τῷ ἵππῳ τῷ Καίσαρι προσδραμὼν, ἀπήγγειλεν, ὡς, ὃ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λαβιηνοῦ ἔχεσθαι ἠβούλετο ὄρος, τοῦτο οἱ πολέμιοι προκατηλείφεσαν· ταῦτα ἔκ τε τῶν σημείων καὶ τῶν Γαλλικῶν ὅπλων γνῶναι λέγων. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ τοῦτο ἀκούσας, τὸ στράτευμα ὑπὸ τὸ πλησίον ὄρος ὑπήγαγε, καὶ ἐκεῖ παρετάττετο, ὡς μάχην ποιούμενος. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Λαβιηνὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κελευσθεὶς, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα πλησίον φαίνοιτο, μὴ ἐπελθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, (ἵνα πολλαχόθεν ἅμα

μάχοιντο) κατὰ τὸ κελευσθὲν, τὸ ὄρος κατασχὼν, τὸν Καίσαρα ἀνέμενεν οὐ μαχόμενος. Ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ προεληλύθει ἡ ἡμέρα ἡνίκα ἀπαγγέλλουσι τῷ Καίσαρι οἱ κατάσκοποι, τὸν μὲν Λαβιηνὸν τὸ ὄρος κατέχειν, καὶ τοὺς Ἑλβητίους μεταστρατοπεδεύσασθαι. Τὸν δὲ Κονσίδιον ὑπὸ φόβοι ἃ οὐκ εἶδεν [1]ὡς ἰδὼν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς διάστημα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφείπετο, καὶ εἴκοσι τέτταρας σταδίους ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο.

XXIII. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ, ὅτι μὲν δύο ἡμέραι πάμπαν ἀπελείποντο τοῦ δεῖν σῖτον τῇ στρατιᾷ διαδιδόναι, ὅτι δὲ πόλις μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐδαίμων τῶν Ἐδουέων, Βίβρακτος ὄνομα, οὐ πλεῖον ἐντεῦθεν ἑκατὸν τετταράκοντα τεσσάρων σταδίων ἀπῆν· βουλόμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ σίτῳ προνοεῖν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλβητίων ἀπετράπη, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Βίβρακτον ἐπορεύετο. Τούτων δ' εὐθὺς τοῖς Ἑλβητίοις ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀπὸ Λουκίου Αἰμιλίου, τοῦ τῶν Γάλλων ἱππάρχου, σφίσιν αὐτομολησάντων, ἀπαγγελθέντων, αὐτοὶ ἤ τε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δέει σφῶν φεύγειν, (ὃ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἡγοῦντο, ὅτι τῇ προτεραίᾳ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ὄρος κατασχόντες μάχην οὐ συνῆψαν) ἤτ' οὖν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσειν θαῤῥοῦντες, μετενόησαν· καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν σφῶν ὁδοῦ ἀποτραπέντες, τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀπισθοφύλακας διώκειν τε καὶ εἰς μάχην παρακαλεῖν ἤρξαντο.

XXIV. Ταῦτ' οὖν κατανοησάμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ, τὸ στράτευμα ὑπὸ τὸ πλησίον ὄρος ὑπήγαγε, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἵππον ἐν ταύτῳ ἐπὶ τὸ τὴν πρώτην τῶν πολεμίων ὁρμὴν ἐπισχεῖν ἔπεμψεν. Αὐτὸς δ' ἐν τούτῳ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ὄρει τὰ τέτταρα ἀρχαῖα τάγματα τριχῇ διατάξας, ἔπειτα ἐπάνω ἑαυτοῦ τὰ ἕτερα δύο, ἃ νεωστὶ [2]ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατεγράψατο, τάγματα, καὶ πᾶν πρὸς τούτοις τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκρωνυχίᾳ τοῦ ὄρους ἔστησεν, ὥστε πᾶν τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος ἀνδρῶν ἀναπληρῶσαι. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενος, καὶ πάντα τὰ σκευοφόρα εἰς ἕνα τόπον συναγείρας, τοῖς ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους οὖσιν αὐτὰ διαφυλάττειν παρήγγειλεν. Ἐν τούτῳ δ' οἱ Ἑλβήτιοι πᾶσι σὺν τοῖς σκευοφόροις τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καταδιώξαντες, τότε μὲν αὐτὰ εἰς ἕνα τόπον συνήθροισαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀθρόοι τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππον τρεψάμενοι, καὶ εἰς φάλαγγα τὴν σφῶν τάξιν ποιησάμενοι, ἐπὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὥρμησαν.

XXV. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππους ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμενος, ἵνα, ἴσου ἅμα πᾶσιν ὄντος τοῦ κινδύνου, οὐδεμία αὐτοῖς φυγῆς ἐλπὶς λείποιτο· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν θυμὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπεγείρας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σύνοδον αὐτοὺς ἐξοτρύνας, τὴν μάχην συνῆψε. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκρωνυχίᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἠκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἐτόξ-

ξευον εἰς αὐτοὺς· ὥστε ταχὺ τὴν ἐκείνων φάλαγγα διέῤῥηξαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ [1]ἐξαναλώσαντες τὴν πόῤῥωθεν ἀλκὴν, ξιφήρεις ἐπέδραμον σφίσι, τούτῳ μὲν τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως μᾶχεσθαι μάλιστα ἐνεποδίζοντο Γάλλοι· ὅτι οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν μιᾷ βολῇ παλτοῦ τὰς ἀσπίδας διατετρημένας τε καὶ τοῖς ὤμοις προσδεδεμένας ἔχοντες, ἔπειτα τῆς αἰχμῆς ἐγκαμφθείσης, οὔτε μὴν ἀποσπάσασθαι, οὔτε γε τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς ἀσχολουμένης εὐπετῶς ἠδύναντο μάχεσθαι· ὥσθ' οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν πολὺν χρόνον πρὸς τὸ ἀποσπάσασθαι τὰ παλτὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὸν βραχίονα σείσαντες, τάς τ' ἀσπίδας ἀπέῤῥιψαν, καὶ γυμνοὶ προείλοντο μάχεσθαι. Τέλος δὲ τραύμασιν ἀπειρηκότες, ἐπὶ πόδα τ' ἀνεχάσαντο, καὶ πρὸς ὄρος οὐ πλεῖον [2]τεττάρων σταδίων ἀπέχον ἀνεχώρησαν. Ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντων, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδιωκόντων, οἵτε Βοΐοι, καὶ οἱ Τούλιγγοι, [3]πεντακισχίλιοι ἐπὶ πᾶσι τῶν Ἑλβητίων τεταγμένοι, ἐκ πλαγίου γυμνοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπελθόντες, περιεκύκλουν αὐτούς· καὶ τοῦτο οἱ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Ἐλβήτιοι κατιδόντες, ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέκειντο, καὶ τὴν μάχην ἀνενεώσαντο. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι διχῇ ἑαυτοὺς ταξάμενοι, ἤλαυνον εἰς αὐτούς· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἤδη ἡττηθεῖσι τῶν Ἑλβητίων ἀντεῖχον· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς νεωστὶ ἐπιόντας ἐμάχοντο.

XXVI. Οὕτω δ' ἰσοῤῥόπως αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀγωνισαμένων, τέλος οἱ Ἑλβήτιοι ἀντέχειν οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν· ἀλλ' εὐθὺς οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον, ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, οἱ δὲ πρός τε τὰ ἅρματα καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἀνεχώρησαν· διὰ πάσης μὲν γὰρ ταύτης τῆς μάχης, καίπερ μέχρι δείλης [4]ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ διαγεγενημένης, οὐδεὶς ἐκ νώτου ἰδεῖν τὸν πολέμιον ἠδυνήθη. Ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἠγωνίσαντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἑλβήτιοι ἅτε δὴ ἔρυμά τι τὰ ἅρματα προβαλόντες, ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐπιόντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐτόξευον· καὶ ἔνιοί γε αὐτῶν μεταξὺ τῶν θ' ἁρμάτων καὶ τῶν τροχῶν, παλτὰ πολλὰ καὶ ξυστὰ ὑπαφίεσαν. ὥς τ' ἐκεῖ ἐτρώθησαν πολλοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. Τέλος δ' ὅμως καὶ τούτων κρατήσαντες, τῶν τε σκευοφόρων καὶ τοῦ αὐτῶν στρατοπέδου ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. Ἐνταῦθά τε τὴν τοῦ Ὀργετόρυγος θυγατέρα, καὶ ἕνα τῶν αὐτοῦ υἱῶν ἐζώγρησαν· Ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς μάχης ἄνδρες τῶν Ἑλβητίων ὡς τρισκαιδεκάκις μύριοι περιγενόμενοι, ὅλην τὴν νύκτα τὴν ὁδὸν οὐ [5]διαλείποντες, ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, διὰ τὸ τρεῖς ἡμέρας περί τε τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τραύματα καὶ τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν διατρίψαι, ἐκείνους διώκειν μὴ δυνηθέντων, ἐν τῇ τῶν Λιγγόνων τεταρταῖοι ἀφίκοντο. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ κήρυκας πρὸς τοὺς Λιγγόνας πέμπων, ἀπηγόρευε μηδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοῖς Ἑλβητίοις πορίζειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πολεμίοις αὐτοῖς

ὡς καὶ τοῖς Ἐλβητίοις χρήσεσθαι· καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμοῦ δὴ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐφείπετο.

XXVII. Οἱ δ' Ἐλβήτιοι ἐσχάτῃ πάντων πραγμάτων ἀπορίᾳ συνεχόμενοι, πρέσβεις παρὰ τὸν Καίσαρα περὶ προσχωρήσεως ἔπεμψαν· οἳ καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτῷ ἐντυχόντες, πρός τε τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσέπεσον, καὶ εἰρήνην παρ' αὐτοῦ σὺν πολλοῖς δακρύοις ᾔτησαν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ, ὅπου ἦσαν τότε, ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν περιμένειν ἐκέλευεν· οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο. Πρὸς αὐτοὺς μὲν οὖν παραγενόμενος, τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ ὁμήρους, τούς τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς [1]αὐτομολήσαντας ἀπῄτει. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα [2]συνηθροίζοντο, μιᾶς νυκτὸς πρὸς τὸ ταῦτα διαπράττεσθαι διαλειπούσης, ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους τῆς [3]Βερβιγίνης οὕτω καλουμένης φυλῆς, ἢ φόβῳ τοῦ παραδοθέντων τῶν ὅπλων ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κολασθῆναι, ἢ τ' οὖν ἐλπίδι τινὸς σωτηρίας παρορμηθεντες (τοσούτων μὲν γὰρ ὄντων τῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσχωρούντων, τὴν σφῶν ὀλίγων φυγὴν λαθεῖν ἄν, ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἄδηλον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι), [4]ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκ τοῦ σφῶν στρατοπέδου ἐξῆλθον, πρός τε τὸν Ῥῆνον καὶ τὴν τῶν Γερμανῶν χώραν ἔτεινον.

XXVIII. Τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὧν διὰ τὴν χώραν οὗτοι ἐπορεύοντο, κήρυκα ἔπεμψεν, εἰ ἀναίτιοι παρ' ἑαυτῷ εἶναι ἐθέλοιεν, τούτους ἀπάγειν κελεύων. Ἐκείνοις μὲν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπαχθεῖσιν ὡς πολεμίοις ἐχρήσατο· πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ὁμήρους τούς τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς αὐτομολήσαντας ἀπολαβών, εἰς προσχώρησιν ἐδέξατο. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἐλβητίους, τούς τε Τουλίγγους, καὶ τοὺς Λακόβριγας, εἰς τὴν ἧς ἐξεληλύθεσαν χώραν, ἐπανιέναι ἐκέλευσεν· ὅτι δὲ, πάντων τῶν καρπῶν διαφθαρέντων, οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ᾧ δύναιντο προς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξαρκεῖσθαι, τοῖς μὲν Ἀλλόβροξι αὐτοῖς σῖτον πορίζειν· τοῖς δ' αὖ Ἐλβητίοις, τάς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰς κώμας τῶν Ἀλλοβρόγων, ἃς κατέφλεξαν, ἀναστῆσαι ἐκέλευσε. Τοῦτο δὲ διὰ ταύτην μάλιστα τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐποιεῖτο, μὴ βουλόμενος τὴν Ἐλβητικὴν χώραν ἔρημον διαμένειν· μὴ οἱ πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου Γερμανοὶ ταύτῃ ἐνεργοτάτῃ οὔσῃ πεισθέντες, ἐκ τῆς σφῶν εἰς αὐτὴν διαβαίνοιεν, πρόσχωροί τε τῆς ἐπικρατείας καὶ τῶν Ἀλλοβρόγων γένοιντο. Τοὺς δὲ Βοΐους αἰτοῦσιν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς Ἐδουεῦσι, ὅτι ἀλκίμους ἄνδρας ὄντας ἑώρων, ὁ Καῖσαρ συνεχώρησε. Τούτοις μὲν οὖν οἱ Ἐδουεῖς τότε μὲν χώραν ἔδωκαν· ἔπειτα δ' ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ αὐτονόμους ὡς ἑαυτοὺς ἐποίησαν.

XXIX. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τῶν Ἐλβητίων στρατοπέδῳ Ἑλληνιστὶ γεγραμμένας εὑρόντες πίνακας οἱ στρατιῶται, τῷ Καίσαρι ἀπήνεγκαν. Ἐν ταύταις δὲ τὰ πάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἐλβητικῆς ἐξεληλυ-

θότων στρατιωτῶν, χωρὶς δὲ τὰ τῶν τε παίδων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ στρατεύσιμα ἔτη γεγονότων ὀνόματα ἠριθμοῦντο. ὧν πάντων ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοιοῦτος ἦν· τῶν μὲν Ἐλβητίων, ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες καὶ τρισχίλιοι, Τουλίγγων δὲ, τρισμύριοι, καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι· Ῥαυράκων δὲ, τρισχίλιοι καὶ δισμύριοι· Βοΐων δὲ, δισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι· τῶν δὲ Λακοβρίγων, μύριοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι· Καὶ τῶν μὲν στρατευομένων συμπάντων ὁ ἀριθμὸς, ἐννέα μυριάδες τε καὶ δισχίλιοι· τῶν δ' ἐξεληλυθότων τῆς χώρας συμπάντων ὁ ἀριθμὸς, τριάκοντα ἓξ μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι· τῶν δ' ἐπανιόντων κελεύσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀριθμηθέντων, εὑρέθησαν τὸ πᾶν ἕνδεκα μυριάδες.

XXX. *Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν τῷ πολέμῳ τοῦ Καίσαρος τέλος ἐπιθέντος, ἐκ πασῶν σχεδὸν τῶν τῆς Γαλατίας πόλεων οἱ ἄριστοι παρὰ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ αὐτοῦ νίκῃ συνηδόμενοι ἦλθον, λέγοντες τοιάδε· Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν ἴσμεν, Καῖσαρ, καίπερ σοῦ τοῖς Ἐλβητίοις, ἀνθ' ὧν τὸ πάλαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκάκωσαν, νῦν πολέμῳ δίκην ἐπιθέντος, οὐχ ἧττον ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῇ συμπάσης τῆς Γαλατίας, ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὠφελείᾳ πεπράχθαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἐλβήτιοι εὖ πράττοντες τὴν σφῶν χώραν κατέλιπον, ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες πάσῃ τῇ Γαλατίᾳ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, καὶ ταύτην καταστρεψάμενοι, χώραν μὲν, ἥντινα ἐνεργοτάτην γινώσκοιεν, ἑαυτοῖς ἐξελέσθαι· τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἅπασαν Γαλατίαν ὑποτελῆ ἔχειν. Δεόμεθα δέ σου, ἔφασαν, ἐᾶσαι ἡμᾶς σύνοδον πάσης τῆς Γαλατίας ποιήσασθαι· ἔχομεν γὰρ σὺν τῇ πάντων τῶν Γάλλων γνώμῃ τι παρὰ σοῦ δεῖσθαι. Οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως εἶπον. Γενομένου δ' αὐτοῖς τούτου παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, συνώμοσαν, μηδένα ἄλλον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Γάλλων ἐπὶ ταῦτο αἱρετοὺς, ταῦτα τῷ Καίσαρι ἀπαγγελεῖν.*

XXXI. *Ταύτης μὲν οὖν τῆς συνόδου* [1]*συναθροισθείσης, οἱ αὐτοὶ ἤδη πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθόντες ἄρχοντες τῶν πόλεων, τότε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανῆλθον, δεόμενοι σεγχωρεῖν περί τε τῆς σφῶν καὶ τῆς πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Γάλλων σωτηρίας πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλέγεσθαι. Τούτου μὲν οὖν τυχόντες, πάντες πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ δεδακρυμένοι προσέπεσον, οὐχ ἧττον ἐπιθυμεῖν λέγοντες τὰ κοινολογηθέντα μὴ ἐκδημοσιεύεσθαι, ἢ σφίσιν ἅπερ βούλονται παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος γίνεσθαι· ὅτι ἂν αὐτὰ δημοσιευθῇ σάφ' ᾔδεσαν ἰσχυρῶς τιμωρησόμενοι. Ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δὲ Διβιτιακὸς ὁ Ἐδουεὺς, λόγους ποιούμενος, τοιάδε ἔλεξεν. Ἐγένοντο μὲν, ἔφη, δύο τῆς Γαλατίας σχίσματα· ὧν τοῦ μὲν ἑνὸς οἱ Ἐδουεῖς, θατέρου δ' οἱ Ἀρβέρνοι ἦρχον· οἳ ἐπειδὴ πολὺν χρόνον τοῖς Ἐδουεῦσι περὶ τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχῆς ἀντηγωνίσαντο, τέλος σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐ πιστεύοντες, μισθωτοὺς παρὰ τῶν Γερμανῶν μετε-*

πεμψαντο· ὧν τὸ πρῶτον μὲν μύριοι μόνον καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι τὸν Ῥῆνον διέβησαν· ἔπειτα δὲ ἄνδρες ἄγριοι οὗτοι καὶ βάρβαροι, τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τῇ διαίτῃ τῇ τε τῶν Γάλλων δυνάμει τερφθέντες, πλείους καὶ πλείους ἐπεραιώθησαν· ὥστε αὐτῶν νῦν εἰσιν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὡς δώδεκα μυριάδες. Τούτοις μὲν οἵ θ' Εδουεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐκείνων σύμμαχοι ἅπαξ καὶ δὶς συνέβαλον. Ἡττηθέντες δὲ, μεγάλως ἠτύχησαν· πάντας μὲν γὰρ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς, πᾶσάν τε τὴν σφῶν σύγκλητον, πάντας τε πρὸς τούτοις τοὺς ἱππέας ἀπέβαλον· ὥσθ' οἱ τῇ σφῶν ποτὲ δυνάμει, καὶ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ξενίᾳ τε καὶ φιλίᾳ μέγιστα ἰσχύσαντες Εδουεῖς, τοῖς Σεκανοῖς νῦν ὁμήρους δοῦναι τοὺς πάντων τῶν τῆς σφῶν πόλεως ἀρίστων παῖδας, καὶ ὀμόσαι, ἦ μὴν μηδὲ τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀπαιτήσειν, μήτε βοηθείας παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, δεήσεσθαι, μήτε γε παραιτήσεσθαι τοῦ μὴ διὰ παντὸς τῶν Σεκανῶν ὑπακούειν. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν, ἔφη, μόνος εἰμὶ ἐγὼ, ὅστις ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑδουεῦσιν, ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνορκωμοτεῖν, ἢ γοῦν ὁμήρους τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας δοῦναι, οὐκ ἠδυνήθην πεισθῆναι. Καὶ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἑδουέων πόλεως προφυγὼν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, περὶ βοηθείας πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν παρεγενόμην, ὅτι μόνος ἐγὼ οὔτε γε ἔνορκος ἦν, οὔτε ὁμήρους ἐδεδώκειν. Ἀλλ' οἱ γεμὴν Σεκανοὶ νενικηκότες, κάκιον νῦν τῶν ἡττηθέντων Ἑδουέων πράττουσιν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Γερμανῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀριόβιστος ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων χώρᾳ καταμένει, καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐνεργοτάτης Σεκανικῆς γῆς τὸ τρίτον μέρος κατέχει· νῦν δ' ἔτι τοῦ ἄλλου τρίτου μέρους τοὺς Σεκανοὺς ἐξίστασθαι οἱ κελεύει· ὅτι ὀλίγοις πρὸ τοῦ μησὶν Ἀρούδων δύο μυριάδες καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι αὐτῷ προσῆλθον, οἷς χώραν νῦν ἑτοιμάζει· ὥστ' ἐκ τούτων συμβήσεται, πάντας μὲν τοὺς Γάλλους τῆς σφῶν χώρας ἐκβληθήσεσθαι· πάντας δὲ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβήσεσθαι. (οὐ μὲν γὰρ τῇ τῶν Γάλλων χώρᾳ ἡ τῶν Γερμανῶν ὁμοία, οὐδ' ἡ τούτων βιοτεία τῇτ ῶν Γάλλων παραβλητέα). Ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀριόβιστος, τοὺς Γάλλους ἐν τῇ Ἀμαγετοβρίᾳ ἅπαξ μάχῃ νικήσας, ὑπέρογκόν τι καὶ ἄγριον ἄρχει· ὁμήρους μὲν γὰρ τοὺς πάντων τῶν ἀρίστων αἰτεῖ παῖδας, καὶ εἴτι γε πρός τε τῷ νεύματι καὶ τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ οὐ ποιεῖται, οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν δεινοτάτων τούτοις τοῖς ὁμήροις οὐ δρᾷ· ἀνὴρ δ' ἐστὶν ὀργίλος τε καὶ βάρβαρος, καὶ παράτολμος, καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἡ ἐκείνου ἀρχὴ οὐκ ἔτ' ἀνεκτός· ὥστ' εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ σοῦ, Καῖσαρ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων βοηθούμεθα, πάντες οἱ Γάλλοι ταὐτὸ τοῖς Ἑλβητίοις ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθησόμεθα· ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἡμετέρας γῆς ἐξελθεῖν, χώραν δέ τινα πόῤῥω ἀπὸ τῶν Γερμανῶν ἀφεστῶσαν ζητεῖν. Εἰ δὲ γε ἃ λέγω νῦν, τῷ Ἀριοβίστῳ ἀπαγγελθῇ, οὐκ ἀμφὶ τοῦ μὴ οὐχὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτῷ ὁμήρους ἀφειδέστατα τιμωρήσεσθαι

T

Ἀλλὰ σὺ, Καῖσαρ, ἢ τῇ σαυτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων φήμῃ, ἢ καὶ τῆς νεωστὶ ταύτης κατὰ τῶν Ἑλβητίων νίκης δόξῃ κωλύειν, μὴ μείζων ἀριθμὸς Γερμανῶν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν διαβῇ, καὶ πᾶσαν πρὸς τούτοις τὴν Γαλατίαν τοῦ Ἀριοβίστου δύνασαι ἐλευθερῶσαι.

XXXII. Ταῦτα τοῦ Διβιτιακοῦ εἰπόντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες τιμωρὸν σφίσι γενέσθαι τὸν Καίσαρα κλαίοντες ἱκέτευον Μόνους δὲ τοὺς Σεκανοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲν μὲν τούτων ποιοῦντας, ἀνιαροὺς δὲ, καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀνειμένους τε καὶ κάτω βλέποντας κατανοησάμενος, τί ποτέ τ' εἴη τοῦτο θαυμάσας, αὐτοὺς μὲν ἠρώτησεν· ἐκείνων δ' οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένων, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολλὰ περὶ τούτων ἐρωτήσαντος, ὁ Ἑδουεὺς Διβιτιακὸς οὕτως αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ' οἱ Σεκανοὶ, Καῖσαρ, τοσούτῳ τῶν ἄλλων Γάλλων κάκιον πράττουσιν, ὅσῳ αὐτοὶ μόνοι οὐδ' ἐν ἀποῤῥήτῳ ὀδύρεσθαι, οὐδὲ γεμὴν βοηθείας οὐ τολμῶσι [1]δεῖσθαι. Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις Γάλλοις φεύγειν οἷόν τ' ἐστὶ, τοῖς Σεκανοῖς δ' οὔ. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀριόβιστος ἔν τε τῇ ἐκείνων χώρᾳ καταμένει, καὶ πάσας τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ποιησάμενος, οὐδὲν ὅ τι αὐτοῖς τῶν δεινοτάτων οὐ δρᾷ.

XXXIII. Ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀκούσας, τοὺς Γάλλους παρεμυθήσατο, τοῦτο ἑαυτῷ μελήσειν αὐτοῖς ὑποσχόμενος· μεγάλας γὰρ ἐλπίδας ἔχειν, τὸν Ἀριόβιστον πολλὰ ὑφ' αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐεργετηθέντα, νῦν τούτων μεμνημένον παύσεσθαι τῆς ὕβρεως. Τούτων μὲν τότε εἰρημένων, διέλυσε τὴν ἀγοράν. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πολλὰ αὐτὸν τοῦ τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι ἐγχειρεῖν παρώξυνε· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Ἑδουεῖς πολλάκις συμμάχους θ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἀδελφοὺς κεκλημένους, νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς Γερμανοῖς γενομένους, καὶ πολλοὺς σφῶν παρὰ τοῖς Σεκανοῖς ὄντας ὁμήρους ἑώρα· ὃ ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, τοσαύτης οὔσης της ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς, αἰσχρὸν ἡγεῖτο εἶναι. Ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς κατὰ μικρὸν τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβαίνειν, πολύ τ' ἤδη πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ εἶναι ἐννοούμενος, ἐκ τούτων μέγαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις περιεώρα ἐπηρτημένον κίνδυνον· οὐκ ᾤετο γὰρ ἂν πώποτε τοὺς θηριώδεις τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας πάσης τῆς Γαλατίας ἐγκρατεῖς γενομένους, ἀποσχέσθαι ἂν (ὅπερ ἤδη οἱ Κίμβροι τε καὶ οἱ Τουτονοι ἐποιήσαντο) τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, κἀντεῦθεν εἰς αὐτὴν χωρεῖν τὴν Ἰταλίαν· καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ μόνον τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπαρχίαν ἀπὸ τῶν [2]Σεκουσιανῶν ἀποτέμνοντος· ὥστε τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤθελε προλαβὼν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· ὁ γὰρ Ἀριόβιστος οὕτως ὑπερεφρόνει τε καὶ ἐμεγαληγόρει, ὥστε οὐκ ἔτε ἐδόκει ἀνεκτός.

XXXIV. Ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν τῷ Καίσαρι αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα συγγενέσθαι, καὶ ἔπεμψέ [3]τινα δεησόμενον αὐτοῦ, τινὰ τόπον ἐν μέσῳ

ἑκατέρων τῶν στρατῶν, πρὸς τὸ εἰς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ἐλθεῖν, ἐξαιρεῖσθαι· ὅτι αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ἀμφοτέροις συμφερόντων πραγμάτων χρήζοι συγγίνεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριόβιστος τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀγγέλῳ ἀπεκρίνατο. Ἀλλ' ἦλθον ἂν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ παρὰ τὸν Καίσαρα, εἰ ἐκείνου ἔχρηζον· ὡσαύτως οὖν ἐκεῖνον παρ' ἐμὲ χρὴ ἐλθεῖν, εἴτι παρ' ἐμοῦ θέλει· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ, χωρὶς στρατεύματος εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ Καίσαρ Γαλατίαν ἐρχοίμην ἂν, οὔτε, γ' ἄνευ μεγάλης δαπάνης τε καὶ πολλῆς ἀσχολίας τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς ἕνα συνάγειν δυναίμην. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ἔφη, θαυμάζω, τί ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ Γαλατίᾳ, ἣν ἐγὼ κατεπολέμησα, ὅ τε Καῖσαρ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι θέλουσι.

XXXV. Τούτων τῷ Καίσαρι ἀπαγγελθέντων, πρέσβεις πάλιν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριόβιστον, τοιάδε λέγειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτείλας, ἐπέμψατο. Ἔπεμψε μὲν ἡμᾶς Καῖσαρ, ὦ Ἀριόβιστε· φησὶ δὲ, ὅτι ἐπειδὴ σὺ τοσαῦτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὖ πεπονθὼς, ὥστε ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ὑπατείας βασιλέα τε καὶ φίλον ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ἀναγορευθῆναι, νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ χάριν τούτων [1]ἐκείνῳ ἀποδιδόναι τοὐναντίον εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, καίπερ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεηθεὶς, βαρύνῃ οὔτε περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀμφοτέροις πραγμάτων αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι θέλεις, ταῦτα σοὶ ἐπιστέλλει· πρῶτον μὲν, πλείους τῶν Γερμανῶν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν μὴ διαβιβάζειν· ἔπειτα δὲ, τοὺς [2]αὐτῶν παρὰ σοὶ ὄντας ὁμήρους ἀποδοῦναί τε, καὶ τοῖς Σεκανοῖς συγχωρεῖν ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ ἔχουσιν ἀποπέμπειν, μήτ' ἔτι τοὺς Ἑδουεῖς ὑβρίζειν, μήτε γε ἐκείνοις, μήτε τοῖς αὐτῶν συμμάχοις ἀδίκως πόλεμον ἐπιφέρειν σὲ κελεύει. Καὶ εἰ μὲν οὕτω ποιεῖς, ἐκεῖνός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι σοὶ φίλοι πειράσονται διαγίνεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, (ἐπὶ ὑπάτων μὲν γὰρ Μάρκου Μεσσάλα τε καὶ Μάρκου Πείσωνος, ἡ γερουσία τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὸν τῆς ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐπαρχίας ἐπιτροπεύσοντα, τούς θ' Ἑδουεῖς καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν συμμάχους, ἐν ὅσῳ γε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ βλάπτοιντο, ἀβλαβεῖς διασώζειν ἐψηφίσατο) διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοὺς Ἑδουεῖς νῦν ὑπὸ σοῦ ὑβριζομένους οὐ περιόψεται.

XXXVI. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα τῷ Ἀριοβίστῳ ἔλεγον. Ἐκεῖνος δ' ἀπεκρίνατο. Ἀλλὰ δίκαιον τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἔφη, ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, τοὺς κρατήσαντας τῶν ἡττηθέντων, ὅπως ἂν βούλωνται, ἄρχειν· οἷτε Ῥωμαῖοι ὧν ἐκράτησαν, οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλων γνώμην, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν σφίσι δοκῇ ἄρχουσιν. Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ αὐτοῖς, τοῦ μὴ ἐλευθέρως τῷ σφίσι δικαίῳ χρῆσθαι, οὐκ ἐνοχλῶ, ὡσαύτως τούτῳ με δεῖ παρ' ἐκείνων πάσχειν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἑδουεῖς τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τύχης πειράσαντες, καὶ μάχῃ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἡττηθέντες, ὑποτελεῖς μοι γεγένηνται. Καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ μεγάλως μ' ἀδικεῖ, ὅστις ἐνθάδε παραγενόμενος, τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἠλάττωσε φόρους. Τοῦτο δ' αὐτῷ ἀπαγγείλατε· ὡς τοῖς Ἑδουεῦσι τοὺς αὐτῶν ὁμήρους οὐκ ἀποδώ-

σω. Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν κατὰ τὰς πρός με συνθήκας ποιοῦσι, καὶ τὸν συντεθέντα δασμόν μοι κατ' ἔτος τελοῦσι, πόλεμον οὐκ ἐξοίσω ἐπ' αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, εὖ ἴστε, ὅτι πόῤῥω τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀδελφικὸν ὄνομα ἀπέσεται αὐτοῖς. Ὃ δ' ἐπιστέλλει μοι, ὡς ἀδικουμένους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τοὺς Ἑδουεῖς οὐ περιόψεται, οὐδείς, ἔφη, ὅστις [1]συμβαλὼν μὴ οὐχ ἡττήθη, ἐγένετο· ὥσθ' ὁπότ' ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, μοὶ συμβαλέτω. Γνώσεται μὲν γάρ, τίνες οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀκαταμάχητοί τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐμπειρότατοι Γερμανοί, ἐν δεκατέσσαρσιν ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ὑπαίθριοι διαμείναντες, ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ εἰσίν.

XXXVII. Ἐν ταὐτῷ δὲ χρόνῳ ταῦτά τε τῷ Καίσαρι διηγγέλλοντο, καὶ πρέσβεις παρά τε τῶν Ἑδουέων καὶ τῶν Τρευΐρων αὐτῷ ἦλθον· τῶν μέν, μεμφόμενοι, ὅτι οἱ Ἀροῦδες νεωστὶ εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν περαιωθέντες τὴν σφῶν χώραν ἐληΐζοντο, λέγοντές θ' ὡς εἰρήνης παρὰ τοῦ Ἀριοβίστου, καίπερ ὁμήρους αὐτῷ δόντες, τυχεῖν μὴ δύναιντο· τῶν δὲ Τρευΐρων, ἑκατὸν φυλὰς Σουεύων, Νασούα τε καὶ Κιμβηρίου ἀδελφῶν ἡγεμόνων, πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Ῥήνου ὄχθαις στρατοπεδεύσασθαι, καὶ ταύτας ἐπιχειρεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἀγγέλλοντες. Τούτοις μὲν οὖν πεισθεὶς ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς λόγοις, σπευστέον ἑαυτῷ ἡγήσατο εἶναι, μὴ τῇ τοῦ Ἀριοβίστου παλαιᾷ στρατιᾷ καὶ ταύτης τῆς τῶν Σουεύων χειρὸς συμμιξάσης, δυσχερέστερον αὐτῷ δύναιτο ἀντέχειν. Τοιγαροῦν ὡς ἠδυνήθη τάχιστα τὸν στρατὸν ἐπισιτισάμενος, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριόβιστον ἤλασε.

XXXVIII. Τριῶν δ' ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν αὐτῷ ἤδη ἀνύσαντι ἀπηγγέλθη, τὸν Ἀριόβιστον παντὶ σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐπὶ τὸ τὴν Βεσοντιῶνα, πόλιν τῶν Σεκανῶν μεγίστην, καταλαβεῖν, ἀπιέναι, ἤδη τε τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χώρας προεληλυθέναι. Ὅπως δὲ μὴ τοῦτο συμβῇ, προνοητέον μάλιστα εἶναι ὁ Καῖσαρ ἡγεῖτο· ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν γὰρ τῇ πόλει πάντων τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων πολλὴ ἐνῆν ἀφθονία. Αὕτη τε οὕτω φύσει ὠχύρωτο, ὥστε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτηδειοτάτην εἶναι. Τῷ μὲν γὰρ ποταμῷ Ἀλδουάσδουβι, ὡς ὑπό τινος διαβήτου, περιλαμβανομένη, πᾶσα σχεδὸν περιζώννυται· τὸ δ' ὑπόλοιπον μέρος τῆς πόλεως, ᾗ ὁ ποταμὸς διαλείπει, οὐ πλεῖον ὂν [2]πέντε σταδίων, ὑψηλοτάτῳ ὄρει περιέχεται· ὥσθ' αἱ τούτου πέζαι ἀμφοτέρωθεν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καθήκουσι. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος τοῖχος περιοικοδομηθεὶς τῇ πόλει συζεύγνυσι, καὶ ἀκρόπολιν αὐτῆς τοῦτο ἀπεργάζεται. Ἐπὶ ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν πόλιν ὁ Καῖσαρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ὁδεύων ὥρμησεν, αὐτήν τε κατασχών, φρουρὰν ἐνέστησεν.

XXXIX. Ἐν ταύτῃ δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἕνεκα οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας διατρίβοντος, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ στρατιῶται, ὡς εἰκός, περὶ τῶν Γερμανῶν, ὁποῖοί τινες εἶεν, [3]τοὺς Γάλλους ἠρώτων. Οἱ δὲ

ἔφασαν, ὑπερμεγέθεις τε καὶ ἀλκιμωτάτους εἶναι ἄνδρας τοὺς Γερμανούς, αὐτούς τ' ἐμπειρίᾳ πολέμου ὑπερβάλλειν πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους· ἑαυτοὺς γοῦν πολλάκις αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα μόνον καὶ τὰ δεινὰ αὐτῶν ὁράματα δυνηθῆναι ἀνέχεσθαι· ὥστ' ἐκ τούτων τοσοῦτος ἐξαίφνης φόβος πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατιὰν κατέλαβεν, ὥστ' οὐκ ὀλίγον ταράττεσθαι πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας. Καὶ οὗτος πρῶτον ὁ φόβος τοῖς τε ταξιάρχοις, καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, τοῖς τ' ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν Καίσαρα κατὰ φιλίαν μόνον ἀκολουθήσασιν, ὅμως δὲ οὐ πάνυ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀλκίμοις οὖσιν, ἐνέφυ. Οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ἄλλος ἄλλην πρόφασιν προβαλλόμενοι, δι' ἣν ἀναγκαῖον σφίσιν εἶναι τὸ ἀπελθεῖν [1]ἔλεγον, τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδέοντο συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπιέναι, ἔνιοι δέ γ' αὐτῶν, παρέχειν φόβου δόξαν οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες, κατέμενον μέν. Οὗτοι δὲ οὔτε σχηματίζεσθαί πως ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν, οὔτε γ' ἐνίοτε τὰ δάκρυα ἐπέχειν ἠδύναντο· κατακρυπτόμενοι δ' ἐν ταῖς σφῶν σκηναῖς, ἢ τὴν σφῶν ξυμφορὰν κατωλοφύροντο, ἤτ' οὖν μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων τὸν κοινὸν κίνδυνον ἐποτνιῶντο, καὶ μεστὰ ἦν πάντα τῶν τὰς διαθήκας ποιούντων. Ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς τε τούτων λόγοις τε καὶ φόβοις καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικωτάτοις λεγόμενοι στρατιῶταί τε καὶ χιλίαρχοι καὶ ἵππαρχοι ἐταράττοντο. Τούτων δ' οἱ ἧττον δειλοὶ δοκεῖν θέλοντες, οὐ τὸν πολέμιον ἑαυτοὺς ὑποτρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τάς τε τῶν ὁδῶν στενότητας, καὶ τὸ τῶν μεταξὺ σφῶν τε καὶ τοῦ Ἀριοβίστου ἐνουσῶν ὑλῶν μέγεθος, ἢ καὶ τὸ δύσκολον τῆς σιταγωγίας δεδιέναι ἔφασκον. Ἔνιοι δέ γε καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἀπήγγειλαν, ὡς ὁπότ' ἂν μεταστρατοπεδεύεσθαι θέλῃ, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τὰ σημεῖα αἴρεσθαι παραγγέλλῃ, ἀπειθέσι πρὸς τοῦτο τοῖς στρατιώταις διὰ τὸν ἐκείνων φόβον χρήσεσθαι.

XL. Ὡς μὲν οὖν ᾔσθετο ὁ Καῖσαρ φόβον διαθέοντα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, συγκαλεῖ πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ στρατεύματος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῖς μεμφόμενος, ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ἄνδρες φίλοι, τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν μάλιστα ἐγκαλῶ, ὅτι ὅποι τε καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ ὑμᾶς ἄγω, πολυπραγμονεῖτε· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀριοβίστου, ἐμοῦ ὑπατεύοντος, ἰσχυρῶς τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίας ἐπιθυμήσαντος, ἔπειτα θαυμάζω πῶς ἄν τις ἐκεῖνον οὕτω ῥαδίως προέσθαι δοκοίη. Πολλῷ μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ θαῤῥῶ, ἐκεῖνον τήν τ' ἐμὴν γνόντα αἴτησιν, καὶ τὴν δικαιότητα αὐτῆς κατανοήσαντα, οὔτε τὴν πρός με, οὔτε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν παραιτήσειν· πρὸς τούτοις δέ γε, εἰ καὶ θυμῷ τε καὶ ἀφροσύνῃ πεισθεὶς, πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἐπιφέροι, τί δήποτε οὕτως ὀῤῥωδεῖτε; ἢ τίνος γ' ἕνεκα περί τε τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀλκῆς, καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐνελπίζετε προθυμίας; Τούτου μὲν τοῦ πολεμίου ἐπὶ τῶν

ἡμετέρων πατέρων ἐπειρασάμεθα, ὁπότε Γαΐου Μαρίου τούς τε Κίμβρους καὶ τοὺς Τουτονοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξελάσαντος, οὐχ ἧττον ἀξιέπαινοι οἱ στρατιῶται τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐνομίσθησαν. Ἐπειράθημεν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ νεωστὶ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πολέμῳ, καίτοι τούτοις ἥτε χρεία καὶ ἡ διδαχὴ ἣν παρ ἡμῶν παρέλαβον, μέγα συνεβάλλετο· ὥς τ' ἐκ τούτων ῥάδιόν ἐστι γνῶναι, πόσον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἡ σωφροσύνη συμβάλλεται· οὓς ποτε μὲν γὰρ ἀόπλους εἰκῇ πεφόβησθε, τούτων ἔπειτα ὡπλισμένων τε καὶ νικητῶν ἐκρατήσατε. Πρὸς τούτοις δ' ἐκεῖνοι αὐτοὶ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ Γερμανοί, οὓς πολλάκις οἱ Ἑλβήτιοι οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ σφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων αὐτῶν χώρᾳ, μάχῃ νενικήκασιν, ἰσοπαλεῖς δ' ὅμως τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ στρατιᾷ γενέσθαι μὴ δυνηθέντες. Εἰ δὲ ἡ τῶν Γάλλων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀριοβίστου ἧττα ἐκφοβεῖ, οὗτοι ἐξετάζοντες τὸ πρᾶγμα, εὑρήσουσι, τοῖς Γάλλοις ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μακροχρονίῳ γενομένῳ ἤδη κεκμηκόσι, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι μαχεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀριόβιστον νομίζουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀτάκτοις οὖσι, ἐκεῖνον πολὺν χρόνον ἔν τε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ ὑλώδεσι κρυβέντα τόποις ἄφνω ἐπιθέσθαι· ὥστε μᾶλλον ἀπάτῃ τε καὶ δόλῳ, ἢ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ ἀλκῇ αὐτοὺς νικῆσαι. Εἰ αὕτη μέντοι ἡ ἀπάτη κατ' ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων τε καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἀδαημόνων ἴσχυσεν, ἦ καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἡμετέραν στρατιὰν ἡττήσεσθαι νομίζετε; Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, θρασεῖς μάλιστά εἰσιν οἱ τὸν σφῶν φόβον πρός τε τὸν σῖτον καὶ τὰς τῆς ὁδοῦ στενότητας ἀναφέροντες, περί τε τοῦ ἐμοῦ δέοντος ἀνελπίζειν, καὶ ἐμοὶ προστάττειν τολμῶντες· τούτων γὰρ ἐμοὶ μέλει· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια οἱ Σεκανοὶ οἵτε [1]Λεῦκοι ἡμῖν πορίσουσι, περὶ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτίκα γνώσεσθε. Ὅτι δὲ πολλὰ ἄλλα παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν λογοποιεῖται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι ἐμοί τ' οὐ πείσονται, οὐδέ γε τὰ σημεῖα ἀροῦσι, τούτοις οὐδ' ὁπωσοῦν ἐγὼ ἐκπλήττομαι· εἰδώς, ὅτι ὁπόσοις τὸ πρὶν τοῦτο συνέβη, τούτων αἰτία ἐγένετο, ἢ ὅτι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἠτύχησαν, ἤ τ' οὖν τι κακουργήσαντες πάντως ἄδικοι ἠλέγχθησαν· ἐμοῦ δὲ τὴν μὲν δικαιότητα διὰ παντός, τὴν δ' εὐτυχίαν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλβητίους πολέμου ἐγνώκατε. Ἀμέλει δ' ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἂν ἀνεβαλόμην, τοῦτο νῦν παραστήσω, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τετάρτης φυλακῆς ἐνθένδε ἐξελάσω· ἵνα τάχιστα καταμάθω, πότερον τὴν αἰδῶ τε καὶ τὸ ἐνδέον, ἢ τὸν φόβον περὶ πλειόνος ὑμεῖς ποιεῖσθε· ἂν δὲ καὶ οὕτως οὐδεὶς ἕπηται, ἐγὼ δ' ὅμως σὺν μόνῳ, ᾧ μάλιστα θαῤῥῶ, δεκάτῳ τάγματι πορεύσομαι· τοῦτό τε [2]δορυφορικόν μοι τάγμα ἔσται· (τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ τῷ τάγματι ὁ Καῖσαρ μάλιστα ἐσπούδαζε, ἰσχυρῶς τε διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐθάῤῥει αὐτῷ.)

XLI. *Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, θαυμαστῶς πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται μετενόησαν· καὶ πολλὴ προθυμία αὐτοῖς τοῦ μά-*

γεσθαι ἐνεγένετο. Καὶ τὸ μὲν δέκατον τάγμα διὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων χάριτας αὐτῷ, ὅτι τοιαύτην περὶ σφῶν εἶχε δόξαν, ὡμολόγησαν· ἑτοίμους εἶναι εἰς τὴν μάχην λέγοντες. Ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται διά τε τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ τῶν πρώτων ταξιάρχων ἐποίησαν, ὥστε τῷ Καίσαρι διαλλαγῆναι· [1]οὐδέποτε φοβηθῆναί τε, οὔτε τὴν διοίκησιν τοῦ πολέμου ἐπὶ τῇ σφῶν γνώμῃ, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εἶναι, νομίσαι λέγοντες. Ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀποδεξάμενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Διβιτιακοῦ, ᾧ πάντων τῶν Γάλλων μάλιστα ἐπίστευε, τὴν ὁδὸν [2]ἀμφὶ τὰ χίλια διακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα στάδια πάντοθεν ἐξετάσας, τῇ τετάρτῃ (ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπισχνήσατο) φυλακῇ ἐντεῦθεν σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἀπῆρεν. Ἑβδομαίῳ δ' αὐτῷ πορευομένῳ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ κατάσκοποι, ὡς τὸ τοῦ Ἀριοβίστου στράτευμα ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐ πλεῖον πεντακοσίων σταδίων ἀπέχοι.

XLII. *Ὁ δ' Ἀριόβιστος τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔφοδον γνοὺς, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ· ὡς νῦν, ἐπειδὴ ἐγγύτερον ἦλθεν, ὃ πρότερον ᾔτησεν, ἐκείνῳ ἐπιτρέποι· Νομίζειν γὰρ ἔλεγεν, νῦν ἀκινδύνως τοῦτο δύνασθαι ποιεῖν. Τοῦτο μὲν οὐ παρῄτησεν ὁ Καῖσαρ· σωφρονεῖν δ' ἤδη αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζεν, ὅτι ὃ πρότερον ἑαυτῷ αἰτήσαντι ἀπηρνήσατο, τοῦτο νῦν ἑκούσιος ὑπισχνεῖτο· ἐν μεγάλῃ τ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐλπίδι ἐγένετο, αὐτὸν τὴν σύμβασιν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ αἰτήσεως γνόντα, πρὸ τῶν τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς ἐκεῖνον εὐεργεσιῶν παύσεσθαι τῆς ὕβρεως· ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ διαλογισμοῦ ἡμέρα ἐκ ταύτης πεμπταία ἐῤῥέθη. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων πολλοὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους πρέσβεις πεμψάντων, ὁ Ἀριόβιστος τῷ Καίσαρι ἐπέστειλεν· μήτινας εἰς τὸν διαλογισμὸν ὁπλίτας ἄγειν. Φοβεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ, μὴ δόλῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος παραλογίσηται· ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρους μεθ' ἱππέων ἐλθεῖν· ἄλλως δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἰέναι. Ὁ μέντοι Καῖσαρ οὔτε τὸν διαλογισμὸν προφάσεσι παραλείπεσθαι, οὔτε γε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν τοῖς τῶν Γάλλων ἐγχειρίζειν ἱππεῦσι βουλόμενος, βέλτιον ἡγήσατο εἶναι, πάντας τοὺς τῶν Γάλλων ἵππους ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος στρατιώταις, οἷς μάλιστα ἐθάῤῥει, τούτους δωρεῖσθαι· ἵνα ἣν δεήσῃ μάχεσθαι, φρουρὰν προσφιλεστάτην ἔχοι. Αὐτοῦ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντος, ἀστεῖόν τι τῶν τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος στρατιωτῶν τις ἐφθέγξατο, λέγων· Τὸν Καίσαρα πλεῖον, οὗ ὑπισχνήσατο, ποιήσασθαι· ὑποσχόμενον μὲν γὰρ τὸ δέκατον τάγμα ἐν χώρᾳ δορυφόρου φάλαγγος ἕξειν, νῦν εἰς τὴν ἱππάδα αὐτὸ καταγαγεῖν.*

XLIII. *Ἦν δὲ μεγάλη πεδιὰς, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ οὐ μικρὸς γήλοφος, ἐξ ἴσου ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀφεστώς· ἐν ταύτῃ ὅ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀριόβιστος διαλεχθησόμενοι ἦλθον·*

καὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππέας ἀπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου γηλόφου [1]στάδια πεντήκοντα κατέστησεν· οἵ τε τοῦ Ἀριοβίστου ἱππεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου κατέμειναν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριόβιστος πάλιν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐπέστειλεν, ὡς βούλοιτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις [2]δύο ἱππεῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἄγειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὧδέπως ἤρξατο τοῦ λόγου· Ἀλλ' οἶσθα μὲν, ὦ Ἀριόβιστε, ὡς σὲ ἥ τε γερουσία καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα τε καὶ [3]φίλον, ὑπατεύοντός μου, ἐψηφίσατο· οἶσθα δὲ καί, ὡς τοῦτο οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπουργήσασι, συνέβη· ὅτι τε οὔτε ξένος ὢν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οὔτε γε αἰτίαν τοῦ ταῦτα αἰτεῖν εὔλογον ἔχων, ταῦτα ὅμως τῇ τ' ἐμῇ καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐεργεσίᾳ ἐκτήσω. Τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὖ πεπονθὼς, νῦν τούτων μέμνησο. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ πολλαί τε καὶ δίκαιαι τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἐδουεῖς φιλίας αἰτίαι διαγεγόνασι, πολλάς τ' αὐτοῖς ἡ γερουσία τῶν Ῥωμαίων τιμὰς ἐψηφίσατο. Ἔπειτα δ' οἱ μὲν Ἐδουεῖς πάσης τῆς Γαλατίας δυνατώτατοι ὄντες, καὶ πρότερον τοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις φίλοι γενέσθαι, διαγεγόνασιν. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς σφῶν φίλους τε καὶ συμμάχους οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν τῆς σφῶν ἀποβάλλειν ἀνέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαις τε καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ δυνάμεσιν αὔξεσθαι βούλονται. Ἃ μὲν οὖν οἱ Ἐδουεῖς πρὶν τοῦ φίλοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι εἶχον, ταῦτα ἄν τις ἔπειτα αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἀνέχηται; Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἃ σοῦ δεῖσθαι τοῖς πρεσβεῦσι πρότερον ἐνετειλάμην, νῦν παρὼν παρόντος σοῦ δέομαι· πρῶτον, μήτε τοῖς Ἐδουεῦσι, μήτε γε τοῖς ἐκείνων συμμάχοις πόλεμον ἐπιφέρειν· ἔπειτα δ' εἰ μὲν τοὺς ἤδη μετὰ σοῦ Γερμανοὺς ἀποπέμπεσθαι εἰς τὴν πατρίδα μὴ δύνασαι, ἀλλὰ γοῦν μὴ πλείους ἔτι τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβαίνειν ἀνέχεσθαι. Καῖσαρ μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν.

XLIV. Ὁ δ' Ἀριόβιστος ὧδε ἀπημείφθη, ὀλίγα μὲν πρὸς τὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰτήσεις ἀποκρινόμενος, πολλὰ δὲ περί τε αὑτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἰσχύος μεγαληγορούμενος. Ἐγὼ μὲν διέβην τὸν Ῥῆνον, ἔφη, οὐκ αὐτοκέλευστος, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν μετάπεμπτός τε καὶ παρακληθεὶς τῶν Γάλλων· οὐκ ἄνευ δὲ μεγάλων ἐλπίδων τε καὶ δώρων τήν τ' ἐμὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἂν κατέλιπον· καὶ ἣν μὲν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἔχω χώραν, αὐτοὶ συνεχώρησαν, οὕς τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἔχω ὁμήρους, τούτους αὐτόματοι μοι παρέδωκαν· δασμὸν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δίκαιον λαμβάνω, ὃν τῶν ἡττηθέντων οἱ κρατήσαντες εἰώθασι λαμβάνειν. Καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ τοῖς Γάλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτοί μοι πόλεμον ἐπήνεγκαν· ἅπασαι μὲν γὰρ αἱ τῆς Γαλατίας δυνάμεις ὡς καταμαχούμεναι με συνῆλθον, ἐμοί τε ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. Ταύτας δ' ὅμως

ἐγὼ πάσας μιᾷ ἐνίκησα μάχῃ καὶ ἔτρεψα. Εἰ μὲν οὖν αὖθις συμβάλλειν μοι θέλουσιν, ἐγὼ καὶ ἔτι ἑτοίμως ἔχω μάχεσθαι· εἰ δ' εἰρήνην προαιροῦνται, ἄδικόν ἐστιν ἐκείνους τοῦ τὸν δασμὸν, ὃ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν αὐτόματοι ἀπήνεγκαν, τελεῖν παραιτεῖσθαι. Πρὸς τούτοις δ' ἡ μὲν τῶν 'Ρωμαίων φιλία τε καὶ συμμαχία τιμήν μοι καὶ ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλ' οὐ βλάβην χρὴ παρέχειν. Ἢν δὲ διὰ τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους ὅ τε δασμὸς οὐκ ἔτι τελῆται, οἵτε προσχωρήσαντές μοι ἀφεστῶσι, οὐχ ἧττον ἡδέως, ἢ ὡς τῆς τῶν Ρωμαίων φιλίας ἐπεθύμησα, νῦν τὴν ἐκείνων συμμαχίαν παραιτήσω. Ὁ δὲ σὺ φῄς με πολὺ πλῆθος Γερμανῶν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν διαβιβάζειν, τοῦτο ἵνα μ' ἀσφαλίσω, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἵνα τὴν Γαλατίαν κατασχῶ ποιῶ· μαρτύριον δὲ, ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον πρότερος οὐκ ἐξήνεγκα, ἀλλὰ μόνον αὐτὸν ἠμυνάμην. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ πρότερος ἦλθον τῶν 'Ρωμαίων· τὸ πρὶν μὲν γὰρ στρατιὰ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων τῆς ἐπικρατείας οὐδεπώποτε οὐκ ἐξῆλθεν. Τί οὖν σύ μοι θέλεις; ἢ τίνος γ' ἕνεκα ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ χώρᾳ ἔρχῃ; αὕτη μὲν γὰρ ἡ Γαλατία ἐμὴ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τῶν 'Ρωμαίων, ἐστὶν ἐπικράτεια· καὶ ὡς μὲν εἰ πόλεμον τῇ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐκφέροιμι, οὐκ ἀνεκτέον μοι εἴη, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄδικοι ἐστὲ, τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς μοι ἀντιποιούμενοι. Ὅτι δὲ σὺ φῄς τοὺς 'Εδουεῖς φίλους τε καὶ συμμάχους ὑπὸ τῆς 'Ρωμαίων γερουσίας ἀναγορευθῆναι, οὐχ οὕτως ἠλίθιός τε καὶ ἀλόγιστός εἰμι, ὥστε μὴ γινώσκειν, ὡς οὔτ' εἰς τὸν κατὰ τῶν 'Αλλοβρόγων τῶν 'Ρωμαίων πόλεμον οἱ 'Εδουεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν, οὔτε γ' αὖ ἐν τῷ σφῶν πρός με πολέμῳ τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις συμμάχοις ἐχρήσαντο. Δεῖ δέ με ὑπονοεῖν, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Εδουεῖς συμμαχίαν σὲ προφασιζόμενον, τοῦ καθαιρεῖν μ' ἕνεκα ταύτην τὴν στρατιὰν ἔχειν. 'Αλλ' εἰ μὴ ἀπέλθῃς τε, καὶ τὸ σὸν στράτευμα ἐνθένδε ἀπαγάγῃς, εὖ ἴσθι, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς φίλῳ σοι ἀλλ' ὡς πολεμίῳ χρήσομαι. Κἂν μέν σ' ἀποκτείνω, πολλοῖς, εὖ οἶδα, ὅτι ἄρχουσι τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἰσχυρῶς χαρίσομαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων ἀγγελιῶν κατέμαθον· ὥστε τὴν πάντων τούτων φιλίαν τῷ σῷ θανάτῳ δυνήσομαι κτᾶσθαι. Ἂν δ' ἀπέλθῃς τε, καὶ ἐλευθέραν μοι τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν καταλείπῃς, ἐγὼ σοι ἰσχυρῶς ἀντιχαρίσομαι· ἣν μὲν γάρ τις ποτὲ κατὰ σοῦ πόλεμος γένηται, τοῦτον ἄνευ τε τοῦ σοῦ πόνου τε καὶ κινδύνου σοι διαπράξω. Τοσαῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ 'Αριόβιστος.

XLV. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔλεγεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, διδάσκων αὐτὸν, ὡς οὐ μὴ δύναιτο τούτου τοῦ πραγματος ἀμελεῖν. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ, ἔφη, οὔθ' οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι τοὺς μεγάλως ὠφελίμους ἡμῖν γεγενημένους συμμάχους εἰώθαμεν προέσθαι· ἔπειτα δὲ οὔτε φημὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν μᾶλλόν σου ἢ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων εἶναι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ 'Αρβερνοὶ, καὶ οἱ 'Ρουθηνοὶ, ὑπὸ Κοΐντου Φαβίου

Μαξίμου ἡττηθέντες, ὅμως ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συνεγνώσθησαν, οὔτε εἰς ἐπαρχίαν μεταστάντες, οὔτέ γε φόρους ἐπιταχθέντες· ὥστε ἂν μὲν τὸν μακρότατον χρόνον σκεπτώμεθα, δικαιότατοί εἰσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Γαλατίας ἄρχειν· ἂν δὲ τὴν τῆς Ῥωμαίων γερουσίας γνώμην λογιζώμεθα, χρὴ τὴν Γαλατίαν, ἥνπερ κατα στρεψάμενοι ἀυτονομεῖσθαι ἀφήκαμεν, ἐλευθέραν γενέσθαι.

XLVI. Πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα λέγοντι τῷ Καίσαρι ἀπηγγέλθη, τοὺς τοῦ Ἀριοβίστου ἱππέας ἐγγίζειν τε τῷ ὄρει, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἱππέας προσελαύνειν, ἤδη τε σφενδονᾷν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζειν εἰς αὐτούς. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ τοῦτο ἀκούσας, διαλεγόμενός τ' ἐπαύσατο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππέας ἀνεχώρησεν· αὐτοῖς δὲ παρήγγειλεν, μηδὲν βέλος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀνταφιέναι. Εἴπερ γὰρ κατενόει τὸ εἰρημένον τάγμα ἀκινδύνως ἱππομαχῆσαι, ὅμως οὐκ ἤθελε ποιεῖν, ὥστε τοὺς πολεμίους ἡττηθέντας δύνασθαι λέγειν, δόλῳ ἐν τῷ διαλογισμῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σεσοφίσθαι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος στράτευμα διηγγέλθη, ποίᾳ ἀλαζονίᾳ ὁ Ἀριόβιστος ἐν τῷ διαλογισμῷ χρησάμενος, πάσης τῆς Γαλατίας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπεῖρξεν, ὥς τε οἱ ἐκείνου ἱππεῖς εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὥρμησαν, τοῦτό τε τὸν λόγον τοῦ Καίσαρος παῦσαι· πολλῷ μείζων προθυμία τε καὶ σπουδὴ τοῦ μάχεσθαι, ἢ πρόσθεν, τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐνέφυ.

XLVII. Μετὰ δὲ δύο ἡμέρας ὁ Ἀριόβιστος πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπέμψατο, λέγων· ὡς περὶ τῶν ὧν ἤρξαντο διαλέγεσθαι [1]πραγμάτων, χρῄζοι αὐτῷ συγγίνεσθαι. Ἐδεῖτο μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ, ἢ αὖθις ἡμέραν τινὰ, πρὸς τὸ εἰς λόγους ἄλλους ἐλθεῖν, ὁρίζειν, ἢ γοῦν τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα παρ' ἑαυτὸν πέμπειν. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καιρὸν τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι αὖθις οὐχ ἡγεῖτο εἶναι· [2]πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καί τινα τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπικινδύνως ἐκείνῳ πέμψειν, καὶ οἱονεὶ δὴ τοῖς ἀγρίοις τε καὶ βαρβαρικοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις ἐπιβαλεῖν. Ἀμέλει Μάρκον Οὐαλήριον Προκίλλον, [3]ἄνδρα ῥωμαλεώτατον, τὸν Γαΐου Καβούρου, ᾧ Γάϊος Βαλήριος Φλάκκος πολιτείαν ποτὲ ἔδωκεν, διά τε τὸ τῆς Γαλατικῆς διαλέκτου, ᾗ διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ὁ Ἀριόβιστος τὰ πολλὰ ἐχρῆτο, ἐμπείρως ἔχειν, καὶ ὅτι εἰς αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν αἰτίαν οὐκ εἶχον οἱ Γερμανοί· πρὸς τούτοις τε μετ' αὐτοῦ Μάρκον Τίτιον, ξένον ποτὲ τῷ Ἀριοβίστῳ γενόμενον, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπέμψατο, τούτοις, ἃ λέγοι ὁ Ἀριόβιστος ἀκούσαντας, ἑαυτῷ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου ἀπαγγέλλειν προστάξας. Ἐκείνους δ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα κατεῖδεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Ἀριόβιστος, πάσης παρούσης τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς, Τίνος, ἔφη, ἕνεκα πρός με ἤλθετε; ἢ τοῦ κατασκοπεῖν ἕνεκα; Ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν λέγειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἐκώλυσέ τε, καὶ πέδαις αὐτοὺς ἔδησε.

XLVIII. Ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προὐκίνησέ τε τὸ στράτευμα

καὶ τετταράκοντα ὀκτὼ στάδια ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδου γήλοφον ἐπίπροσθεν ποιούμενος, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ, πρόσω τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα [1]διεβίβασεν, ἐν νῷ ἔχων τῶν ἀπό τε τῶν Ἐδουέων καὶ τῶν Σεκανῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλείειν τὸν Καίσαρα. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε ἐφεξῆς ἐκ ταύτης τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς εἰς μάχην παρατεταγμένην εἶχεν, ἵνα εἰ βούλοιτο ὁ Ἀριόβιστος, δύναιτο τὸ στράτευμα συμβάλλειν· ὁ δ' Ἀριόβιστος ταύτας μὲν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ὅλας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατέμεινε, καθ' ἑκάστην δ' ἡμέραν ἱππομάχησε· Τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ μάχης εἶδος, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ἑαυτοὺς οἱ Γερμανοὶ ἤσκουν. Ἱππεῖς μὲν ἑξακισχίλιοι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, καὶ πεζοὶ μάλα ἐλαφροί τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι, ἰσάριθμοι, οὓς ἐν πᾶσιν οὗτοι οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ σφῶν ἕκαστος σωτηρίᾳ εἵλοντο. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς μάχαις πρὸς τούτους οἱ ἱππεῖς ἀνεχώρουν· αὐτοὶ δὲ, εἴ που τὶ δεινὸν οἱ ἱππεῖς πάσχοιεν, συνέτρεχον ἐνταῦθα· εἰ δὲ καί τις καιρίως πληγεὶς ἱππεὺς καταπίπτοι, αὐτὸν πάντοθεν περιΐστασαν· εἰ δέ που δέοι ἢ προσωτέρω ἰέναι, ἢ ταχὺ ἀναχωρεῖν, οὗτοι οἱ πεζοὶ τοσαύτῃ ἦσαν ἐλαφρότητι ὥστε τοῖς τῶν ἵππων ἀπηρτημένοις ἰσοδρόμοι εἶναι.

XLIX. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατέμαθεν ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν Ἀριόβιστον ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐκ ἐξιόντα, δεδιὼς μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκωλύηται, πρόσω τε τοῦ τῶν Γερμανῶν στρατοπέδου ἴδιον πρὸς στρατόπεδον εἶναι [2]τόπον, τῶν κατασκόπων ἀκούσας, τριχῇ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν διετάξατο· καὶ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον παραγενόμενος, τὰς μὲν δύο τάξεις ἐν ὅπλοις καταμένειν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην τὸ στρατόπεδον κρατύνειν παρήγγειλεν. Οὗτος μὲν ὁ τόπος τέτταρας μόνον σταδίους ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπῆν, ἐνταῦθα δ' ὁ Ἀριόβιστος ἄνδρας μυρίους καὶ ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπέμψατο, ἐννοούμενος ταύτην τὴν στρατιὰν τούς τε Ῥωμαίους ἐκφοβήσειν καὶ τοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον κρατύνειν κωλύσειν. Ὅμως δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ τὸ πρότερον διελέξατο, τὰς μὲν δύο τάξεις τὸν πολέμιον ἀπείργει, τὴν δὲ τρίτην τὸ ἔργον ἀποτελεῖν παρεγγύησε. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὀχυρωθέντος, μέρος μὲν τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ καὶ δύο τάγματα κατέλιπεν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα τέτταρα τάγματα ἐπὶ τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον ἀπήγαγεν.

L. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν διενοήθη ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων τὸ στράτευμα μὲν ἐξήγαγε, ὀλίγον τε ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου προελθὼν, τὴν στρατιὰν παρετάξατό τε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἕτοιμον εἰς μάχην τοῖς πολεμίοις παρεῖχεν. Ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐδ' οὕτως αὐτοὺς τοῦ στρατοπέδου σφῶν κινεῖσθαι κατενόησε, περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἀνήγαγε τὸ στρά-

τευμα. Τότε δ' ὁ 'Αριόβιστος μέρος τι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ τὸ μεῖον τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοπέδων προσβάλλειν, ἐπέμψατο. 'Αμέλει ἐῤῥωμένως ἀμφότεροι ἐμαχέσαντο· περὶ δὲ δείλην ὀψίαν, πολλῶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν τρωθέντων, ὁ 'Αριόβιστος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα ἀνεκάλεσεν. Τῷ δὲ Καίσαρι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐρωτηθέντι, τίνος ἕνεκα ὁ 'Αριόβιστος οὐ συμβάλλοι τὸ στράτευμα, αὐτοὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τούτου εἶναι ἔφασαν· ὅτι οἱ Γερμανοὶ τὰς πρεσβείας γυναῖκας ἐρωτᾷν, εἰωθάσι πότερον μάχην συνάπτειν βέλτιον εἴη, ἢ οὐχί· νῦν δὲ ταύτας λέγειν, οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἶναι τοὺς Γερμανοὺς, εἰ πρόσθεν νουμηνίας μάχην συνάπτοιεν, νικᾷν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν 'Αριόβιστον οὐ συμβαλεῖν.

LI. Τῇ μὲν οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ φρουρὰν ἱκανὴν ἀμφοτέροις καταλιπὼν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐξαγαγὼν, ὅσον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοὺς ὁρᾶσθαι, ἵνα, ὅτι ὀλίγους ταγματικοὺς στρατιώτας κατά γε τὸ τῶν πολεμίων πλῆθος εἶχεν, τούτοις πρὸς ὄψιν μόνον ἐν τοῖς πλαγίοις χρήσηται· αὐτὸς δὲ τριχῇ τὴν στρατιὰν ποιησάμενος, μέχρις ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον προῆλθεν. 'Ενταῦθά τοι οἱ Γερμανοὶ ἀναγκαίως ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὴν σφῶν στρατιὰν ἐξήγαγον, κατὰ φυλάς τε διέταξαν ἐξ ἴσου ἀλλήλων τοὺς 'Αρούδας, τοὺς Μαρκομάννους, τοὺς Τρίβόκους, τοὺς Βαγγίονας, τοὺς Νημίτας, τοὺς Σηδουσίους τε, καὶ τοὺς Σουεύους, πᾶσάν τε τὴν σφῶν τάξιν, μή τις φυγῆς ἐλπὶς λείποιτο, φορείοις τε καὶ ἅρμασι περιέστησαν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνεβίβασαν. Αἳ δρυπτόμεναί τε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀρεγόμεναι, πάντας ἱκέτευον, ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν μὴ φεύγειν, εἰς τὴν δουλείαν τῶν 'Ρωμαίων καταλιπόντας σφᾶς ἀλλ' ἀμῦναι καὶ ἑαυταῖς καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.

LII. Ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑκάστοις μὲν τάγμασιν ὕπαρχον ἐπέστησεν, ἵνα οὗτοι μάρτυρες τῆς ἑκάστου γένοιντο ἀρετῆς· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος, τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῶν πολεμίων ἀσθενέστερον εἶναι κατιδὼν, μάχην συνῆψε. Τοιαύτη δ' ἐγένετο ἡ μάχη· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι προθύμως τὸ σύνθημα λαβόντες, τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπέδραμον· ἔπειτα δ' οἱ πολέμιοι τάχιστα αὐτοῖς ἐπῆλθον, ὥστε σχολὴν τοῖς Ρωμαίοις τοῦ τὰ ἀκόντια εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀφιέναι, μὴ δοῦναι. Οἱ μέν τοι 'Ρωμαῖοι εὐθὺς τὰ δόρατα ἀποῤῥίψαντες, ἐκ χειρὸς τοῖς ξίφεσι συσταδὸν ἐμάχοντο· οἱ δὲ Γερμανοὶ ταχὺ, κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῖς σύνηθες, εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοὺς ἐδέξαντο, εἰς φάλαγγα ταχθέντες. 'Εγένοντο δ' ἐνταῦθα πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἳ εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πολεμίων εἰσπηδήσαντες, τάς τ' ἀσπίδας αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀπεσπῶντο, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον. 'Ηττηθέντων δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον σφῶν κέρας, τῶν πολεμίων, κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν

Ῥωμαίων κέρας τῷ σφῶν πλήθει ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοὺς ἐπίεζον. Ὁ οὖν Πούπλιος Κράσσος νεανίας, ὃς ἵππαρχος ἦν τοῦ Καίσαρος, τοῦτο κατανοήσας, ὅτι ἧττον τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ὄντων ἐπιέζετο, τὴν τρίτην τάξιν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἤδη πονοῦσιν εἰς ἐπικουρίαν ἔπεμψεν.

LIII. Ὥστε εὐθὺς οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν μάχην ἀνώρθωσαν· πάντες δ' οἱ πολέμιοι ἐνέδοσάν τε, καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν, οὔτε πρόσθεν ἔστησαν, πρὶν ἢ πρὸς τῷ Ῥήνῳ, τετταράκοντα ἐντεῦθεν στάδια ἀπέχοντι, ἐγένοντο· ὅπου ὀλίγοι, ἢ τῇ σφῶν ἀρετῇ θαῤῥοῦντες, τὸν ποταμὸν διανήχεσθαι ἐπεχείρησαν, ἢ πλοιαρίων τινῶν εὐπορήσαντες, ἐν αὐτοῖς διεσώθησαν· ὡς ὁ Ἀριόβιστος, ὃς ἀκάτιον πρός τῇ γῇ δεδεμένον εὑρὼν, ἐν αὐτῷ διέφυγε· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας, ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν, οἱ ἱππεῖς κατέκαινον. Ἦσαν δὲ δύο τῷ Ἀριοβίστῳ γυναῖκες· ἡ μὲν Σουεύη τὸ γένος, ἣν καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικῆς ὁ Ἀριόβιστος ἐξήγαγεν· ἡ δὲ Νορικὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Βουκκίονος ἀδελφὴ, ἣν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς ἑαυτῷ πεμφθεῖσαν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐγεγαμήκει· αἳ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φυγῇ ἀμφότεραι ἀπώλοντο· τῶν δὲ θυγατέρων ἡ μὲν ἐφονεύθη, ἡ δ' ἑάλω. Ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ Μάρκος Βαλήριος Προκίλλος, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φυγῇ ὑπὸ τῶν φυλακῶν τρισὶ πέδαις συρόμενος, εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν Καίσαρα, τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἵππον διώκοντα εἰσέπεσεν· ἐφ' ᾧ οὐχ ἧττον ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ νίκῃ εὐφράνθη· ἄνδρα γὰρ πάσης τῆς ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐπαρχίας σωφρονέστατον, φίλον θ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ ξένον· γενόμενον, νῦν ἐκ μὲν τῶν χειρῶν τῶν πολεμίων διασωθέντα, παρ' ἑαυτῷ δ' ὄντα ἑώρα, οὔτε γε τῇ αὐτοῦ δυστυχίᾳ τι τοσαύτης ἡδονῆς ἡ τύχη ἠλάττωσεν. Ἔλεγε μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, τοὺς Γερμανοὺς, ἑαυτοῦ παρόντος, πότερον ταχὺ καυθείη, ἢ καὶ εἰς ἄλλον καιρὸν τηρηθείη, κληρώσασθαι· τῇ δὲ τῶν κλήρων εὐεργεσίᾳ σῶον περιγενέσθαι.

LIV. Ταύτης τῆς μάχης πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου διαγγελθείσης, οἱ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ Ῥήνου ὄχθας ἐληλυθότες Σουεῦοι, εἰς τὴν σφῶν χώραν τότε ἀνεχώρησαν, οὓς οἱ Οὔβιοι, πλησίον τοῦ Ῥήνου οἰκοῦντες, πεφοβημένους ἐπιδιώξαντες, συχνοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειραν. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ δύο ἐνὶ θέρει μεγίστους κατεργασάμενος πολέμους, ταχύτερον μέν τι ἢ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἔτους ὥραν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις ἐκάθισε, καὶ αὐτοῖς Τίτον Λαβιηνὸν τὸν ὕπαρχον ἐπέστησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πρός τε συνόδους ποιεῖσθαι ἀπῆλθεν.

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

NOTES TO

CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES

ON

THE WAR IN GAUL.

Page 1. *C. Julii Cæsaris*, &c. "Caius Julius Cæsar's Commentaries on the War in Gaul." By *commentaries* are to be here understood brief narratives of events, composed in a plain, unambitious style, and the principal object of which is to preserve the remembrance of events for the benefit of those who may subsequently wish to compose fuller and more elaborate works. Thus Hirtius, in the epistle prefixed to the eighth book of the Gallic War, remarks, "*Cæsaris commentarii editi sunt, ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus deesset.*" Hence the term appears somewhat analogous to our modern expression "memoirs." The corresponding Greek forms are *ὑπομνήματα, ὑπομνηματισμοί*, and *ἀπομνημονεύματα.* Hence Strabo, in speaking of Cæsar's commentaries, has, Ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι (4, p. 117, *ed. Casaub.*); and hence also the memoirs of Socrates, by his pupil Xenophon, are entitled Σωκράτους ἀπομνημονεύματα. Plutarch (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 22) speaks of a work of Cæsar's called Ἐφημερίδες, and it has been made a matter of discussion whether this was the same with the commentaries that we now have, or a distinct production. Rualdus (*ad. Plut. Vit. Cæs.* c. 22.—*Op. ed. Reiske*, vol. iv., p. 858, *seq.*) maintains the latter opinion, on the ground that the ancient writers everywhere quote, from the Ephemerides, passages not to be found in the commentaries. This opinion has found many advocates. On the other hand, Fabricius (*Bibl. Lat.* 1, 10, 2) contends that there are many *lacunæ* in the books of Cæsar on the Gallic war, as they have come down to our time. The subject will be resumed in the "Life of Cæsar."

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2 1. *Gallia est omnis*, &c. "All Gaul is divided into three parts." Cæsar here means by "Gaul" that part which had not yet been subdued by the Romans. The latter had already reduced the Allobroges in the south, and had formed in that quarter what was called "*Gallia Provincia*," or "*Gallia Narbonensis*," or, as is the case in these commentaries, simply "*Provincia*." Consult Geographical Index.

2. *Quarum*. Supply *partium*.

3. *Tertiam, qui*, &c. "The third, they who are called in their own language Celtæ, in ours Galli." The order of construction is, (ii) *qui appellantur Celtæ ipsorum lingua, Galli nostra* (lingua, incolunt) *tertiam* (partem).

4. *Celtæ*. The Celtæ mark the parent stem, or genuine Gallic race. From the extent of their territory, the Greeks gave the whole country of Gaul the name of Κελτική (*Celtica*). Among the earlier Greeks, the whole of western Europe, at some distance from the shores of the Mediterranean, went by the appellation of the "*Celtic land*," χώρα Κελτική. (*Scymn. Ch.* v., 166.) Consult Geographical Index. The term *Galli* is only "Gael" Latinized.

5. *Lingua*. This is not correct as regards the Belgæ and Celtæ, who merely spoke two different dialects of the same tongue, the former being of the *Cymric*, the latter of the *Gallic* stock. The Aquitani, however, would appear to have belonged to the *Iberian* race, and to have spoken a language of Iberian origin. (*Thierry Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. i., *Introd.* p. xii, *seq*.)

6. *Institutis*. "In customs."—*Inter se*. "From one another." Literally, "among themselves."

7. *Gallos ab Aquitanis*, &c. "The river Garumna separates the Galli from the Aquitani, the Matrona and Sequana divide them from the Belgæ." With *flumen* supply *dividit*. The student will note, that the singular verb *dividit* follows after the two nominatives *Matrona* and *Sequana*, as referring to one continuous boundary, and to the circumstance also of the Matrona being only a tributary of the Sequana.

8. *Fortissimi sunt Belgæ*. The same idea is expressed in Tacitus, *Hist.* 4, 76.—*A cultu atque humanitate Provinciæ*. "From the civilization and intellectual refinement of the province." *Cultus* refers here to the mode of life, *humanitas* to mental improvement and culture; and hence *cultus* is given by Oberlinus, in his *Index Latinitatis*, as "*vitæ ratio, ab omni ruditate remota*." The civilization and refinement of the Roman province was principally derived from the Greek city of Massilia, now *Marseilles*. (*Justin*, 43. 4.)

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1. *Minime sæpe commeant.* "Least frequently resort," i. e., very seldom penetrate to these distant regions.—*Ad effeminandos animos.* "To enervate their minds," i. e., break down their warlike spirit. 3

2. *Proximique sunt Germanis.* "And because they are nearest to the Germans," i. e., are in their immediate neighbourhood. According to the punctuation which we have adopted, this is the corresponding clause to the one beginning with *propterea quod.*

3. *Helvetii quoque.* Because they also dwell near the Germans.

4. *Cum.* "On which occasions."—*Eos.* Referring to the Germans.—*Aut ipsi*, &c. "Or else they themselves carry on war in the territories of the latter." *Ipsi* refers to the Helvetii.

5. *Eorum una pars.* "One part of these main divisions of Gaul." *Eorum* refers back to *Hi omnes*, or, in other words, to the Belgæ, Celtæ, and Aquitani. As, however, the idea of territory is necessarily involved, we may, in order to adapt the phrase to our idiom, translate as if there were an ellipsis of *finium*, though, in reality, none such is to be supplied. As regards the remote reference which sometimes occurs in the case of *hic* and *is*, consult *Perizonius*, *ad Sanct. Min.* 2, 9 (vol. i., p. 276, *ed. Bauer*), where the present passage comes under review.

6. *Obtinere.* "Possess." *Obtineo* is here used in its primitive and genuine sense, "to hold against others," i. e., "to possess" or "enjoy."—*Initium capit*, &c. "Commences at the river Rhone." Literally, "takes its beginning from the river Rhone."

7. *Continetur.* "Is bounded." Literally, "is encompassed" or "hemmed in."—*Attingit etiam*, &c. "It touches also on the Rhine in the quarter of the Sequani and Helvetii." More literally, "on the side of the Sequani and Helvetii," i. e., where these two communities dwell.

8. *Vergit ad septentriones.* "It stretches away towards the north." Literally, "it inclines" or "tends towards the north," i. e., from its point of commencement on the Rhodanus.

9. *Ab extremis Galliæ finibus.* "From the farthest confines of Gaul." By Gaul is here meant the middle division of the country, or that occupied by the Celtæ, who have been mentioned in the preceding sentence under the name of *Galli.* By *fines extremi* Cæsar means the boundaries most remote from Rome, or, in other words, the northern.

10 *Spectant in septentriones*, &c. "They look towards the north and the rising sun," i. e., their country, commencing on the

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3 northern borders of Celtica, faces, or stretches away to the north and east.

11. *Et eam partem Oceani*, &c. "And that part of the Atlantic Ocean which is next to Spain," i. e., in the immediate vicinity of Spain, and washing its northern coast. The reference is to the lower part of the Bay of Biscay. As regards the force of *ad* in this passage, compare the common form of expression *esse ad urbem*, "to be near the city," and Cicero (*Ep. ad Fam.* 15, 2), *Castra ad Cybistra locavi.* "I pitched my camp in the neighbourhood of Cybistra."

12. *Spectat inter* &c. "It looks between the setting of the sun and the north," i. e., it looks northwest; it faces towards that point. Morus thinks we ought to read *in* for *inter*; but the Greek paraphrase sanctions the common lection: ἀφορᾷ δὲ τὰ μεταξὺ Ἄρκτων τ καὶ Ἀνατολῶν.

13. *Orgetorix.* This name is said by Celtic scholars to mean "chief of a hundred hills," from *or*, "a hill," *ced*, "a hundred," and *righ*, "a chief." (Compare *Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. ii., p. 289.)

14. *Marco Messala*, &c. "Marcus Messala and Marcus Piso being consuls," i. e., in the consulship of Marcus Messala and Marcus Piso. Supply *existentibus*. The date is A. U. C. 693, B. C. 61.

15. *Regni cupiditate inductus.* "Led on by a desire of enjoying the chief authority." *Regni* is to be here regarded as equivalent to *regnandi.—Nobilitatis.* The higher class of chieftains are meant.

16. *Civitati.* "His state," i. e., the people. By *civitas* are here meant all the inhabitants of a district or state, under one and the same government. This usage is very frequent in our author.

17. *De finibus suis.* "From their territories." *Fines*, in the sense of "territories" or "country," is of very common occurrence in Cæsar.

18. *Imperio potiri.* "To possess themselves of the sovereignty," i. e., to rule as masters over the other Gallic tribes.

19. *Id hoc facilius*, &c. "He persuaded them to that step the more easily on this account." The order is, *persuasit id eis facilius hoc.—Undique loci natura continentur.* "Are confined on all sides by the nature of their situation," i. e., are kept in, are prevented from wandering far.

20. *Monte Jura.* The name, in Celtic, is said to mean "the domain of God," from *Jou*, an appellation for the Deity, and *rag*, the domain of a chieftain or ruler. The term appears a very appropriate

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one to be applied by a barbarous people to a lofty mountain-range. 3
Consult Geographical Index.

21. *Lacu Lemanno.* Now the Lake of *Geneva.* Strabo gives the form Λιμέννα, the Greek paraphrast Λεμάνος.

22. *Minus late.* "Less widely," i. e., than they could have wished.—*Homines bellandi cupidi.* "Men (like themselves) fond of warfare."

23. *Pro multitudine*, &c. "They thought, besides, that they possessed narrow territories, considering the extent of their population, and their high character for war and bravery." More literally, "narrow territories, in proportion to the number of inhabitants," &c.

24. *Qui in longitudinem*, &c. "Which extended in length," &c Cluverius condemns the inaccuracy of this measurement, both as regards length and breadth. (*Germ.* 2, 4.) But we must bear in mind that Cæsar, when he wrote this, had never been in the land of the Helvetii, and followed, therefore, merely the rude estimate furnished him by some of that nation. Cæsar makes the length of Helvetia forty-eight geographical miles; the true distance, however, from Geneva to the Lake of Constance, is only forty. (*Mannert*, vol. ii., p. 214.)

1. *His rebus adducti.* "Induced by these considerations."—*Ad* 4
proficiscendum. "To their departure."

2. *Carrorum.* "Of wagons." This term has two forms for the nominative, *carrus* and *carrum.* Cæsar employs the former, and the author of the commentaries on the Spanish war the latter (c. 6). The word is of Celtic origin, and denotes a kind of four-wheeled wagon. Compare the German *Karre.* In later Latinity the neuter form prevailed. (*Adelung*, *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat.* vol. ii., p. 231.)

3. *Sementes quam maximas facere.* "To make as extensive sowings as possible," i. e., to sow as much land as possible.

4. *In tertium annum*, &c. "They fix upon their departure for the third year by a law," i. e., they fix upon the third year for their departure. The term *lege* is here employed as denoting merely the assent of the general assembly of the nation to the proposition of Orgetorix. It is analogous, therefore, in the present instance, to *decreto.*

5. *Ad eas res conficiendas.* The repetition of this phrase here is extremely inelegant, though it may be cited as one proof, among others that might be adduced, of Cæsar's having hastily written these commentaries, either at the close of each day, or else very soon after

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4 the occurrences detailed in them. Oberlinus suggests *ad ea* in place of *ad eas res conficiendas;* but the emendation, though neat, rests on no MSS. authority.

6 *Regnum obtinuerat.* "Had enjoyed the sovereign power." (Compare note 6, p. 3.) The sovereign authority was not generally hereditary among the Gallic tribes, but was conferred by the people on the one whom they judged most worthy.

7. *A senatu Populi Romani.* "By the senate of the Roman people," i. e., by the senate of Rome. We have here adopted the reading of the oldest and best MSS. The copyists have been misled by the common form, *S. P. Q. R.*, i. e., *senatu populoque Romano*, and have introduced it here, where it does not at all apply, for the title of "*amicus*" was conferred by the senate, not by the people. Compare book 4, c. 12, "*amicus ab senatu nostro appellatus*," and 7, 31, "*cujus pater ab senatu nostro amicus erat appellatus.*"

8. *Occuparet.* The student will observe that the leading verb is in the present tense, *persuadet*, and yet the verb following is in the past tense, *occuparet.* The rule that operates in such cases is given as follows by Zumpt, *L. G.* p. 322. "When an historian uses the present for the perfect aorist, to transport his reader back to the time of which he is speaking, he often joins an imperfect with this present, which in sense is past."

9. *Principatum obtinebat.* "Enjoyed the chief authority." The phrase *principatum obtinere* applies to one who is the leader of his countrymen, but without the name of king. Thus we have in Lactantius, *de fals. rel.* 1, 13, "*Primus Uranus eminere inter cæteros potentia cœperit, et principatum habere, non regnum.*"

10. *Perfacile factu esse*, &c. "He proves unto them that it was a very easy matter to accomplish their designs," i. e., that the accomplishment of their intended designs would be a very easy matter.

11. *Quin totius Galliæ*, &c. "But that the Helvetii could do the most of all Gaul," i. e., were the most powerful state of all Gaul.

12. *Illis regna conciliaturum.* "Would gain for them the sovereignty in their respective states."

13. *Et, regno occupato*, &c. "And they entertain the hope, that, if the sovereign power be seized by each of them, they can make themselves masters of all Gaul, by means of its three most powerful and valiant communities." The three communities here re-

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ferred to are the Helvetii, Sequani, and Aedui, and the intended 4
change is to be brought about after Orgetorix, Casticus, and Dumnorix shall have seized upon the sovereign power in their respective states.

14. *Firmissimos.* Some of the early editions read *fortissimos,* but it is a mere gloss, explanatory of *firmissimos.*

15. *Totius Galliæ potiri.* The verb *potiri* governs the genitive or ablative. Cicero, whenever he employs it to express the acquisition of sovereignty or political power, uniformly joins it with a genitive. Cæsar, on the other hand, sometimes employs the genitive, as in the present instance, and sometimes, as in chap. 2, joins the verb to the ablative of *imperium.*

16. *Ea res.* "This design."—*Per indicium.* "Through informers." Literally, "by a disclosure" or "information."

17. *Moribus suis.* "According to their custom." Referring to the established usage of the nation in such cases.—*Ex vinculis causam dicere.* "To plead his cause in chains," i. e., to answer the charge in chains. *Ex vinculis,* literally, "out of chains," i. e., "from the midst of chains," encompassed all the time by them.

18. *Damnatum pœnam,* &c. The order is, *oportebat pœnam, ut cremaretur igni, sequi* (eum) *damnatum.* "It behooved the punishment, that he should be burnt by fire, to attend him if condemned." More freely, "His punishment, in case he were condemned, was to be burnt to death." *Urere* is simply "to burn," but *cremare,* "to burn to ashes." The punishment here mentioned was usual among the Gauls and other barbarous nations in cases of high treason.

19. *Causæ dictionis.* "For the pleading of his case." *Dictio causæ* is generally applied to the defendant in a cause, and means a full explanation and defence of his conduct.—*Ad judicium.* "To the trial."

20. *Omnem suam familiam.* "All his household." The reference is to his domestics, and all the individuals employed about his private affairs. *Familia,* in its primitive acceptation, denotes all the slaves belonging to one master.

21. *Obæratos.* "Debtors." The term *obæratus* properly denotes one who, being in debt to another, is compelled to serve the latter, and in this way discharge the debt by his labour and services. Compare *Varro, L. L.* 6, "*Liber, qui suas operas in servitute, pro pecunia, quam debeat, dat; dum solveret, nexus vocatur, et ab ære obæratus.*"

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4 22. *Eodem.* "To the same place," i. e., the place of trial.—*Per eos, ne causam diceret*, &c. "By their means he rescued himself from the necessity of pleading his cause." More literally, "he rescued himself, so that he should not plead his cause." His slaves and retainers rescued him out of the hands of his judges.

23. *Incitata.* "Incensed." More literally, "aroused."—*Jus suum exsequi.* "To enforce their authority." Literally, "to follow out their authority," i. e., to carry it onward to its destined end, namely, the punishment of Orgetorix.

24. *Magistratus.* "The magistrates," i. e., of the Helvetii.—*Cogerent.* "Were collecting." More literally, "were compelling the attendance."

25. *Quin ipse sibi*, &c. "But that he laid violent hands on himself." Literally, "but that he resolved on death against himself."

5 1. *Oppida sua omnia*, &c. Plutarch mentions the same circumstance. (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 18.)—*Præter quod.* Elegantly put for *præter id quod.* "Except what."

2. *Domum reditionis.* "Of a return home." This is commonly cited as an instance of a verbal noun governing the accusative, according to the rules of earlier Latinity. *Domum*, however, is here construed like the name of a town. A better example of the accusative, governed by a verbal noun, may be obtained from Plautus (*Amph.* 1, 3, 21), "*Quid tibi curatio est hanc rem?*"

3. *Trium mensium*, &c. "Ground provisions for three months," i. e., meal or flour. The Greek paraphrast employs the term ἄλφιτα.

4. *Eodem usi concilio.* "Having adopted the same design," i. e., having formed the same resolution of leaving home.

5. *Trans Rhenum.* On the banks of the Saavus and Danube, where they continued to dwell for about 130 years. This country on their leaving it, took the name of *Deserta Boiorum.* (*Plin. H N.* 3, 27.)

6. *Receptos ad se*, &c. "They receive, and unite to themselves as confederates." A participle and verb, in such constructions, are to be translated as two verbs with the connective conjunction.

7. *Quibus itineribus.* The noun to which the relative refers is sometimes, as in the present instance, repeated after it, especially in Cæsar. It appears to have been the style of legal documents. (*Zumpt, L. G.* p. 237.)

8. *Vix qua*, &c. Supply *parte* after *qua.* "Along which a single wagon could with difficulty be led at a time." The student

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will note the use of *qua parte* in the feminine, although the neuter 5
gender, *unum* (*iter*), precedes. Instances of this are far from unfrequent. Thus, *Cic. pro Cæcin.* c. 8, "*Ad omnes introitus, qua adiri poterit.*"—*Cæs. B. G.* 5, 44, "*Per Alpes, qua proximum iter erat,*" &c.

9. *Ut.* "So that."—*Prohibere possent.* "Could prevent a passage."

10. *Provinciam nostram.* "Our province." Referring to the Roman province in the south of Gaul. Consult Geographical Index.—*Expeditius.* "Readier," i. e., containing fewer difficulties and impediments.

11. *Allobrogum, qui nuper pacati erant.* They had been subdued by Caius Pomptinius, the prætor, and their territory now formed part of the Roman province. Adelung makes the name *Allobroges* denote "highlanders," from *Al*, "high," and *Broga*, "land." (*Mithridates*, vol. ii., p. 50.) With this O'Brien nearly agrees in his Irish-English Dictionary, deducing the term from *Aill*, "a rock," and *Brog*, "a habitation."

12. *Vado transitur.* "Is crossed by a ford," i. e., is fordable.

13. *Ex eo oppido.* "From this town a bridge extends across to the Helvetii." The bridge began, in fact, a little below the town. Some translate *pertinet* "belongs," which is altogether erroneous. The Greek paraphrast gives the true idea: Ἀφ' ἧς (Γενοΐας) καὶ γέφυρα εἰς τὴν Ἐλβητικὴν διήκει.

14. *Bono animo.* "Of a friendly mind," i. e., well disposed.

15. *Diem dicunt.* "They appoint a day." More literally, "they name a day."—*Qua die.* Consult note 7.—*Omnes conveniant.* "All are to assemble."

16. *Is dies.* The student will note the change from the feminine *qua die* to the masculine form. The common rule, that *dies* is masculine when it is spoken of a particular or specified day; but feminine when referring to duration of time, is not sufficiently exact: exceptions may be found to it in many writers. (*Zumpt, L. G.* p. 41.)

17. *Ante diem quintum*, &c. "The fifth before the Kalends of April." This answered to the 28th of March, the Kalends of April being the first of that month. It must be remembered that the Romans, in computing their time, always included the day *from* which, and also the day *to* which, they reckoned. In this way the 28th of March became the 5th before the Kalends of the ensuing month. Consult the article *Kalendæ*, in the Archæological Index

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5 As regards the phrase *ante diem quintum Kalendas*, it may be remarked, that the expression is idiomatic for *die quinto ante Kalendas*.

18. *Lucio Pisone*, &c. A. U. C. 696, B. C. 58.

19. *Ab urbe.* "From the city," i. e., from Rome. Cæsar, previously to the expiration of his consulship, had obtained from the people, through the tribune Vatinius, the provinces of Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum, with three legions, for five years; and the senate added Gallia Transalpina, with another legion. He set out from the city, as appears from the context, in the early part of the spring.

20. *Quam maximis potest itineribus.* "By as great journeys as possible," i. e., with all possible speed. Compare the Greek paraphrast, ὡς ἠδύνατο τάχιστα.

21. *Galliam ulteriorem.* "Farther Gaul," i. e., Gaul beyond the Alps, or *Gallia Transalpina.*

22. *Provinciæ toti*, &c. "He orders as many soldiers as possible from the whole province," i. e., commands the whole province to furnish as many soldiers as it could. Literally, "he commands to the whole province as many," &c.

23. *Omnino.* "In all."—*Legio una.* "But a single legion." The legion, in the time of Polybius, contained 4200 men, to whom were added 300 horse. Lipsius thinks that Cæsar's legions did not much exceed this estimate. (*De Mil. Rom.* lib. 1, dial. 5.) Consult remarks under the article *legio*, in the Archæological Index.

6 1. *Ad Genevam.* "Near Geneva." So *Romæ* means "in Rome," but *ad Romam*, "near Rome."

2. *Certiores facti sunt.* "Were informed." The adjective *certus* has frequently the meaning of "sure," "well acquainted," &c. Thus, *fac me, oro, ut sim certus, an.* "Inform me, I entreat, for a certainty, whether;" and again, *certi sumus, te hoc fecisse*, "we know well that you did this." Hence arises the phrase, "*certiorem facere*, "to inform," "to make acquainted," as referring to information on which reliance may generally be placed.

3. *Principem locum obtinebant.* "Held the chief place," i. e., they were at the head of the embassy. Compare note 9, page 4.—*Verudoctius.* This name is derived, by Celtic scholars, from *ver*, "a man," and *dacht*, or *docht*, "speech," as indicating a public speaker or orator; and, though given by Cæsar as a proper name, may have been only, in fact, an appellation for one of the leaders of the embassy. (*Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. ii., p. 297.)

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4. *Sibi esse in animo.* "That it was their intention."—*Sine* 6
ullo maleficio. "Without doing any harm."—*Ejus voluntate.*
—With his consent."

5. *Occisum.* Supply *fuisse*, and so also after *pulsum* and *miss um.* The event alluded to in the text had taken place forty-nine years previous. A Cimbro-Teutonic horde, the same that were afterward defeated by Marius, after devastating central Gaul, united with the Helvetii, and resolved to attack the Roman province simultaneously at different points. The Tigurini, a tribe of the Helvetii, under the command of Divico, undertook to invade the territory of the Allobroges by the bridge of Geneva and the fords of the Rhone a little below this city. The rest of the Helvetii, together with their new allies, moved south. This plan of operations compelled the Romans to divide their forces. The Consul Cassius hastened to Geneva, while his lieutenant Scaurus made head against the Cimbri and Teutones. Both commanders were unfortunate. Cassius and his army were cut to pieces by the Helvetii on the borders of the Lacus Lemannus, or Lake of *Geneva;* while Scaurus was defeated and taken prisoner by those whom he had endeavoured to oppose. *Liv. Epit.* 65.—*Oros.* 5, 15.—*Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. ii., p. 200, *seq.*

6. *Sub jugum missum.* "Sent under the yoke." Two spears were placed upright in the ground, and a third one was laid across them at top, forming what the Romans called *jugum.* Under this, they who were permitted to surrender upon these terms were compelled to pass without their arms.

7. *Data facultate.* "If an opportunity were afforded them."—*Temperaturos ab injuria*, &c. "Would refrain from injury and outrage." Literally, "would restrain themselves." Supply *se* after *temperaturos.*

8. *Ut spatium intercedere posset.* "In order that some space o. time might intervene."—*Diem sumturum.* "That he would take time." *Dies* is here put, not for the natural day, but for an indefinite period of time. Compare Davies, *ad loc.*

9. *Ante diem*, &c. "On the day before the Ides of April." Th Ides of April fell on the 13th of that month. The date here mea is consequently the 12th. As regards the idiomatic expression *an. diem*, compare note 17, page 5. Consult also, for remarks on th Roman month, the article *Kalendæ*, in the Archæological Index.

10. *Qui in flumen*, &c. The Rhone actually flows into the La of Geneva; but Cæsar, being unacquainted with the country abov

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6 the lake, imagined that the lake flowed into or formed the river There is no need, therefore, of the emendation adopted by some editors, who read *quem in flumen Rhodanum influit*, i. e., "into which the river Rhone flows." Besides, *flumen Rhodanum*, making *Rhodanum* an adjective, agreeing with *flumen*, is not in Cæsar's usual style.

11. *Ad montem Juram.* It will be remembered that there were only two ways by which the Helvetii could leave home; one by the fords of the Rhone into the Roman province; the other by the narrow pass between Mount Jura and the Rhone, and which led through the territories of the Sequani. Of these two, that which ed into the province most required the attention of Cæsar; and as he could not expect to keep off the vast numbers of the Helvetii by the small force which he had with him, he drew a wall along the lower bank of the Rhone, in a line with the fords, from the point where the Lake of Geneva emptied into that river, to the spot where the Rhone divides, as it were, the chain of Jura into two parts, and forms the pass already mentioned between the river and the mountain. This narrow passage, moreover, would only lead the Helvetii into the territory of the Sequani; whereas the other, by the fords of the Rhone, would have carried them at once into the Roman province. Consult the plan at page 7 of the Latin text.

12. *Millia passuum decem novem.* "Nineteen miles in length." Literally, "nineteen thousand paces." The Roman *passus*, or "pace," was 1 yard, 1.85375 ft.; and as 1000 of them went to the *milliare*, or "mile," the latter was equivalent to 1617 yds. 2.75 ft. We have given the reading of all the early editions. Vossius, regarding the length of the wall as too great, omits *novem*, entirely on his own authority, and is followed by many subsequent editors. But the Greek paraphrast has ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα δύο στάδια, which favours the reading *decem novem.* Besides, what prevents our supposing that the wall was carried on until it reached some part of the chain of Jura, and had passed beyond all the fords?

13. *Castella communit.* "He carefully fortifies redoubts." *Communire* is equivalent to *valde munire.*—*Se invito* "Against his wil.." Literally, "he himself being unwilling."

14. *Quam constituerat.* "Which he had appointed." The allusion is to the day before the Ides.

15. *Negat, se more,* &c. "He declares that he cannot, consistently with the usage and example of the Roman people," &c., i. e., that it wa an unusual and unprecedented thing for the Roman

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people to grant any one a passage through their province.—*Exem-* 6
plum refers to the behaviour of the Romans on similar occasions.

16. *Ostendit.* "He shows them plainly," i. e., he explicitly de-
clares.—*Ea spe dejecti.* "Disappointed in this hope." Literally,
"cast down from this hope."

17. *Navibus junctis*, &c. "Some by means of boats connected
ogether, and numerous rafts constructed for the purpose," i. e.,
some by a bridge of boats and by numerous rafts, &c. Before *na-
vibus* we must understand *alii.* The common text has it expressed
after *factis.*

18. *Qua minima*, &c. "Where the depth of the river was least."
—*Si perrumpere possent.* "If they could force a passage."—*Ope
ris munitione.* "By the strength of our works." Alluding to the
wall which had been constructed between the lake and Jura, to
gether with its ditch and numerous redoubts.

19. *Propter angustias.* "On account of the narrowness of the
pass."—*Sua sponte.* "Of themselves," i. e., by their own appli
cation.

1. *Ut eo deprecatore*, &c. "In order that, he being the inter- 7
cessor, they might obtain what they wished from the Sequani," i.
e., through his intervention or mediation. With *impetrarent* supply
hoc, as referring to the passage through their territories. The com-
mon text has *hoc* expressed.

2. *Gratia et largitione*, &c. "By his personal influence and
liberality could accomplish a very great deal among the Sequani."
With *poterat* supply *facere.*

3. *In matrimonium duxerat.* "Had married." Literally, "had
led into matrimony." The Romans said *ducere uxorem*, "to marry
a wife," because the female was conducted, as a part of the cere-
mony, from her father's house to that of her husband. Hence *du-
cere uxorem* is for *ducere uxorem domum*, literally, "to lead a wife
home." So again, in speaking of a female taking a husband, the
Latin writers employ the verb *nubo.* Thus *nubere viro*, "to marry
a husband." Here the ellipsis is *nubere se viro*, literally, "to veil
herself for a husband," alluding to the bride's wearing a flame-
coloured veil during the marriage ceremony.

4. *Novis rebus studebat.* "Was aiming at a change in the gov
ernment," i. e., was plotting a revolution in the state. Literally,
"was desirous of new things."

5. *Suo sibi beneficio obstrictas.* "Firmly attached to himself
by reason of his kind offices towards them." He wished to have

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these states under strong obligations to himself, in order that they might aid him in his ambitious designs.

6. *Rem.* "The affair," i. e., the negotiation.—*Dent.* Referring to both parties, the Helvetii and Sequani.—*Sequani, ne,* &c. "The Sequani, not to prevent the Helvetii from using this route," i. e., the Sequani, to give hostages not to prevent, &c.

7. *Cæsari renunciatur.* "Word is brought to Cæsar." *Renunciare* is properly applied to intelligence, that is brought to one who had been previously expecting something of the kind; and it is therefore the very term that is required here. Compare the remark of Forcellini: "Renunciare *proprie adhibetur, cum nuncium alicujus rei exspectanti afferimus.*"

8. *Quæ civitas.* "Which state." Referring to the Tolosates.

9. *Id si fieret,* &c. "Should this be done, he clearly saw it would be attended with great danger to the province, that it should have for neighbours a warlike race," &c., i. e., for it to have in its immediate vicinity a warlike race of men. The race alluded to are the Helvetii.

10. *Locis patentibus,* &c. "In an open and very fertile tract of country."

11. *Ei munitioni.* Referring to the wall that had been constructed between the lake and Mount Jura. — *Legatum.* "His lieutenant." The number of *legati,* or lieutenants-general, depended on the importance of the war.

12. *In Italiam.* "Into Italy," i. e., into Hither, or Cisalpine Gaul. Compare chap. 24, where the two legions here mentioned are said to have been levied "*in Gallia citeriore.*"—*Magnis itineribus.* "By great journeys."

13. *Qua proximum iter.* "Where the route was nearest," i. e., shortest. With *qua* supply *parte.* Thus, Martial, 3, 91, 5, "*Qua parte cubaret, quærunt,*" and again, 7, 73, 5, "*Dic qua te parte requiram.*" (*Palairet, Ellips. Lat.* p. 140, *ed. Barker.*)

14. *Compluribus his prœliis pulsis.* "These having been routed in numerous encounters." Polyænus (8, 23) makes mention of a stratagem employed by Cæsar against these mountaineers. Under cover of the morning mist, he led a portion of his forces by a circuitous route to a part of the mountain which overhung the enemy's position. On a sudden a shout was raised by those with him, and was answered by the rest of his troops below, on which the barbarians, struck with terror, betook themselves to hasty flight. What Polyænus adds, however, that Cæsar crossed the Alps on this oc-

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casion, without any fighting (Καῖσαρ ἀμαχεὶ τὰς Ἄλπεις ὑπερέβαλεν), 7
appears from the present passage to be incorrect.

15. *Citerioris Provinciæ.* "Of the hither province." By *citerior provincia* the Romans meant Cisalpine Gaul; by *ulterior provincia*, Transalpine. Both epithets were used with reference to Rome.—*Extremum.* Supply *oppidum.*

16. *Rogatum auxilium.* Supply *dicentes.* "Stating."—*Ita se omni tempore*, &c. "That they had so deserved at all times of the Roman people, that their fields ought not to be ravaged," &c., i. e., that, on account of their constant fidelity to the Romans, they did not deserve to have their fields ravaged, &c.

1. *Necessarii et consanguinei.* "The friends and relations of 8
the Aedui." By *necessarii*, among the Roman writers, those are meant to whom kind offices are, as it were *necessarily*, due, either on account of friendship or kindred.

2. *Demonstrant.* "Inform him." Equivalent here and elsewhere to *narrant.*—*Sibi præter agri*, &c. "That nothing was left them except the soil of their land," i. e., except the bare soil, except a devastated country. The genitive *reliqui* depends on *nihil.*

3. *Omnibus fortunis sociorum consumtis.* "All the resources of his allies having been destroyed," i. e., their fortunes having become completely ruined.

4. *Santonos.* The MSS. vary between *Santones* and *Santonos*, but the better class have *Santonos.* Both forms are in use. In the same way we have *Teutoni* and *Teutones.* Compare Cortius, *ad Lucan*, 1, 422, "*Gaudetque amoto Santonus hoste.*"

5. *Flumen est Arar.* "There is a river called Arar." Now the *Saone.* Consult Geographical Index.

6. *Incredibili lenitate.* "With wonderful smoothness." More literally, "with a smoothness exceeding belief."—*Iudicari non possit.* "It cannot be determined."

7. *Id transibant.* "Were now in the act of crossing it."—*Lintribus.* "Small boats." These were formed of trees hollowed out. Compare Virgil, *Georg.* 1, 266, "*Cavat arbore lintres.*" The Greeks called them μονόξυλοι. (*Veget.* 3, 7.) Compare also Livy (31, 26), "*Novasque alias primum Galli, inchoantes, cavabant ex singulis arboribus.*"

8. *Tres jam copiarum partes*, &c. "That the Helvetii had by this time conveyed three parts of their forces across this river," i. e., three fourths of their whole force. *Partes* is governed by *duxisse* in composition, and *flumen* by *trans.* So the passive voice *trans*

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8 *duci* may take an accusative, which, in reality, however, depends upon *trans*. Thus *Belgæ Rhenum antiquitus traducti*. (*Zumpt, L. G.* p. 260.)

9. *De tertia vigilia*. "At the beginning of the third watch," i. e., at midnight. The Romans divided the night into four watches each of three hours. The first began at six o'clock in the evening, according to our mode of computing time; the second at nine o'clock; the third at midnight; the fourth at three o'clock in the morning.

10. *Impeditos et inopinantes*. "Encumbered with their baggage, and not expecting him."—*Aggressus*. Plutarch (*Vit. Cæs.* 18) says that it was Labienus who attacked the Helvetii on this occasion; but, according to Cæsar's account, which, of course, is to be preferred, Labienus had been left in charge of the works along the Rhone. Compare chap. 10.

11. *Is pagus appellabatur Tigurinus*. "This canton was called the Tigurine," i. e., that of the Tigurini. *Pagus* here takes the place of *pars*, which had been previously used in speaking of this division of the Helvetii. For the etymology of *pagus*, consult Blomfield, *Gloss. in Prom. Vinct.* v. 20, p. 106.

12. *In quatuor pagos*. Cellarius gives these four cantons as follows: *Tigurinus*, *Urbigenus*, *Ambronicus*, and *Tugenus*. The first two we obtain from Cæsar, the remainder from Eutropius Orosius, and Strabo. The only one of the four which is at all doubtful is that styled *pagus Ambronicus*, since the Ambrones were of German origin. (*Cellarius, Geog. Antiq.* vol. i., p. 222. —*Mannert*, vol. ii., p. 215.)

13. *Hic pagus unus*. "This particular canton."—*Lucium Cassium consulem*. Consult note 5, page 6.

14. *Consilio deorum immortalium*. "In accordance with the counsels of the immortal gods," i. e., by their special providence.

15. *Princeps pœnas persolvit*. "Was the first to suffer punishment. Compare chap. 41 of this book, "*Princepsque decima legio per tribunos militum ei gratias egit*."

16. *Quod ejus soceri*, &c. "Because the Tigurini, in the same battle in which they had slain Cassius, had also slain his lieutenant, Lucius Piso the grandfather of Lucius Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law." Cæsar, after having been divorced from Pompeia, whose character had suffered in the affair of Clodius and his violation of the rites of the Bona Dea, took, as a second wife, Calpurnia, the daughter of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, and procured the consulship the next year

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or his father-in-law, he himself having held it the year preceding. 8
Sueton. Vit. Cæs. 21.—*Plut. Vit. Cæs.* 14.

17. *Consequi.* "To overtake."—*In Arare.* "Over the Arar."

1. *Cum id*, &c. "When they perceived that he had effected in 9
a single day what they themselves had with very great difficulty accomplished in twenty days, namely, the crossing of the river." Literally, "namely, that they might cross the river." Ciacconius thinks that the words *ut flumen transirent* are a gloss, and not Cæsar's. In this he is clearly wrong, as they appear to have been added by Cæsar for the sake of perspicuity.

2. *Cujus legationis*, &c. "At the head of which embassy was Divico."—*Dux Helvetiorum.* Compare note 5, page 6.—*Bello Cassiano.* "In the war with Cassius," i. e., in the war in which Cassius was the commander opposed to them.

3. *Cum Cæsare agit.* "Treats with Cæsar," i. e., addresses Cæsar. Compare the Greek paraphrast, ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

4. *Atque ibi futuros.* "And would remain there." Compare the Greek paraphrast, καὶ ἐκεῖ μενοῦσιν.

5. *Veteris incommodi.* "The old overthrow." Alluding to the defeat of Cassius.—*Helvetiorum.* Referring in particular to the Tigurini, who defeated Cassius.

6. *Quod improviso*, &c. "As to his having surprised one of their cantons."—*Ne ob eam rem*, &c. "He should not, on that account, ascribe anything too highly to his own valour, or greatly despise them," i. e., "he should not attribute the defeat of the Helvetii altogether to his own valour, nor look down with contempt on them." With *tribueret* supply *quidquam.*

7. *Quam dolo.* The common text has *contenderent* following after *dolo.* We have rejected it as a mere gloss, in which light it is also viewed by Gruter, Davies, and Oudendorp. Bentley recommends *niterentur et contenderent.*

8. *Ne committeret.* "He should not bring it to pass." More freely, "he should not cause."—*Aut memoriam proderet.* "Or should transmit the remembrance of such an event to posterity." The conclusion of this speech is in full accordance with the boastful and arrogant character ascribed to the Gauls by ancient writers

9. *Eo sibi minus*, &c. "That he felt the less hesitation as to the course he was to pursue, because he well remembered," &c. Literally, "that less doubt was given him on this account, because," &c. Cæsar means that the very circumstances which the Helvetii had mentioned for the purpose of intimidating him had only in

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9 duced him to make up his mind more promptly on the question, whether he would conclude a peace with them or go on with the war. For that the defeat of Cassius had happened undeservedly to the Romans, and he was resolved to avenge it.

10. *Atque eo gravius ferre*, &c. "And that he felt the more indignant at them, the less they had happened in accordance with the deserts of the Roman people," i. e., that he resented them the more strongly, as they had happened undeservedly to his countrymen.—*Eo gravius ferre.* Literally, "that he bore them the more heavily."

11. *Qui si alicujus*, &c. The relative *qui* has here *Populi Romani* for its antecedent. "For that, had they been conscious to themselves of having done any previous injury to the Helvetii, it would not have been difficult for them to be on their guard against the latter; but that they were misled by this, because they were not aware that anything had been done by them on account of which they should fear; nor, on the other hand, did they think they ought to fear without cause." Cæsar means, that the Romans, on the occasion alluded to, were rather surprised than defeated by the Helvetii. For they were not conscious of ever having wronged that people, and, of course, expected no danger from them, and had made no preparations to oppose them.

12. *Quod si.* "Even if, however."—*Veteris contumeliæ.* "Their former insult," i. e., the affront put by them upon the Roman name in the overthrow of Cassius.—*Num etiam*, &c. "Could he also lay aside the remembrance of recent injuries?" The order is, *num etiam posse deponere memoriam recentium injuriarum?*

13. *Quod tentassent.* "In that they had attempted." More freely, "in their having attempted."—*Quod gloriarentur.* "That, as to their boasting."—*Quodque admirarentur.* "And as to their wondering."—*Eodem pertinere.* "Both of these things tended to the same effect." Were of a similar tendency, i. e., only tended the more surely to provoke his anger.

14. *Quo gravius homines*, &c. "That men may feel the heavier affliction from a change of circumstances," i. e., from a reverse of fortune.—*Quos pro scelere*, &c. The order is, *concedere interdum secundiores res et diuturniorem impunitatem his, quos vellent ulcisci pro scelere eorum.*

15. *Cum ea ita sint.* "That although these things are so," i. e., although this is the case.—*Uti ea, quæ polliceantur*, &c. "In order that he may perceive that they intend to fulfil their promises,"

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. . ., that he may perceive their sincerity by the fact of their giving 9
hostages. The promises referred to are, that they will go into such part of Gaul as Cæsar may appoint, and will dwell there for the time to come.

1. *Ejus rei*, &c. "That the Roman people themselves were a 10
proof of that custom." Alluding to the defeat of Cassius.

2. *Quem ex omni provincia.* The Roman infantry were always excellent, but their cavalry were comparatively infirm. Hence we find them generally employing the cavalry of their allies, and, in particular, Gallic horse. Cæsar's cavalry was composed at first of Gauls, afterward German horse were also added.

3. *Qui, cupidius*, &c. "These, having pursued the enemy's rear too eagerly."—*Novissimum agmen.* That part of the line of march which is "newest" to a pursuing enemy, since they first come in contact with it.

4. *Alieno loco.* "In a disadvantageous place." *Alieno loco* is used in this sense in opposition to *suo loco*, which denotes a favourable place. *Sallust, B. I.* 54.—*Liv.* 42, 43.

5. *Sublati.* "Being elated." So *B. G.* 5, 37, "*Hac victoria sublatus Ambiorix*," and *B. C.* 2, 37, "*Quibus omnibus rebus sublatus*."—*Audacius subsistere cœperunt.* "Began to make a bolder stand."

6. *Satis habebat in præsentia.* "Deemed it sufficient for the present."—*Rapinis*, &c. "From rapine, foraging, and laying waste the country." The common editions omit *pabulationibus*. Vossius first removed it from the text. It was restored by Davies, and is found in good MSS.

7. *Nostrum primum.* "Our van." Supply *agmen*. Cæsar's intention was to join battle with the Helvetii, before they should proceed much farther through Gaul and reach the territory of the Santones. His object in following them for so long a period was to get the enemy on disadvantageous ground, and then engage and conquer them. The Helvetii constantly avoiding a general action, Cæsar left the line of march, and betook himself to Bibracte, for two reasons: one was in order to procure corn for his army; the other was to impress the Helvetii with the belief that the Romans were fleeing, and thus to induce them to hazard an action. This latter event actually happened as he expected it would. Compare chap. 23.

8. *Interim quotidie*, &c. "Meanwhile Cæsar kept daily importuning the Aedui for the corn which they had promised in the

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10 name of the state." *Flagitare* is precisely the verb to e employed here, since it denotes an earnest and reiterated demand, accompanied with reproaches. The historical infinitive is here used in place of the imperfect *flagitabat.* It serves to impart more of animation to the style than the ordinary imperfect would; and, being frequently employed by *historians*, it gets its name of the *historical* infinitive. Some, however, supply an ellipsis of *cœpit* or *cœperunt*, according as the context requires; but this is unnecessary.

9. *Propter frigora.* "On account of the severity of the climate." The plural is here employed to impart additional emphasis. The climate of Gaul was much colder at the period when Cæsar wrote than that of modern France is at the present day. The change has been brought about by the drying up of marshes, the cutting down of forests, and the more general cultivation of the soil. These forests and marshes covered at that time a large portion of the country.

10. *Sub septentrionibus.* "Under the north," i. e., towards the north. Cæsar here speaks of Gaul in its relation to the more southern position of Italy.

11. *Suppetebat.* "Was at hand." Equivalent to *ad manum erat*, or the simple *aderat.*

12. *Eo autem frumento*, &c. "Besides (*autem*) he was unable to make use of the corn which he had brought up the river Arar in vessels, for this reason (*propterea*), because the Helvetii, from whom he was unwilling to depart, had turned away their line of march from the Arar." *Subvehere* has here its primitive meaning, "to bring up from a lower place to a higher."

13. *Diem ex die ducere Aedui.* "The Aedui put him off from day to day." More literally, "protracted the affair (i. e., the bringing of corn) from day to day." *Ducere* is here the historical infinitive used for the imperfect. Compare note 8, above.

14. *Conferri, comportari*, &c. "They told him it was collecting, bringing in, on the road," i. e., they assured him, at one time, that the corn was getting collected by individuals; at another, that these individuals were bringing it in to some place specified by the magistrates, in order to form the requisite supply for the Romans; and, at another time again, they told him it was actually on the road to his army, and near at hand. Compare the Greek paraphrast, who uses ἀθροίζεσθαι for *conferri*, and ἄγεσθαι for *comportari.*

15. *Se diutus duci.* "That he was put off too long"—*Fru*

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mentum. The Roman soldiers had no meal or bread served out to them, but merely so much grain, which they had to pound and make into bread for themselves. Thus Lipsius remarks, "*Nolebant curiose et ab professo opifice panem coctum sumi, sed subitarium, et quem sua manu miles parasset.*" (*De Mil. Rom.* dial. 16.) Compare Sallust, *B. I.* 45. 10

16. *Qui summo magistratu præerat.* "Who was invested with the chief magistracy." *Magistratu* is the old dative for *magistratui*, a form of frequent recurrence in Cæsar. Compare *Struve, Lat. Declin.*, &c., p. 36.

17. *Vergobretum.* Gesner, in his Latin Thesaurus, gives this word a long penult, but the Greek paraphrast has it short, Βεργόβρετος. The term is derived, by Celtic scholars, from *Fear-go-breith*, equivalent to *vir ad judicium*, i. e., "a man for judging" or "trying cases." In Celtic, *fear* is "a man," *go* "to" or "for," and *breatam*, "a judge." Pelletier, in his Dictionary of the Breton tongue, gives *breut* and *brawd*, "a trial."

1. *Tam necessario tempore.* "On so urgent an occasion."—*Eorum precibus adductus.* Compare chap. 11. 11

2. *Quod sit destitutus.* "Of his having been left unaided by them," i. e., not having been supplied with corn.

3. *Quod antea tacuerat proponit.* "Discloses what he had previously concealed." *Taceo* is one of those intransitive verbs which obtain a transitive force, because an action exerted upon another object is implied though not described in them. (*Zumpt, L. G.* p. 257.)

4. *Plurimum valeat.* "Is very powerful." The subjunctive is employed, as indicating the sentiments and conviction of the speaker, not of the historian himself. So *possint*, immediately after. Compare *Crombie, Gymn.* vol. ii., p. 10.

5. *Privati.* "Though private individuals." The earlier editions and very many of the MSS. have *privatim*, "in their private capacity," which is not by any means a bad reading. R. Stephens first gave *privati*.

6. *Hos.* Referring to these same individuals.—*Seditiosa atque improba oratione.* "By seditious and wicked speeches."—*Frumentum.* "The corn."

7. *Si jam*, &c. "Adding, that, if they (the Aedui) cannot hold any longer the sovereignty of Gaul, it is better (for them) to submit to the dominion of Gauls than of Romans," i. e., it is better for them to obey the Helvetii, Gauls like themselves, than total

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11 strangers, like the Romans. *Obtinere* is here equivalent to *diutius tenere*, for the Aedui had at one time, as Cæsar himself informs us (chap. 43), enjoyed the dominion over all Gaul. Compare Davies, *ad loc.*

8. *Neque dubitare debere*, &c. "And that they ought not to entertain a doubt, but that," &c. Some editions omit *debere*.

9. *Ab iisdem.* "By these same individuals," i. e., the *privati* mentioned above.—*Quæque.* "And whatsoever things." For *et quæcumque*.

10. *A se.* "By himself," as Vergobretus.—*Quod necessario*, &c. "As to his having, being compelled by necessity, disclosed the affair to Cæsar, he was well aware at how great a risk he did this." *Necessario coactus* is here equivalent to *necessitate coactus*.

11. *Designari.* "Was meant." Literally, "was pointed at." —*Sed quod*, &c. "But since he was unwilling that these matters should be disclosed, so many being present," i. e., in the presence of so many. *Pluribus*, literally, "a larger number than ordinary."

12. *Quærit ex solo ea.* "He inquires from him in private about those things." *Solo* refers to Liscus.—*Dicit liberius*, &c. "Liscus thereupon expresses himself with greater freedom and boldness."

13. *Complures annos*, &c. "That he had, for very many years, farmed the customs, and all the other public revenues of the Aedui, at a low rate, because, when he bid, no one dared to bid against him." By *portoria* the Roman writers mean the duties paid for goods imported or exported; by *vectigalia* the public revenues generally. Those who farmed them were called *redemtores* or *publicani*, and the revenues were said in this way *esse redempta*, "to be contracted for," i. e., to be farmed.

14. *Licente.* From the deponent *liceri*, not from the intransitive verb *liceo*. Several MSS. have *illo dicente*, and some editors incline to the opinion that this is the true reading. The Venice edition also gives *dicente*.

15. *Facultates ad largiendum magnas.* "Extensive means for the exercise of liberality," i. e., for bestowing presents and rewards

16. *Largiter posse.* "Exercised a powerful influence." Equivalent to *esse potentissimum.*—*Hujus potentiæ causa.* "In order to maintain this influence." Literally, "for the sake of this influence."

12 1. *Collocasse.* "He had given in marriage." Supply *nuptum*, which is expressed with *collocasse* immediately after. *Collocare* in this sense is a legal expression.—*Ipsum ex Helvetiis*, &c. He

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had married the daughter of Orgetorix, as has been stated in chap. 3. 12

2. *Favere et cupere Helvetiis.* "That he favoured and wished well to the Helvetii." *Cupere* is here equivalent to *bene velle*, as *voluntas* occurs in the next chapter for *benevolentia.*

3. *Odisse etiam suo nomine.* "That he hated also on his own account," i. e., cherished a personal hatred towards.

4. *In antiquum locum*, &c. "Had been restored to his former degree of influence and consideration," i. e., had been reinstated in his former influence, &c.

5. *Si quid accidat Romanis*, &c. "That if anything adverse happen to the Romans," i. e., "if any disaster in war befall them."—*Summam in spem venire.* "He entertained very great hopes."

6. *Imperio Populi Romani.* "That, under the sway of the Roman people," i. e., as long as the Roman people possessed the chief authority in Gaul.

7. *Reperiebat etiam inquirendo*, &c. The ellipsis, in this sentence, after *inquirendo*, gives it somewhat the appearance of an irregular construction, and has occasioned considerable trouble to many editors. Supply as follows: *inquirendo* (prœlio equestri adverso), *quod prœlium equestre adversum*, &c. "On inquiring into the unsuccessful engagement of the horse which had been fought a few days previous." The words understood are to be rendered fully, and *quod prœlium equestre adversum* is merely to be translated "which." The common text has *in quærendo.*

8. *Equitatu præerat.* "Was over the cavalry." *Equitatu* is here the old form for the dative. Compare note 16, page 10.

9. *Certissimæ res accederent.* "The most undoubted facts were added."—*Quod.* "How that." Cæsar here proceeds to give an enumeration of the facts to which he refers.

10. *Injussu suo*, &c. "Without his own (Cæsar's) orders, and those of his (Dumnorix's) state, but even without the knowledge of the latter." *Ipsis* refers to the Aedui.

11. *Quare in eum*, &c. "Why he should either himself punish him, or order the state (of the Aedui) so to do." When *animadvertere* is used, with the preposition *in*, as in the present case, it always denotes that the conduct deemed reprehensible has been carefully inquired into previous to its being punished.

12. *Voluntatem.* "Affection." *Voluntas* is here equivalent to *benevolentia.* So, in the 5th book, chapter 4, we have, "*Cujus egregiam in se voluntatem perspexisset*" Compare the remark on

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12 Donatus (*ad Terent. Phorm. Prol.* 5, 30), "*Voluntatem pro favore ponit.*"

13. *Caium Valerium Procillum.* This name is written variously in the MSS. Some give *Troacillum*, others *Traucillum.* The Greek paraphrast has Προακίλλον.—*Principem Galliæ Provinciæ* "A leading man in the province of Gaul." *Principem* is here equivalent to *inter primores.*

14. *Cui summam*, &c. "In whom he was accustomed to place the highest confidence on every occasion." More literally, "the highest confidence in all things."—*In concilio Gallorum.* Compare chapters 16, 17, and 18.

15. *Ostendit.* Some editors omit *ostendit*, because *commonefacit* precedes. But its presence is necessary for the meaning. Cæsar "reminds" (*commonefacit*) Divitiacus of certain things that had been said in the council, and now "shows" him other matters that were not previously known to the latter.

16. *Sine ejus offensione animi.* "Without any offence to his (Divitiacus's) feelings."—*Ipse.* Referring to Cæsar.—*Civitatem.* The Aedui.

13 1. *Ne quid gravius*, &c. "That he would not determine anything too severe against his brother," i. e., would not pass too severe a sentence upon him.—*Illa.* "That those things which Cæsar had mentioned."

2. *Propterea quod*, &c. "For this reason, because, at a time when he himself could effect a very great deal by his influence at home and throughout the rest of Gaul, and his brother very little by reason of his youth, the latter had become powerful through his (Divitiacus's) means, which consequence and power he was now employing," &c. *Opibus* and *nervis*, following after *crevisset*, are both implied in that verb. *Nervis* is here employed in the sense of "power," the metaphor being borrowed from animals whose strength lies in their nerves.

3. *Ei.* Referring to Dumnorix.—*Ipse.* Divitiacus.—*Eum locum amicitiæ apud eum.* "Such a place in his friendship." *Apud eum*, i. e., *apud Cæsarem.*

4. *Faciat.* The conjunction *ut* is elegantly understood.—*Tanti ejus apud se*, &c. "He declares that his (Divitiacus's) influence with him (Cæsar) is so great, that he will pardon both the injury done to the republic and the affront offered to himself, at his desire and entreaty." Literally, "to his wish and prayers."

5. *Adhibet.* "He brings in." Compare the Greek paraphrast,

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καὶ ἐκεῖνον παραλαβών.—*Proponit.* "He lays before him."—*Omnes suspiciones.* "All grounds of suspicion."—*Divitiaco fratri.* "On account of his brother Divitiacus." 13

6. *Dumnorigi custodes ponit.* "He places spies over Dumnorix." The Greek paraphrast translates *custodes* too literally: ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιήσατο.

7. *Qualis esset natura montis*, &c. "He sent persons to ascertain what might be the nature of the mountain, and what its ascent by a circuitous route," i. e., what sort of a mountain it was, and whether it could be ascended, by a circuitous route, from behind.

8. *Facilem esse.* Supply *ascensum.*

9. *Legatum pro prætore.* "His lieutenant with prætorian powers." By a *legatus pro prætore*, in the time of the republic, was meant a lieutenant, having charge, under the auspices of a proconsul or commander, of part of an army or province, and exercising, when necessary, prætorian powers or the functions of a prætor. The expression, as applied in the present case to Labienus, is a singular one, since he is elsewhere in these commentaries simply called *legatus.* (*Spanhem, de usu et præst. NN.* p. 560.) At a later period, in the time of Augustus, by a *legatus pro prætore* was meant the governor of a whole province. (*Dio Cassius*, 43, 13.)

10. *Et iis ducibus.* "And with those persons as guides."—*Ascendere.* Labienus was to take a circuitous route, and ascend the mountain in the rear of the enemy, so as to fall upon them by surprise when the signal should be given from below. Count de Crissé, after praising the plan of attack, finds fault with Cæsar for not having kept up the communication with Labienus by means of couriers, who could have informed him of all the movements of his lieutenant, and for not having agreed beforehand upon some signal, which was to be given by Labienus when he should have reached the summit of the mountain. These simple precautions would have prevented the failure of the plan.

11. *In Marci Crassi.* "In that of Marcus Crassus." Supply *exercitu.*

12. *Summus mons.* "The summit of the mountain." The relation expressed by *of* in English, is frequently denoted in Latin by an adjective. So *imus mons*, "the bottom of the mountain;" *timor externus*, "the fear of foreign enemies," &c.

1. *Ipse.* "And when he himself," i. e., Cæsar. Compare the Greek paraphrast, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ...... ἀφεστῶτος. 14

2. *Equo admisso.* "With his horse at full gallop." *Admisso*

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14 is here equivalent to *concitato.* The Greek paraphrast has ἱδροῦντι τῷ ἵππῳ, "with his horse all in a foam."

3. *A Gallicis armis atque insignibus.* "By the Gallic arms and ensigns.' Oberlinus and others understand by *insignibus*, in this passage, the ornaments of the helmets; but the reference undoubtedly is to military standards. The Greek paraphrast also favours the same interpretation, expressing *insignibus* by σημείων.

4. *Subducit.* "Draws off."—*Ut erat ei præceptum.* "Since he had been instructed."—*Ipsius.* Referring to Cæsar

5. *Prope.* The Oxford MS. gives *propter*, which Oudendorp thinks was the original and genuine lection.

6. *Multo denique die.* "At length, after much of the day had passed." Equivalent to "*cum multum diei processerat*," as it is expressed by Sallust *B. I.* 51.

7. *Quod non vidisset*, &c. "Had brought back to him intelligence of what he had not seen, as if it had actually been seen by him." The Greek paraphrast expresses this very neatly, ἃ οὐκ εἶδεν ὡς ἰδὼν ἀπαγγεῖλαι.—*Sibi*, i. e., *Cæsari.*

8. *Quo consuerat intervallo.* "At the usual distance." More literally, "with the usual interval," i. e., between his own army and theirs. The full expression is (eo) *intervallo, quo* (intervallo) *consuerat* (sequi).

9. *Quod omnino*, &c. "Since but two days in all remained until the time when," &c.—*Exercitu.* The old dative for *exercitui.*—*Metiri.* Compare note 15, page 10.

10. *Rei frumentariæ*, &c. "He thought he must provide for a supply of corn," i. e., make arrangements to procure it from the Aedui, on whom he relied mainly for his supplies of grain. The full expression is, *sibi prospiciendum esse.*

11. *Decurionis equitum Gallorum.* "A captain of the Gallic horse." A *decurio*, at first, as the name imports, commanded only ten horse; and there were three of these officers in every *turma* or troop of thirty men, making the whole number in the *turma*, including the *Decuriones*, thirty-three. (*Varro, L. L.* 4, 16.) In the time of Cæsar, however, a change had taken place. The *turma* now consisted of thirty-two horsemen, and the whole were commanded by one *decurio*, who retained the old name, although more than ten were now under his orders. Consult *Vegetius*, 2, 14, "*Triginta duo equites ab uno decurione, sub uno vexillo, reguntur*," &c.

12. *Discedere a se.* "Were departing from them," i. e., were

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urning off, and changing their route. *Discedere* is the imperfect of 14
the infinitive.—*Superioribus locis occupatis.* "Although the higher grounds had been seized by them," i. e., by the Romans.—*Quod re frumentaria*, &c. "Because they trusted that the Romans could be cut off from their supply of corn," i. e., flattered themselves with the hope of being able to accomplish this.

13. *Consilio.* Compare the commencement of chap. 10.—*A novissimo agmine.* Consult note 3, page 10.

14. *Animum advertit.* "Perceives." The same as *animadvertit.* The expression *id animum advertit* is nothing more than *vertit animum ad id.* Several examples of the use of *animum adverto* for *animadverto* are given by Gronovius, *ad Liv.* 28, 14. A familiar instance occurs in Sallust *B. I.* 93, "*Animum advertit cochleas*," &c.

15. *In colle medio*, &c. "Drew up, on the middle of the hill, a triple line of the four veteran legions, in such a way as to place above him, on the very summit, the other two legions which he had levied very recently in Hither Gaul, and all the auxiliaries," i. e., he drew up his four veteran legions on the slope of the hill, in three lines; and then placed above them, on the top of the hill, the two new legions, on whom, as consisting of recent levies, he could less safely rely; and along with these last he stationed also the auxiliary forces. The student will observe that the lines here spoken of are not to be considered as composed of one continuous rank, but as so many lines of cohorts, and that each cohort had its flank-companies, if we may so speak, of *velites*, or light-armed troops. Compare the remark of Count de Crissé, "*à chaque cohorte étaient ses manches de vélites.*"

16. *Quas in Gallia citeriore*, &c. Compare chap. 10. By *Gallia citerior* is meant the northern part of Italy. Compare note 12, page 7.

1. *Et eum*, &c. "And ordered this place to be guarded by 15
those who stood posted in the upper line." The reference is to those on the top of the hill. *Eum*, i. e., *eum locum*, means the place in which the baggage was.

2. *Confertissima acie.* "In very close array."—*Phalange facta.* "A phalanx being formed." According to Orosius (6, 7), the German phalanx consisted of a large body of men in close array, with their shields locked over their heads. This would resemble the *testudo* of the Romans. The Macedonian phalanx, on the other hand, was an oblong battalion of pikemen, consisting of sixteen in

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15 flank and five hundred in front. The whole number, of course, was 8000. The amount of the German phalanx is not given. The phalanx of the Helvetii most probably resembled that of the Germans.

3. *Sub primam*, &c. "Came up close to our front line."

4. *Suo.* Supply *equo.*—*Omnium.* Governed by *equis.* Compare the Greek paraphrast: *πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππους ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμενος.*

5. *Omnium.* Referring both to his soldiers and himself.—*E loco superiore.* "From their higher position," i. e., from the slope of the hill.

6. *Destrictis.* A more accurate form than *districtis.*—*Impetum fecerunt.* "Charged."

7. *Gallis magno*, &c. "It proved a great hinderance to the Gauls, as regarded the fight, that, several of their shields being transfixed and fastened together by a single blow of the javelins, they were unable, as the iron point had bent itself, either to pull it out, or, their left hand being thus impeded, to make battle with sufficient advantage. So that many, after having for a long time tossed their arms to and fro, preferred flinging away the shield from their hands, and fighting with their persons unprotected by it." The student will bear in mind that their shields were locked above their heads, and lapped considerably over one another. Hence a javelin cast down from a higher place would pierce, of course, through more than one, and in this way fasten them together. Compare note 2.

8. *Pedem referre.* "To retreat." Literally, "to carry back the foot." Some editors insert *Helvetii* after *cœperunt*, but this is sufficiently implied from the context.

9. *Agmen hostium claudebant.* "Closed the enemy's line of march," i. e., brought up the rear.

10. *Ex itinere*, &c. "Having attacked our men as we pursued, on their open flank," i. e., on their right flank, which, on account of its not being covered by the shields of the soldiers, was more open to attack. Cæsar was guilty of a great error in pursuing the Helvetii on their retreat, without observing the Boii and Tulingi, who acted as a body of reserve, and who attacked him in flank as he passed by, and then began to surround him in the rear. He should have ordered the two legions posted on the top of the hill to follow immediately after him, and in this way might have opposed the attack of the Boii.

11. *Romani conversa signa*, &c. "The Romans, having faced

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about, advanced against the enemy in two divisions," i. e., the 15
rear rank, consisting of the third line, faced about and advanced against the Boii and Tulingi, who were coming up in the rear; while the first and second lines continued facing towards, and made head against, the Helvetii, who were now coming down again from the mountain to which they had retreated. The two divisions were composed, the one of the third line, the other of the first and second lines.

12. *Ancipiti prœlio.* "In a divided conflict." This engagement is here called *anceps*, because it was fought in two places, i. e., between the first division and the Helvetii, and between the second division and the Boii. The phrase *ancipiti prœlio* commonly means, "in doubtful conflict."

13. *Alteri.* "The one party," i. e., the Helvetii, who had come down again from the mountain.—*Alteri.* The Boii and Tulingi.

14. *Hora septima.* The Romans divided the natural day, from sunrise to sunset, into twelve hours, which were, of course, of different lengths at different seasons of the year, being shorter in winter than in summer. The seventh hour will coincide with our one o'clock.

15. *Aversum hostem.* "The back of a foe." Literally, "an enemy turned away," i. e., in flight. Compare the Greek paraphrast: οὐδεὶς ἐκ νώτου ἰδεῖν τὸν πολέμιον ἠδυνήθη.

16. *Ad multam noctem.* "Until late in the night."

1. *Mataras ac tragulas subjiciebant.* "Kept plying lances and 16
javelins from beneath." By *mataræ* are meant a kind of Gallic lances, of greater weight than the ordinary spear; and by *tragulæ*, light javelins, with a strap attached, by which they were thrown. Strabo (4. p. 196, *ed. Casaub.*) calls the *matara* παλτοῦ τι εἶδος, and the Greek paraphrast renders *mataras* by παλτά. Hesychius makes mention of μαδάρεις, which he defines to be πλατύτερα λογχίδια, and adds that the word is a Celtic one. The Spanish *matar*, "to kill," and the old French term *matrasser*, which has the same meaning, appear to be deduced from the same root with *matara*. Compare Adelung, *Mithridates*, vol. ii., p. 64, and *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat.* vol. iv., p. 597.

2. *Orgetorigis filia.* Plutarch (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 18) informs us that the very women and children fought on this occasion till they were cut to pieces.

3. *Nullam partem.* The accusative, by a Hellenism, for the ablative. Consult *Vechner, Hellenolex*, p. 257. Oudendorp, Grutes,

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16 and many other critics, very properly regard the expression, *nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso*, as tautological, and a mere gloss of the adverb *continenter* in the previous clause. It is omitted, besides, in the Greek paraphrase.

4. *Qui si juvissent*, &c. "For that, if they should aid them, he would regard them in the same light in which he did the Helvetii," i. e., as enemies. The full construction is, *se habiturum* illos (scil. Lingonas) *eodem loco quo* habeat *Helvetios*.

5. *Qui, cum.* "When these."—*Atque eos in eo loco*, &c. "And when he had ordered them to wait his arrival in the place in which they then were, they obeyed." *Eos* refers to the whole of the Helvetii, who were ordered not to retreat any farther, but to wait Cæsar's coming up. Hence we see the force of *essent* in the subjunctive mood, and the literal meaning of the clause *quo tum essent*, "where they were said to be." If Cæsar had written *quo tum erant*, it would have referred to the ambassadors merely.

6. *Eo.* Referring to the place where the Helvetii were when they sent the ambassadors, and where Cæsar had ordered them to remain until he should come up.

7. *Verbigenus.* Some commentators are in favour of *Urbigenus* as a reading, and they suppose the original, or Celtic form of the name to have been *Urbegoew*, from *Urba*, a town of the Helvetii, mentioned in the *Itin. Anton.*, and *gow*, a tract, or district (i. e., "a district near Urba"). The true form, however, is *Verbigenus*. Compare *Oberlin. ad loc.* and the authorities there cited.

8. *Occultari.* "Be concealed," i. e., from Cæsar.—*Aut omnino ignorari.* "Or altogether unknown," i. e., remain wholly unnoticed.—*Prima nocte.* "As soon as it was night." More literally, "at the beginning of the night." Some have *prima noctis vigilia*, others *prima noctis* (scil. *hora*).

9. *Resciit.* The verb *rescire* is generally employed when we come to the knowledge of anything which has been sought to be concealed from us, or which is unexpected, &c. Compare the remark of Aulus Gellius, 2, 19, "*Aliter dictum esse* rescivi, *aut* rescire, *apud eos qui diligenter locuti sunt, nondum invenimus, quam super his rebus, quæ aut occulto consilio latuerint, aut contra spem opinionemve usuvenerint.*"

10. *Quorum per fines ierant*, &c. The order is, *imperavit his, per fines quorum ierant, uti*, &c.—*Si sibi purgati esse vellent.* "If they wished to be free from all blame in his eyes."

11. *Reductos in numero hostium habuit.* "He treated them,

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when brought back, as enemies," i. e., either caused them to be put 16
to death, or sold them as slaves; most probably the latter.

12. *Omnibus fructibus amissis.* "All the productions of the earth being destroyed." Some editions read *frugibus*, but less elegantly. *Fructus* is more extensive in meaning than *fruges*, and denotes not only the grain, but all the produce of the fields in general. Compare *Broukhus. ad Tibull.* 1, 1, 35.

13. *Ipsos.* Referring to the Helvetii, Tulingi, and Latobrigi.—*Restituere.* "To rebuild." Compare chap. 5.

1. *Vacare.* "To remain uninhabited." Plutarch (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 17
18) makes mention of, and bestows just praise on, the policy of Cæsar, in compelling the Helvetii to reoccupy their country.

2. *Boios, petentibus Aeduis*, &c. The construction is, "*concessit Aeduis, petentibus ut collocarent Boios in suis finibus, quod* illi (scil. Boii), *cogniti erant egregia virtute.*"—*Quibus illi*, &c. The common text has merely a semicolon after *concessit*, but a fuller stop is required. Translate as follows: "Whereupon they gave them lands, and afterward admitted them to an equal participation of rights and freedom with themselves." More literally, "received them into the same condition with respect to rights and freedom as they themselves were in." Compare the Greek paraphrast: Τούτοις μὲν οὖν οἱ Ἐδουεῖς τότε μὲν χώραν ἔδωκαν· ἔπειτα δ' ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ αὐτονόμους ὡς ἑαυτοὺς ἐποίησαν.

3. *Tabulæ.* "Lists." Literally, "tablets." The term *tabulæ*, as here employed, denotes any hard material, especially wood, on which characters were inscribed. The Roman *tabulæ* were of wood covered with wax, and the instrument for writing was a *stylus*, sharp at one end and round or flat at the other. The round or flat end was used for rubbing the wax over when a correction was to be made. Hence the expression of Horace, *sæpe stylum vertas*, "turn the stylus frequently," i. e., "be frequent in your corrections of what you write."

4. *Literis Græcis confectæ.* "Made out in Greek characters." It is a very disputed question among philologists whether Cæsar here means to ascribe to the Helvetii a knowledge of the Greek language, or only an employment of the Greek characters. The latter is undoubtedly the more correct opinion. Cæsar, it is true, in the sixth book (c. 14), speaks of the Druids employing the Greek letters in their private and public transactions, but here again the reference appears to be merely to the characters of the Greek language, not to Greek words themselves. So again, when Strabo

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17 informs us (4, p. 181, *ed. Cas.*) that, a little before his own age, the custom prevailed in Gaul of writing the forms of agreements, &c., in Greek (τὰ συμβόλαια Ἑλληνιστὶ γράφουσι), he cannot mean the Greek language by Ἑλληνιστὶ, but only the letters of the Greek alphabet: the words were Celtic, the characters were Greek. Strabo likewise states the source whence this knowledge of the Greek characters was obtained, namely, the Phocean colony of Massilia, in the south of Gaul. Even supposing, therefore, that the Gallic tribes, in the vicinity of this place, had acquired a familiarity with, not merely the written characters, but the language of the Greeks themselves (a supposition far from probable), the same cannot certainly be said of the more northern tribes, and among them of the Helvetii. It will be remembered, too, that Cæsar, on one occasion (*B. G.* 5, 48), sent a letter to his lieutenant written in Greek characters, lest it should otherwise, if intercepted, have been read by the Nervii. Now this certainly would not have been the case had the northern tribe just mentioned been acquainted even with the Greek characters, for Cæsar's letter was composed of Latin words, expressed by Greek letters.

5. *Ratio.* "An account," or "estimate." — *Qui numerus.* For *quis numerus.*—*Eorum qui arma ferre possent.* Neatly expressed in the Greek paraphrase by the single term στρατιωτῶν.

6. *Summa erat.* Ancient authorities differ as to these amounts. Plutarch (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 18) makes the whole number 300,000 (τριάκοντα μυριάδας.) Polyænus (8, 23) gives the number of the Helvetii at 80,000 (ὀκτὼ μυριάδας). Strabo states that 400,000 Gauls perished, and that the rest returned home (4, p. 193, *ed. Cas.*). The discrepance is occasioned, no doubt, by the errors of the copyists.

7. *Capitum.* Best rendered here by our English word "souls." Thus, "two hundred and sixty-three thousand souls of the Helvetii."

8. *Censu habito.* "An estimate having been made," i. e., an actual enumeration having taken place. The term *census* is here employed in its general sense. In its Roman acceptation, it meant a review of the people, and a valuation of their estates, together with an estimate of their numbers.

9. *Galliæ.* The division named *Celtica* is here meant, since *Belgica* was at this time preparing for war.

10. *Intelligere sese,* &c. "Adding, that although, on account of former injuries done to the Roman people by the Helvetii, he (Cæsar) had inflicted punishment on the latter in war, still they themselves were sensible that this had happened no less to the ad-

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vantage of the land of Gaul, than to that of the Roman people." 17
Supply *dicentes* after *gratulatum*, which is, in fact, however, contained in it. The student will observe the double genitive, in the expression *injuriis Helvetiorum populi Romani*, where *populi* is governed by *Helvetiorum*. In constructions of this kind one of the genitives is commonly *active* in its meaning (to borrow a grammatical expression), and the other *passive*. Thus, in the present instance, *Helvetiorum* is active, and *populi* passive. (Compare *Perizonius, ad Sanct. Min.* 2, 3.—Vol. i., p. 209, *ed. Bauer.*)

11 *Terræ Galliæ.* For *terræ Gallicæ*. Compare *Hirtius, Bell Afr.* 3, "*Namque nullum portum terræ Africæ*," and *Sallust, fragm. Hist.* 4, "*Duæ Galliæ mulieres.*" Those critics are wrong, therefore, who seek to reject *terræ* from the text.

12. *Ex magna copia.* "From the large number who would in that event present themselves," i. e., in case the Helvetii obtained the empire of Gaul.

13. *Stipendiarias.* "Tributary." By *stipendiarii* the Roman writers, strictly speaking, mean those who paid a certain sum annually in money; and by *vectigales* those who rendered, as tribute, certain portion of the produce of the ground. The latter generally paid a tenth of corn (τῶν σπειρομένων) and a fifth of other produce (τῶν φυτευομένων). Compare *Crusius, ad Suet. Vit. Jul.* c. 20.

14. *In diem certam.* "For a particular day."—*Sese habere*, &c "That they had certain matters which they wished to ask of him, in accordance with the general consent," i. e., if the general consent of their countrymen could be first obtained.

1. *Ne quis enunciaret*, &c. "That no one should disclose their 18
deliberations, except those unto whom this office should be assigned by the assembly at large," i. e., that the result of their deliberations should be communicated to Cæsar by individuals whom the general assembly should authorize so to do, and by no others. Compare the Greek paraphrast: μηδένα ἄλλον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Γάλλων ἐπὶ τοῦτο αἱρετοὺς, ταῦτα τῷ Καίσαρι ἀπαγγελεῖν.

2. *Eo concilio dimisso.* "When the assembly, so summoned, had been held and had broken up." Compare the Greek paraphrase ταύτης οὖν τῆς συνόδου συναθροισθείσης.

3. *Qui ante fuerant ad Cæsarem.* "Who had been with Cæsar on the previous occasion." *Ad* is here equivalent to *apud*. Ciacconius and Scaliger regard these words as a mere interpolation. Bentley proposes *venerant* for *fuerant*. As regards the use of *ad* for *apud*, consult *Drakenborch, ad Liv.* 7, 7.

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18 4. *Secreto.* The common text has *secreto in occulto*, which cannot possibly be correct. Oudendorp, indeed, endeavours to defend the common reading, by making *secreto* refer to the absence of all who might otherwise overhear the conference, and *occulto* to the secret nature of the place where the conference was held; but Bentley, with far more correctness, regards *in occulto* as a mere gloss, and we have therefore rejected it.

5. *Non minus se id*, &c. "That they strove and laboured no less anxiously to prevent what they might say from being divulged, than to obtain what they wished."

6. *Factiones.* "Parties." *Factio*, according to Festus, was originally a term of good import, "*honestum vocabulum*," and denoted merely a certain class or order of persons. Its meaning of "party" or "faction" arose at a subsequent period. Compare *Dacier, ad loc.*

7. *Principatum tenere.* "Stood at the head."—*Hi.* Referring to the *Aedui* and *Arverni.*—*Potentatu.* "The superiority." *Potentatus* is rather an uncommon word, but still is to be met with in some good writers. Thus *Livy*, 26, 38, "*Aemulo potentatus inimicus rem Annibali aperit*," and *Lactantius* (*Div. Inst.* 6, 17), "*Opes istas et honores et potentatus et regna ipsa condemnet.*"

8. *Sequanisque.* The *Sequani* are here mentioned as having been the allies of the Arverni. In the sixth book (c. 11) the Sequani are said to have been at the head of one of the two great parties, and no mention is made of the Arverni.

9. *Horum.* "Of the latter." Referring to the Germans.—*Posteaquam agros*, &c. "That, after these savage and barbarous men had grown fond of the lands, and manner of living, and abundance of the Gauls, a larger number had been brought over." *Copiæ* is generally used in the plural for "forces," and in the singular for "abundance" or "plenty." But sometimes, as in the present instance, the plural is used in the sense of "abundance." Compare *Oudendorp, ad Frontin.* 2, 1, 18.

10. *Clientes.* "Dependants." Referring to the petty states in alliance with and dependant upon their power. When the term *clientes* is applied in these commentaries to the retainers of individual chieftains, those persons are meant who are elsewhere called *ambacti* or *soldurii.* Compare book 6, chap. 15 and 19.—*Semel atque iterum.* "Repeatedly." Literally, "once and again."

11. *Hospitio.* The reference is to public hospitality. When a

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nation was entitled to this, their ambassadors were allowed a place of honour at public spectacles, and were splendidly entertained. 18

12. *Unum se.* "That he alone." Divitiacus alludes here to himself.

13. *Auxilium postulatum.* He did not, however, succeed in his application. (*B. G.* 6, 12.) His visit to Rome is incidentally referred to by Cicero (*de Div.* 1, 41), from whose language it appears that Divitiacus was one of the order of Druids.

1. *Qui esset.* "Which was, according to him." The subjunctive is here employed to express the sentiments of the speaker, not those of the writer himself. The same remark will hold good with respect to the other subjunctives in the course of the speech. 19

2. *Quibus locus*, &c. "For whom a settlement and habitations were to be procured."

3. *Neque enim*, &c. "For neither was the Gallic territory to be compared with that of the Germans, nor the mode of living here to be placed on an equality with that of theirs." The meaning is, that the Gallic territory was far superior in point of fertility to the German, and that the Gallic mode of life was more refined and civilized than that pursued by their German neighbours. The unusual mode of expression by which this idea is conveyed (it being more customary to place the inferior object in the first clause), has led Ciacconius to emend the sentence as follows: "*Neque enim conferendum esse cum Gallico Germanorum agrum.*" But we may easily conceive, that one thing may be so far superior to another as not to admit of a comparison with it, and hence the ordinary lection is correct enough.

4. *Neque hanc*, &c. Some editors, not attending to the peculiar force of *hic* and *ille*, make *hanc* refer to the Germans, and *illa* to the Gauls. *Hic* always relates to that which is near or belongs to the person speaking; *ille* to some remoter person or object *Zumpt, L. G.* p. 244.

5. *Ut semel.* "When once," i. e., "as soon as."

6. *Ad Magetobriam.* "In the vicinity of Magetobria." The place here alluded to is not known, and hence much uncertainty prevails about the true reading. Almost all the MSS. have *Admagetobriæ* as one word, which Oudendorp adopts. The early editions give *Amagetobriæ*, with which the Greek paraphrast agrees, ἐν τῇ Ἀμαγετοβρίᾳ. Oberlinus, however, whom we have been induced to follow, prefers *ad Magetobriam*, and thinks that traces of the ancient name may easily be recognised in the modern *Moigte de*

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19 *Broie*, at the confluence of the Arar and Ogno, near the village of *Pontailler*. This opinion derives strong support from the circumstance of a fragment of an ancient urn having been obtained from the bed of the Arar, near the place just mentioned, in the year 1802, on which the word MAGETOB could be distinctly traced. Compare *Oberlinus, ad loc.*

7 *Et in eos omnia exempla*, &c. "And exercised upon them all manner of cruelties." The expression *exempla cruciatusque* is put by an hendiadys for *exempla cruciatuum*, and *exempla* itself is equivalent here to *genera*.

8. *Hominem esse barbarum*, &c. "That he was a savage, passionate, hot-headed man." *Iracundus* denotes one who is quick tempered and passionate, *iratus* one who is merely angry at some particular time.

9. *Nisi si.* This form is used occasionally by the best writers, with the same force merely as the simple *nisi*. Thus, *Cic. Ep. ad Fam.* 14, 2, "*Nisi si quis ad me plura scripsit*," and *Ovid, Ep. Her.* 4, 111, "*Nisi si manifesta negamus*." Consult *Oudendorp, ad loc.*

10. *Ut domo emigrent.* "Namely, emigrate from home."—*Fortunamque, quæcumque accidat*, &c. "And make trial of whatever fortune may befall them," i. e., submit to whatever fortune, &c.

11. *Hæc.* Alluding to the disclosures he was now making.—*Non dubitare.* Supply *sese.*

12. *Atque exercitus.* "And that of his army," i. e., the weight which the presence of his army would give to his interference in behalf of the Gauls.—*Deterrere.* Supply *eum*, referring to Ariovistus.—*Ne major multitudo*, &c. "So as to prevent any greater number of Germans from being brought by him across the Rhine." Literally, "in order that any greater number of Germans may not be led across the Rhine."

13. *Ab Ariovisti injuria.* "From the outrages of Ariovistus."

14. *Habita.* "Having been delivered."—*Unos ex omnibus Sequanos*, &c. Hotomannus thinks it altogether incredible that the Sequani, who had invited Ariovistus into Gaul against the Aedui, and who had been accustomed to wage continual wars with them, should now be found acting in concert with the delegates of the latter people. The cruelty and oppression of Ariovistus, however, which the Sequani had experienced in a still stronger degree than even the Aedui, had very naturally brought about this result, and united in one common cause those who had previously been open

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enemies to each other. It will be seen, moreover, from chap. 35, 19
that the Sequani were desirous of restoring to the Aedui the hostages which they had in their possession belonging to that nation, if Ariovistus would allow this to be done.

15. *Respondere.* The historical infinitive, for the imperfect *respondebant.* So *permanere*, at the end of the sentence, for *permanebant.*

16. *Exprimere.* "Extort." Some more recent MSS. and many editions have *possent* instead of *posset.* This, however, is altogether erroneous, unless we read *expromere.* The phrase *expromere vocem* is applied to one who speaks, but *exprimere vocem* to one who compels another to speak.

1. *Hoc.* "On this account."—*Præ reliquorum.* This is the 20
reading of the Oxford MS. The common text has *quam.*

2. *Absentis.* "Even when absent."—*Tamen fugæ facultas daretur.* "The means of escape were nevertheless afforded," i. e. they still had it in their power to escape his cruelty by flight. Some editions have *tantum,* which is an inferior reading.

3. *Quorum oppida omnia,* &c. This is explained a little farther on where Ariovistus states (ch. 44) that he had settlements in Gaul granted by the people of that country themselves. These settlements were the towns which he had first got possession of by agreeing to garrison and defend them, and which he subsequently retained in order to keep the Sequani and other Gauls under his control.

4. *Omnes cruciatus.* "All kinds of cruelties."—*Essent perferendi.* The grammarians mentioned by Ruddiman (*Instit. L. G.* vol ii., p. 252) read *esset perferendum*, making *cruciatus* the accusative. Compare *Ramshorn, L. G.* p. 373.

5. *Gallorum animos,* &c. "Strove to cheer by words the spirits of the Gauls." Compare the Greek paraphrast, *τοὺς Γάλλους παρεμυθήσατο.*

6. *Beneficio suo.* "By his former kindness towards him." Cæsar had, during his consulship the year previous, obtained for Ariovistus, from the Roman senate, the title of "King and friend." Compare *Dio Cassius*, 38, 34: *Plutarch, Vit. Cæs.* c. 19, and chapters 35, 42, and 43 of the present book.

7 *Secundum ea,* &c. "Besides these statements (on the part of the Gauls), many circumstances induced him to think that this affair ought to be considered of and undertaken by him." The

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20 preposition *secundum* has here a meaning derived directly from its primitive force of following after something which has gone before.

8. *Multæ res.* The reasons here assigned are all a mere pretence. Cæsar's real object was to subjugate the whole of Gaul, and the present state of affairs between the Gauls and Ariovistus afforded him a favourable opportunity of interfering in the political concerns of the country, and of taking the first step towards the accomplishment of his object.

9. *Fratres consanguineosque.* "Brothers and kinsmen." Compare *Cic. Ep. ad Att.* 1, 19, and *Tacit. Ann.* 11, 25.

10. *Paulatim autem Germanos*, &c. "For the Germans, moreover, to become gradually accustomed," &c.—*Periculosum.* Supply *esse.* "Was fraught with danger."

11. *Sibi temperaturos.* "Would restrain themselves." *Temperare*, with the dative, signifies "to set bounds to anything," "to moderate," or "restrain." With the accusative it means "to regulate" or "arrange."

12. *Cimbri Teutonique.* Alluding to the famous inroad of these barbarian hordes upon the Roman territory. Consult Hist. Index.

13. *Præsertim cum Sequanos*, &c. "Especially since the Rhone alone separated the Sequani," &c. Bentley thinks that from *præsertim* to *divideret* is the interpolation of some later hand.

14. *Occurrendum.* "He must thwart." Supply *esse sibi.*—*Tantos spiritus.* "Such airs of importance." Compare the Greek paraphrast, ὁ γὰρ Ἀριόβιστος οὕτως ὑπερεφρόνει.

15. *Uti aliquem locum*, &c. "To name some intervening place for a conference on the part of each," i. e., where a mutual conference might be held.

16. *Et summis utriusque rebus.* "And about matters of the greatest importance to both of them" Bentley thinks that, on account of the presence of *utriusque* in this clause, it should be thrown out of the previous one (*utriusque colloquio*). Cæsar, however, often repeats the same word after a very short interval.

17. *Si quid ipsi*, &c. "That if he himself had need of anything from Cæsar he would have come to him." *Opus est* is either used impersonally, in which case it has, like verbs of wanting, an ablative; or personally, and then the thing wanted is in the nominative. This latter construction is most common with the neuters of pronouns and adjectives. *Zumpt, L. G.* p. 299.

21 1. *Ille.* "That commander." Referring to Cæsar.—*Se.* The ablative. Supply the preposition *a.* Compare the Greek paraphrast, παρ' ἐμοῦ.

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2. *Sine magno commeatu atque emolimento.* "Without great expenditure of means and great trouble." *Commeatus* has here a general reference to supplies of all kinds, including also those of money, or, as Plautus terms it (*Pseud.* 1, 5, 9), "*commeatus argentarius.*"—*Emolimentum*, in this passage, is equivalent to *labor* or *molitio.* For, as *eniti* is "*nitendo efficere aliquid,*" and *nisus* therefore the same as *labor* or *opera*, so *emoliri* is "*moliendo efficere aliquid,*" and *emolimentum* the same as *labor ipse.* Consult *Morus, ad loc.* The Greek paraphrast well expresses the Latin terms in question: ἄνευ μεγάλης δαπάνης τε καὶ πολλῆς ἀσχολίας.

3. *Quid negotii.* "What business."—*In sua Gallia.* These words depict very forcibly the arrogance of Ariovistus. Florus (3, 10) gives the reply of the German leader as follows: "*Quis est autem Cæsar? Si vult, veniat. Quid ad illum quid agat Germania nostra? Num ego me interpono Romanis?*"

4. *Quam bello vicisset.* The student will again mark the use of the subjunctive, as referring to the sentiments of the speaker, not hose of the writer.

5. *Iterum ad eum*, &c. Cæsar's object, in sending these ambassadors a second time, was purposely to irritate Ariovistus, and lead him on to some act of hostility.

6. *Quoniam tanto suo*, &c. "That whereas, after having been treated with so much kindness by himself and the Roman people (since he had been styled king and friend by the senate, during his own (Cæsar's) consulship), he was now making such a return as this to himself and the Roman people, as, when invited to come to a conference, to make a difficulty about complying, and to think that it was not necessary for him to speak and inform himself about a matter of common interest, these were the demands which he (Cæsar) had now to make of him."

7. *Quam.* For *aliquam.*—*Deinde.* "In the next place."

8. *Voluntate ejus.* "With his full consent." *Ejus* refers to Ariovistus. *Voluntate sua* would have referred to Cæsar.

9. *Sese.* In the common editions, the pronoun is omitted here, in consequence of its occurring again after the parenthesis. But its presence is requisite in both places for the sake of perspicuity

10. *Marco Messala*, &c. A. U. C. 693, B. C. 61.—*Senatus censuisset.* "The senate had decreed." Grotius (*de Jure B. et P.* 3, 3, 10) shows that Cæsar himself was not free from blame when he brought this war upon Ariovistus. There certainly was no need of any formal argument on this point, as the case speaks for itself

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21 11. *Obtineret.* "Might hold," i. e., might govern for the time being. Compare note 3, page 6.

12. *Quod commodo*, &c. "Should, as far as he could do so consistently with the interests of the republic, protect," &c., i. e., should take care that, while he was protecting the Aedui and the other friendly states, none of the more important interests of the Roman people were jeopardized by the step. *Quod* is used in this clause for *quantum*. Consult *Sanctius*, *Min.* vol. i., p. 596, where the present passage is quoted among others. The grammatical construction is, *defenderet Aeduos*, &c., *secundum id quod posset facere*, &c. Compare the Greek paraphrast, ἐν ὅσῳ γε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ βλάπτοιντο.

13. *Item.* "In like manner." Some MSS. have *idem*, which Scaliger adopts, and in which he is followed by several subsequent editors. The true reading is *item*.—*Victis.* "Their vanquished." —*Non ad alterius*, &c. "Not according to the dictates of another, but their own pleasure."

14. *Quemadmodum*, &c. "In what way they were to exercise their own rights." *Uteretur* refers back to *Populo Romano*.—*In suo jure.* "In the exercise of his rights."

15. *Stipendiarios.* Compare note 13, page 17.

16. *Magnam Cæsarem*, &c. "That Cæsar was striving to do him a great injury, since he was endeavouring, by his coming, to render his revenues less valuable to him." The student will mark the force of the two imperfects, *facere* (the imperfect of the infinitive) and *faceret*. He will note also the use of the subjunctive after the relative, as indicating the reason or cause of the previous assertion. Ariovistus had imposed a certain tribute on the Aedui, the payment of which was secured by hostages; Cæsar required these hostages to be given back, an act which, according to Ariovistus, would weaken his chance of a faithful payment of the tribute, and would render it less valuable, because less certain than before.

22 1. *Injuria.* "Without just cause."—*Si in eo manerent*, &c. "In case they remained steadfast in that which had been agreed upon."

2. *Longe iis*, &c. "The title of brothers, given them by the Roman people, would be far from proving any assistance to them," i. e., would not save them from punishment. A metaphor borrowed from things that are far off, and consequently unable to lend any effectual aid.

3. *Quod sibi*, &c. "That, as to the menace which Cæsar had

employed towards him, namely, that he would not overlook any in- 22
juries done to the Aedui," &c.

4. *Exercitatissimi in armis.* Compare *Tacitus, Germ.* 14. "*Nec arare terram aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri.*"

5. *Inter annos quatuordecim.* "During fourteen years." As *inter* signifies the medium between two extremes, so, when applied to time, it expresses the interval between the commencement and close of a given period, and may, therefore, be rendered by "while" or "during." *Butler's Latin Prep.* p. 70.

6. *Harudes.* Compare chapter 31.

7. *Treviri autem.* Supply *veniebant nuntiatum.*

8. *Pagos centum Suevorum.* "That the new levies from the hundred cantons of the Suevi." The Suevi, according to Cæsar (*B. G.* 4, 1), formed a hundred cantons, from each of which a thousand warriors were annually levied to make war abroad. The force mentioned in the text will amount, therefore, to 100,000 men. We must not, however, fall into the error of some, who regard it as the entire military strength of the Suevi.

9. *Qui conarentur.* "Who were endeavouring, as they said." The student will mark the force of the subjunctive here, as referring to the statements of those who speak, not of the writer himself.

10. *Vehementer commotus.* "Greatly alarmed."—*Nova manus.* "This new body."—*Minus facile resisti posset.* "He might be less easily withstood." The reference is to Ariovistus

11. *Re frumentaria,* &c. "His arrangements for a supply of corn being made as quickly as possible." This is very neatly expressed by the Greek paraphrast: ὡς ἠδυνήθη τάχιστα τὸν στρατὸν ἐπισιτισάμενος.

12. *Contendere.* "Was hastening."—*Profecisse.* "Had accomplished." This is the reading of one of the best MSS., and is adopted by Oudendorp in his smaller edition, Oberlinus, Lemaire, and others. The common text has *processisse,* which arose probably from a gloss. Bentley conjectures *profectum esse.*

13. *Summa facultas.* "A very great plenty." *Facultas* is here equivalent to *copia.* Most of the copyists, not understanding this, substituted *difficultas,* which produces a directly opposite meaning. Only a few MSS. have the correct reading *facultas* The early editions give the erroneous lection.

14. *Ad ducendam bellum.* "For protracting the war."—*Facultatem.* "Means." The recurrence of this term, after so short an

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22 interva., led Grævius to suspect that *facultas* in the previous part of the sentence was a mere interpolation. It would appear rather to be one among the many arguments that might be adduced, in favour of the opinion that these commentaries were hastily penned on the spot.

15. *Dubis.* No MS. has *Dubis*. All are more or less corrupted here, and read *Adduabis*, *Alduadubis*, *Alduadusius*, *Adduadubis*, or *Alduasdubis*. Amid this farrago of uncouth forms, Cellarius, following Strabo, Ptolemy, and other authorities, gave *Dubis* as the true reading, which has been received ever since. (*Geogr. Antiq.* 2, 2, 17.—Vol. ii., p. 136, *ed. Schwartz.*) Whence the corruption in the MSS. originated is difficult to say. Oberlinus thinks that the earlier name of the river was *Addua* or *Aldua*, and that some of the copyists placed its more recent name in the margin of a MS., in this form, *al. Dubis*, that is, *alias Dubis*, from a blending of which two names, through the ignorance of subsequent copyists, the strange forms above cited arose. Moebius, on the other hand (*Bibl. Crit. Hild.* 1824, p. 232), ingeniously suggests, that the true reading may have been *quod flumen adductum, ut circino circumductum*, omitting the name of the river altogether. The opinion of Oberlinus, however, is certainly the better of the two.

16. *Ut circino circumductum.* "As if traced round it by a pair of compasses," i. e., as if its circular course had been traced by a pair of compasses.

17. *Sexcentorum.* D'Anville (*Notice de la Gaule*, p. 694) thinks that we ought to read here MD in place of DC (i. e., *mille et quingentorum* instead of *sexcentorum*), because the base of the mountain in question actually measures 1500 feet. The MSS. and early editions, however, are all the other way. Perhaps Cæsar means here, in place of the ordinary foot, the pace of two and a half feet, which would reconcile the text with the actual measurement.

18. *Qua flumen intermittit.* "Where the river intermits," i. e., breaks off from its circular course, and ceases to flow round the place. Ciacconius thinks that we ought to read here *qua a flumine intermittitur*, because we have, in another part of these commentaries (7, 17), "*ad eam partem quæ intermissa a flumine et palude*," and again (7, 23), "*intermissæ trabes.*" But all the MSS. give the received reading, and *intermittitur* is here employed in an intransitive sense. Consult *Oudendorp, ad loc.*, and *Vechner, Hellenolex*, p. 59, *seq.*

19. *Continet.* "Occupies," i. e., covers, or fills up.—*Contin*-

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gant. "Touch it," i. e., the bank. Supply *eam*, scil. *ripam*. 22
Achaintre takes *ripæ* for the nominative plural, agreeing with *contingant*, and makes *radices* the accusative, governed by this verb. Our construction, which is the received one, is far preferable. By it, *ripæ* becomes the genitive and *radices* the nominative.

1. *Hunc murus circumdatus*, &c. "A wall thrown around it 23
makes a citadel of this mountain, and connects it with the town." Compare the Greek paraphrast: τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος τοῖχος περιοικοδομηθεὶς τῇ πόλει συζεύγνυσι, καὶ ἀκρόπολιν αὐτῆς τοῦτο ἀπεργάζεται. The student will take care not to make *hunc* depend, in construction, on *circum datus*, as some recommend, for then the wall alone will form the citadel, and not the mountain! Some remains of the wall are still to be seen at the present day.

2. *Nocturnis diurnisque.* The more usual order would have been *diurnis nocturnisque*, and Oudendorp actually adopts this in his smaller edition. But Cæsar places *nocturnis* first in order here, as more stress is to be laid upon it in the idea that we are to form of his rapid movements on this occasion. Compare *Ramshorn, L G.* p. 628, and *Daehne, ad loc.*

3. *Ex percunctatione*, &c. "From the inquiries of our men, and the statements of the Gauls and traders, who assured them," &c. *Prædicabant* here implies a positive assertion, made in order to impress another with a full belief of what we say.

4. *Vultum.* "Their look."—*Aciem oculorum.* "The fierce expression of their eyes." Compare the Greek paraphrast, τὰ δεινὰ αὐτῶν δράματα.

5. *Tribunis militum.* "The tribunes of the soldiers." These were officers in the Roman army, who commanded a part of the legion, generally a thousand men. They had also charge of the works and camp. There were six in every legion. Consult Archæological Index.—*Præfectis.* "The prefects." There were various kinds of *præfecti* in the Roman army. Those here meant, however, are the prefects of the allies, who answered to the tribunes of the soldiers among the Roman troops.

6. *Urbe.* Rome.—*Amicitiæ causa.* These were the young nobility to whom Plutarch alludes (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 19), and who, according to him, had entered into Cæsar's service only in hopes of living luxuriously and making their fortunes.

7. *Quorum alius*, &c. "One of whom having assigned one excuse, another another, which they said made it necessary," &c.

8. *Vultum fingere.* "To command their countenance," i. e.,

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23 preserve their countenance in its natural state, hide from view the fear which secretly influenced them.

9. *Vulgo totis castris*, &c. "As a general matter, wills were made throughout the whole camp." Soldiers most commonly made their wills by word of mouth, while girding themselves for battle and such a will was called *testamentum in procinctu factum*. (Consult *Instit. Justin.* l. 2, t. 2.) On the present occasion, however, their wills were formally made in writing, as appears from the literal meaning of *obsignabantur*, "were sealed."

10. *Magnum usum.* "Great experience."—*Centuriones.* A centurion commanded, when the legion was full, a hundred men, as the name itself imports. There were two in each maniple, and, consequently, six in each cohort, and sixty in each legion.

11. *Quique equitatu præerant.* "And those who were in command of the cavalry." *Exercitu* for *exercitui*, the old dative. The *decuriones* are here meant. Compare note 11, page 14.

12. *Qui se ex his*, &c. "Those individuals of this latter class, who wished themselves to be regarded as less timid than the rest of the army, declared that they did not dread the enemy, but feared the narrowness of the roads, and the extent of woods which intervened between themselves and Ariovistus, or else, with respect to the corn, that it could not be supplied with sufficient readiness." By *his* are meant those, "*qui magnum in castris usum habebant.*" With *rem frumentariam* supply *quod ad*, and compare *Perizonius, ad Sanct. Min.* 2, 5.—Vol. i., p. 222, *ed. Bauer*.

13. *Ut satis commode*, &c. The conjunction *ut*, when joined in construction with a verb of fearing, such as *timeo, metuo*, &c., requires in our idiom the addition of a negative; while *ne*, on the other hand, when similarly construed, has an affirmative force. Thus *timeo ut facias*, "I am afraid you will not do it;" but *timeo ne facias*, "I am afraid you will do it." The explanation is as follows: *Timeo ut facias* is, literally, "I am afraid, in order that you may do it," i. e., I want you to do it, but am afraid you will not; and, on the other hand, *Timeo ne facias* is, literally, "I am afraid lest you may do it," i. e., I do not want you to do it, but am afraid you will.

14. *Signa ferri.* "The standards to be borne onward," i. e. the troops to march forward.—*Dicto audientes.* "Obedient to the order." According to Dio Cassius (38, 35), Cæsar's soldiers pronounced the war an unjust and unauthorized one, and alleged that it had been merely undertaken by their commander to gratify his

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own ambitious views. They threatened also to abandon him unless 23
he changed his intention of attacking the Germans.

15. *Nec propter timorem signa laturos.* "And would not advance in consequence of their fear."

16. *Convocato consilio.* "A council of war being called." Dio Cassius states (38, 35) that Cæsar would not call an assembly of the soldiers, from a well-grounded apprehension lest his troops might break forth into open tumult, and commit some act of violence.

17 *Omniumque ordinum*, &c. "And the centurions of all ranks being summoned to that council." On this occasion, then, all the centurions in the army (there were sixty in each legion) were called to the council of war; whereas, on ordinary occasions, the council was composed of the commander-in-chief, the legati or lieutenants, the tribunes of the soldiers, and only the chief centurion of each legion.

18. *Primum, quod*, &c. "In the first place, for presuming to think, that it was for them to inquire or deliberate, either in what direction or with what design they were to be led." Literally "because they thought that they must inquire," &c.

1. *Postulatis.* Compare chap. 35.—*Aequitate.* "The fairness." 2

2. *Aut cur de sua virtute*, &c. "Or why should they despair either of their own valour or of his prudent activity?"

3. *Factum ejus hostis periculum*, &c. "That a trial had been made of this foe within the memory of our fathers," i. e., in the days of our fathers. Compare the Greek paraphrast, ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πατέρων.

4. *Factum etiam.* Supply *periculum.*—*Nuper.* Fourteen years previous. — *Servili tumultu.* "During the insurrection of the slaves." Literally, "during the servile tumult." The Romans applied the word *tumultus* (a much stronger term than *bellum*) to a war in Italy or an invasion of the Gauls. The allusion in the text is to the war of Spartacus the gladiator. (Consult Historical Index.) Among the gladiators and slaves, who flocked to the standard of this leader, were many of the German race, and hence the remark of Cæsar.

5. *Quos tamen*, &c "And yet these last the experience and discipline, which they had received from us, assisted in some respect." Alluding to their training as gladiators.

6. *Constantia.* "A firm and resolute spirit."—*Inermos.* More in accordance with the usage of Cæsar than *inermes.* At first the insurgents were without arms to any great extent, and hence, from

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24 their being so badly furnished with them, they are here called "unarmed."

7 *Suis.* Referring to the territories of the Helvetii.—*Illorum.* Referring to the Germans.

8 *Adversum prœlium et fuga Gallorum.* Compare chap. 31.

9. *Neque sui potestatem fecisset.* "Without having given them an opportunity of coming to an engagement with him." *Facere potestatem sui* means generally, "to allow one's self to be approached," "to allow access to," &c.

10. *Ratione et consilio.* "By stratagem and cunning."—*Cui rationi,* &c. "That not even Ariovistus himself entertained any hope, that our armies could be ensnared by that same stratagem, for the exercise of which there had been room against a people barbarous and unskilled in warfare."

11. *Qui suum timorem,* &c. "That they, who ascribed their fear to a pretended alarm relative to provisions and the narrowness of the roads, acted presumptuously, since they appeared either to distrust the official qualifications of their commander, or to dictate unto him."—*Hæc sibi esse curæ.* "That these things were a care to him," i. e., that he had not neglected these things.

12. *Brevi tempore judicaturos.* "Would soon have an opportunity of judging."

13. *Quod non fore,* &c. "That, as to the soldiers being reported to be about to disobey his orders," &c., i. e., as to the report which had reached him of the soldiers intending to disobey his orders.

25 1. *Scire enim,* &c. "For he knew, that either, in consequence of some mismanagement of an affair, fortune had failed those commanders with whom an army was not obedient to orders; or else, that the charge of avarice had been fastened upon their characters, in consequence of some act of misconduct having been discovered."—In place of *conjunctam* some read *convictam,* in the sense of "*aperte demonstratam,*" as in Ovid (*Met.* 13, 89) we have "*furor convictus.*" Compare *Menken, Obs. L. L.* p. 199.

2. *Perpetua vita.* "Throughout the whole of his past life."—*Felicitatem.* "His good fortune."

3. *Itaque se,* &c. "That he would, therefore, immediately do what he intended to have put off to a more distant day." *Repræsentare* is a legal term, and denotes "to do a thing before the time." Thus a person is said *solutionem repræsentare,* who pays the money before the day. It is from this general meaning that the

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verb also obtains the signification of doing a thing immediately. 25
Collaturus is used here in the sense of *dilaturus*.

4. *Decima legione.* The legions were called *first*, *second*, &c., from the order in which they were raised.—*Prætoriam cohortem.* "A body guard." Among the Romans, the general was usually attended by a select band, called *cohors prætoria*, so called, according to Festus, because it never left the commander, or, as he was called in early Latin, the *prætor* (i. e., *qui præit exercitui*).

5. *Princeps.* In the sense of *prima*. Compare note 15, page 8.—*Ei gratias egit.* "Returned thanks to him."—*Quod de se*, &c. "For the very high opinion he had formed of them, and assured him," &c.

6. *Primorum ordinum centuriones.* "The centurions of the first centuries," i. e., the centurions of the first maniple of the Triarii, the centurions of the first maniple of the Principes, and the centurions of the first maniple of the Hastati.—*Egerunt uti Cæsari satisfacerent.* "Strove to excuse themselves to Cæsar."

7. *Neque de summa belli*, &c. "Nor had thought, that any decision respecting the management of the war appertained to them, but to their commander," i. e., nor had thought, that it was for them to decide upon the best mode of conducting the war, but rather for their general.

8. *Satisfactione.* "Excuse."—*Itinere exquisito.* "The route having been reconnoitred."—*Ut millium amplius*, &c. "And found to be such, that, by means of a circuit of more than fifty miles, it would lead his army through an open country," i. e., that, by taking a circuit of somewhat more than fifty miles, he might lead his army along it through an open country. The student will observe, that, in order to connect the clause *ut amplius*, &c., with *itinere exquisito*, a new verb must be introduced in translating, which is easily implied from the general force of the participle *exquisito*.

9. *Quinquaginta.* Some read *quadraginta*. The Greek paraphrast has a number very wide of the truth, namely, 1250 stadia, equivalent to something more than 156 Roman miles. Ἀμφὶ τὰ χίλια διακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα στάδια.

10. *Quod antea de colloquio postulasset*, &c. "Stating, that, as to his previous demand respecting a conference, this might now be carried into effect through his own means, since he had come nearer."

11. *Existimare.* We have here given the reading of Oudendorp,

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25 in place of *existimaret*, the common lection. So also *licere* in the previous clause, instead of *liceret*.

12. *Sanitatem.* "A just way of thinking." Literally, "a sound mind." Compare the Greek paraphrast · σωφρονεῖν δ'ἤδη αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζεν

26 1. *Alia ratione se non esse venturum.* "That he would not come upon any other terms."—*Interposita causa tolli.* "To be thwarted by the interposing of any pretext," i. e., to be thwarted on any pretence by Ariovistus.

2. *Gallorum equitatui.* The cavalry in Cæsar's army were all Gauls. He was afraid, therefore, lest, if attacked during the conference by the German horse, they might not prove a sufficient protection for his person. Many editions have *equitatu*, the old form of the dative.

3. *Commodissimum esse statuit*, &c. "He deemed it most expedient, all their horses having been taken from the Gallic cavalry, to mount on them the legionary soldiers," &c. The adverbial form *eo* is equivalent here to *in eos* (scil. *equos*.) By the legionary soldiers are meant the regular troops of the legion, as distinguished from the *velites*.

4. *Non inridicule.* "Not without some humour," i. e., humorously enough. Compare the Greek paraphrast, ἀστεῖόν τι ἐφθέγξατο. —*Ei.* "For that legion."

5. *Nunc ad equum rescribere.* "Now enrolled them among the cavalry." When soldiers were first enlisted they were said *scribi*, their names being entered in the roll of the legion. If they were afterward transferred, from the corps into which they had been enrolled, to some other part of the service, they were said *rescribi*. The humour of the remark made on the present occasion consists in supposing, that a regular promotion had taken place to the rank and pay of cavalry. When the change of service was from the cavalry to the infantry, it was a military punishment; but, on the contrary, a military reward when the foot-soldier was transferred to the horse For another explanation, consult *Petit*, *Obs.* 1, 6, and *Gronovius*, *ad Senec. de Benef.* 5, 6.

6. *Tumulus terrenus satis grandis.* "A rising ground of considerable height." Literally, "a mound (or hill) of earth.'—*Castris utrisque.* Referring to the camp of Cæsar and that of Ariovistus.

7. *Ex equis.* "On horseback." Compare the Greek form of expression, ἀφ' ἵππων.—*Denos.* The Greek paraphrast has δύο, as

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if he read in his Latin MS. *binos* in place of *denos*. It is highly improbable that only two would be brought to the conference on either side. 26

8. *Commemoravit.* "Recounted."—*Quod.* "How that."—*Munera amplissima.* It was customary, with the Romans, to send presents to those whom the senate had honoured with the title of king. Compare *Liv.* 30, 15.

9. *Pro magnis hominum officiis.* "In return for important services on the part of individuals."—*Illum, cum neque aditum,* &c. "That he (Ariovistus), although he had neither the means of deserving them, nor just cause to ask for them," &c. *Aditum non habere* implies the absence of any services on the part of Ariovistus towards the Roman people. Compare the explanation given in the *Index Latinitatis* appended to the edition of Oberlinus: "*Aditum non habere ad aliquem*, nullis meritis esse, ob quæ precari sustineas."

10. *Quam veteres,* &c. "What old and just causes of alliance existed," &c. The Aedui were the first among the Gauls that embraced the friendship of the Romans. Compare *Strabo* (4, p. 192, *ed. Cas.*), Οἱ δὲ Ἐδοῦοι καὶ συγγενεῖς Ῥωμαίων ὠνομάζοντο, καὶ πρῶτοι τῶν ταύτῃ προσῆλθον πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν. So also Tacitus (*Ann.* 11, 25), "*Primi Aedui senatorum in urbe jus adepti sunt. Datum id foederi antiquo, et quia soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum Populo Romano usurpant.*" Consult also *Diod. Sic* 5, 25.

11. *Ut omni tempore,* &c. "How the Aedui had ever enjoyed," &c.

1. *Sui nihil.* "Nothing of their own." Equivalent to *nihil sui* 27
juris, auctoritatis, opum, or *ditionis.*—*Auctiores esse.* "To be still farther advanced."

2. *Quod vero ad amicitiam,* &c. "Who then could bear to have that taken from them which they brought with them when they obtained the friendship of the Roman people?" i. e., to see them robbed of what they possessed before they became the friends of the Roman people. Literally, "for that to be taken from them which they had brought to the friendship," &c.

3. *Postulavit deinde eadem,* &c. "He then made the same demand which he had commissioned the ambassadors to make."

4. *De suis virtutibus multa prædicavit.* "He spoke much and boastfully about his own merits."—*Sed rogatum,* &c. "But on being requested and sent for by the Gauls," i. e., by the Arverni and Sequani. Compare chapter 31.

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27 5. *Ab ipsis.* "By the Gauls themselves.—*Stipendium capere* "That he exacted tribute."

6. *Omnes Galliæ civitates.* Exaggeration. Only the Aedui and their allies fought against him.

7. *Idque se*, &c. "And that he had sought it with this expectation." *Id* here refers to the friendship of the Roman people. It would have been more perspicuous to have said *eam*, but the MSS. all give the other form.

8. *Stipendium remittatur*, &c. "The tribute due him is to be withheld, and those who have surrendered to him are to be withdrawn from their allegiance."

9. *Quod multitudinem*, &c. "As to his leading a multitude of Germans across the Rhine into Gaul."

10. *Sed defenderit.* "But had warded it off," i. e., had acted merely on the defensive. *Defendere* is here taken in its primitive sense, as equivalent to *propulsare*. Compare B. C. 1, 7, "*Conclamant legionis XIII, quæ aderat, milites ...... sese paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque plebis injurias defendere.*"

11. *Se prius in Galliam venisse*, &c. Here again Ariovistus falsely defends his conduct. The Roman commander Domitius had conquered the Arverni long before the German leader came into Gaul.

12. *Quid sibi vellet?* &c. By *sibi* Cæsar is meant, by *suas possessiones* the possessions of himself, Ariovistus.—*Provinciam suam*, &c. "That this part of Gaul was his province, just as that other was ours." The student will mark the force of the pronouns here. *Hanc* refers to the quarter where Ariovistus now is, *illam* to the distant Roman province in the south of Gaul.

28 1. *Qui in suo jure*, &c. "Since we interrupted him in the enjoyment of his right."

2. *Quod fratres*, &c. "As to Cæsar's saying that the Aedui had been styled brothers by the senate."—*Bello Allobrogum*, &c. The Dauphin editor is wrong in supposing that the war here meant is the one in which Domitius Aenobarbus and Fabius Maximus were employed against the Allobroges (*Florus*, 3, 2.) It is rather the one which Cneius Pontinus successfully waged against the same people.

3. *Auxilio Populi Romani*, &c. "Had derived any assistance from the Roman people."—*Debere se suspicari*, &c. "That he has strong reason to suspect that Cæsar, having pretended friendship for the Aedui, inasmuch as he keeps an army in Gaul, keeps

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it there, in fact, for the purpose of crushing him (Ariovistus)," i. e., that Cæsar, under the pretence of friendship towards the Aedui, merely keeps an army in Gaul to crush him, Ariovistus. 28

4. *Qui nisi decedat.* "That, unless he depart." *Qui* for *ille*, as it begins a clause.

5. *Quod si eum interfecerit*, &c. It cannot be supposed, that this was a mere idle boast on the part of Ariovistus. Cæsar already had at Rome many violent political enemies, who were eager for his destruction.—*Gratum esse facturum.* "He would do an agreeable thing," i. e., would be doing a favour to, &c.

6. *Ejus morte redimere posset.* "He could purchase by his (Cæsar's) death."—*Sine ullo ejus labore*, &c. "Without any trouble and hazard on his part." *Ejus* again refers to Cæsar.

7. *Multa ab Cæsare*, &c. "Many arguments were urged by Cæsar to this effect, why, namely, he could not desist from his purpose," i. e., to show why he could not, &c.

8. *Ignovisset.* "Had pardoned." The Romans were said "to pardon" a conquered people, when they allowed them to retain their freedom, to enjoy their own laws, and create their own magistrates. On the other hand, a state was said to be reduced to a Roman province, when it was deprived of its laws, and was subjected to the control of Roman magistrates, and to the payment of a certain tribute.

9. *Quod si antiquissimum*, &c. "If, then, the most distant period ought to be regarded," i. e., if the question was to turn upon the claims of earliest possession.—*Si judicium senatus*, &c. "If, on the other hand, the decision of the senate ought to be taken into consideration, then was it right that Gaul should be free, since they had willed that this country, after being conquered in war, should still enjoy its own laws."

10. *Ad nostros adequitare.* With most of the compound verbs the preposition may be repeated with its proper case. This is often done to impart strength to the expression. Compare the remarks of *Perizonius, ad Sanct. Min.* 3, 3.—Vol. i., p. 408, *ed. Bauer*.

11. *Facit.* We have adopted *facit* and *recipit* on the recommendation of Oudendorp, although *imperavit* follows. This change of tense is elegant and frequent among the historical writers. Consult *Oudendorp, ad loc.*

1. *Per fidem.* "Under cover of plighted faith." Compare the explanation of Morus: "*propter fidem datam et acceptam.*" Some commentators, however, give *per* in this clause the force of *contra*, 29

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29 relying upon the Greek paraphrast, *δόλῳ ἐν τῷ διαλογισμῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σεσοφίσθαι*. *Per*, however, has rather the force of *contra* in composition, as *perfidus*, *perjurus*, &c.

2. *Posteaquam in vulgus militum*, &c. "After it was spread abroad among the common soldiers."—*Omni Gallia*, &c. "Had interdicted the Romans from all Gaul."

3. *Impetumque in nostros*, &c. All the editions and MSS. have *fecissent*, which we have changed, nevertheless, to *fecisse*. As the text stands in the different editions, it cannot be correct. Some of the MSS. and earlier printed copies give *ut* before *diremisset*, but later editions rejected the conjunction until Davies restored it. As Clark, however, very correctly remarks, *ut* ought rather to be placed before *fecissent;* while, on the other hand, if it can be omitted before this verb, it can just as well be omitted before *diremisset*. In order to remove the difficulty, therefore, we have retained *ut* before *diremisset*, in the sense of *quomodo*, "how," but have changed *fecissent* to *fecisse*, so as to have a double construction in the same sentence. Translate as follows: "and that his cavalry had made an attack on our men, and how this circumstance had broken off the conference." *Oudendorp* conjectures *vi diremisset* for *ut diremisset*.

4. *Injectum est*. "Was infused." The Greek version has *ἐνέφυ*, which induced Wasse to conjecture *innatum est* for *injectum est*. (*Add. ad Sall.* p. 398.)

5. *Neque perfectæ essent*. "And had not been brought to a conclusion."—*Uti aut*, &c. Supply *et postulans*.

6. *Ex suis aliquem*. The common text has *ex suis legatis aliquem*, but we have rejected *legatis* on the suggestion of Bentley. This emendation is supported also by the Greek version, which has merely, *τινὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ*.

7. *Retineri non poterant*, &c. "Could not be restrained from casting."—*Caium Valerium Procillum*. Already mentioned in chapter 19.

8. *Civitate donatus erat*. "Had been presented with the rights of citizenship." Foreigners, on whom this favour was conferred, prefixed to their own name the *prænomen* and *nomen* of the individual, through whose influence the privilege in question had been obtained, and regarded that person ever after as their patron. Thus Caburus, the father of Procillus, assumed the name of Caius Valerius Caburus, having taken the first and second names of Caius Valerius Flaccus, his patron.

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9. *Qua multa jam*, &c. "Of which Ariovistus now, from long habit, made frequent use," i. e., which he now spoke fluently.—*Et quod in eo*, &c. "And because the Germans could have no motive to inflict any personal injury in his case." 29

10. *Qui hospitio Ariovisti*, &c. "Who had enjoyed the hospitality of Ariovistus," i. e., was connected with him by the ties of hospitality. As the ancients had not proper inns for the accommodation of travellers, the Romans, when they were in foreign countries, or at a distance from home, used to lodge at the houses of certain persons, whom they in return entertained at their houses in Rome. This was esteemed a very intimate connexion, and was called *hospitium*, or *jus hospitii*.

11. *Quæ diceret Ariovistus*. "What Ariovistus might have to say."—*Conclamavit*. "He called out in a loud tone and demanded."—*An speculandi causa?* "Was it to act as spies?" Literally, "was it for the sake of spying?"

12. *Promovit*. "He moved forward." Compare the Greek προὐκίνησε.—*Postridie ejus diei*. "The day after that day," i. e., the day following. Compare the Greek, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ.—*Præter castra Cæsaris*. "Past Cæsar's camp."

1. *Ex eo die*, &c. "For five successive days after that day."— 30
Pro castris. "Before his camp."—*Potestas*. "An opportunity." More literally, "the means of so doing."

2. *Genus hoc erat pugnæ*, &c. "The following was the kind of battle in which the Germans had exercised themselves," i. e., to which they had trained themselves.

3. *Quos ex omni copia*, &c. "Whom they had selected from the whole army, each horseman one, for his own protection." Compare *Tacitus*, *Germ*. c. 6.

4. *Hi, si quid erat durius*, &c. "These, if anything occurred of more than ordinary danger, ran to their assistance." *Hi* refers to the foot-soldiers.—*Si qui*. For *si quis*.—*Circumsistebant*. "Stood around to defend him."

5. *Longius*. "Farther than usual."—*Celerius*. "With greater speed than ordinary."

6. *Exercitatione*. "From constant practice."—*Ut jubis equorum*, &c. "That, being supported by the manes of the horses, they could equal their speed," i. e., could keep up with them.

7. *Ne diutius commeatu*, &c. It is a question for military men to decide, whether Cæsar should have allowed Ariovistus to march past his camp, and cut off his communication with the quarter from

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30 which his supplies were to come. It is probable that his object, in delaying a general action, was to accustom his men, in the mean while, by a succession of slight encounters, to the looks of so formidable a foe, as well as to their manner of fighting.

8. *Acieque triplici instructa.* "And his army being drawn up in three lines." Literally, "a triple order of battle being arranged." —*Primam et secundam aciem*, &c. "He ordered the first and second lines to remain under arms." Compare Vegetius, 1, 25, "*Si hostis incumbat, tum omnes equites et media pars peditum ad pulsandum impetum ordinantur in acie; reliqui post ipsos, ductis fossis, muniunt castra.*"

9. *Circiter hominum*, &c. "Light troops, about sixteen thousand men in number." The term *expeditus* refers to the celerity of their movements and the lightness of their equipments. Most commonly, however, in our author, it merely means unencumbered by baggage.

10. *Partem auxiliorum*, &c. "A part of his auxiliaries." The forces sent by foreign states and monarchs were called *auxilia*.

11. *Instituto suo.* "According to his custom." *Institutum* here refers to a custom or practice, in accordance with some settled resolution or design.

12. *A majoribus.* "From the larger one." Supply *castris* The larger camp was the one first pitched. Many MSS. and editions have *castris* expressed.

13. *Prodire.* "Come forth to battle."

32 1. *Acriter utrinque*, &c. Dio Cassius (38, 48) informs us, that Ariovistus came near taking the camp of the Romans on this occasion: ὀλίγου καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτῶν εἷλε. The χαράκωμα of Dio is the *castra minora* of Cæsar. Dio adds, that the German leader, elated with his success, disregarded the predictions of the German females, and came to an action with Cæsar.

2. *Prælio.* "In a general engagement."

3. *Matres familiæ.* Tacitus (*Germ.* c. 8) states, that the ancient Germans believed there was something sacred and prophetic in the female sex, and that, therefore, they disdained not their advice, but placed the greatest confidence in them and their predictions. He speaks of Veleda and Aurinia in particular, as having been held in the highest veneration. The females among the Germans, who pretended to the gift of prophecy, were called *Alrunæ* (i. e., *Alraunen*). Muratori gives the name as *Alrunnæ* (vol. i., p. 370), and Jornandes, *Alyrumnæ* (*de Reb. Get.* c. 24) Compare Adelung, *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat.* vol. i., p. 188

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4. *Sortibus et vaticinationibus.* "From lots and auguries.—*Ex usu.* "Advantageously."

5. *Non esse fas.* "That it was not the will of heaven." *Fas* denotes what is in accordance with the divine law and the rules of religion.

6. *Omnes alarios.* "All the auxiliaries." The allies were called *alarii* from their being generally placed on the wings (*alæ*) of an army when drawn up in order of battle.

7. *Pro castris minoribus.* "Before the smaller camp."—*Pro hostium numero.* "Considering the number of the enemy."—*Ut ad speciem*, &c. "That he might make use of the auxiliaries for appearance," i. e., to make a show with them.

8. *Generatim.* "By nations," i. e., by tribes. Compare the Greek paraphrast: κατὰ φύλας.

9. *Rhedis et carris.* "With chariots and wagons." Both of these are Gallic terms. The *rheda* was a kind of four-wheeled chariot for travelling, and was introduced among, and much used by, the Romans also. The *rhedæ* appear to have carried the families of the Germans, the *carri* their baggage and provisions.

10. *Eo.* "On these."—*Passis crinibus.* "With dishevelled locks." *Passis* from *pando.* Most of the MSS. have *manibus* instead of *crinibus*, and the Greek paraphrast appears to favour this reading, since he has, τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀρεγόμενοι. But *passis crinibus* is the more usual form on such occasions. Perhaps, however, Cæsar joined them both, *passis manibus crinibusque*, as in the 48th chapter of the 7th book.

11. *Cæsar singulis legionibus*, &c. "Cæsar placed a lieutenant and quæstor over each legion."—*Quæstorem.* The office of the provincial quæstor was, to see that provisions and pay were furnished to the army, to keep an account of all moneys expended, &c.

12. *Eos.* Referring to the lieutenants and quæstors.—*A dextro cornu.* "From the right wing," i. e., of his own army.—*Minime firmam.* "Weakest." Literally, "least strong."

13. *Itaque hostes*, &c. "And so suddenly and rapidly," &c.

14. *Rejectis pilis.* "Their javelins being flung aside." Compare the Greek version, τὰ δόρατα ἀπορρίψαντες.

15. *Phalange facta.* The German phalanx, as has already been remarked, was analogous to the Roman *testudo*, the men being in close array, with their shields locked over their heads. (Compare note 2, page 15.) It will be observed, that as the Germans fought by nations, on this occasion, there was as many phalanxes as na-

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32 tions, hence the use of *phalangas*, the plural form, in the next sentence.

16. *Qui in phalangas*, &c "Who leaped upon the phalanxes, and tore off with their hands the shields of the enemy, and wounded them from above," i. e., they tore away the shields which the enemy held above their heads, and then stabbed downwards. The soldiers who did this, kept moving about on the top of the shields which formed a kind of roof beneath them. Oppian, in speaking of the war-steed, makes it ascend with the chariot upon the top of such a testudo, a plate of which may be seen in Lipsius, *Poliorc* lib. 1, dial. 5, *sub. fin.*

17. *A sinistro cornu.* "On the left wing." The reference is to the army of the enemy. Their left was described above as weakest.—*A dextro cornu.* Alluding again to the German army.

33 1. *Equitatu.* Old dative.—*Expeditior.* "More disengaged," i. e., more at liberty. The Crassus here mentioned was the son of Marcus Crassus, and lost his life, along with his father, in the expedition against the Parthians. His movement on the present occasion gained the day for the Romans.

2. *Neque prius*, &c. "Nor did they cease to flee until," &c. *Prius* and *quam* are separated by tmesis.

3. *Repererunt.* The common text has *petierunt*, which appears to have arisen from *reperierunt*, a faulty reading in one of the MSS. Heinsius conjectured *pepererunt*, of which Bentley approves; but the best MSS. have *repererunt*.

4. *In his fuit Ariovistus.* He died soon after in Germany, either of his wounds, or through chagrin at his defeat. Compare *B. G.* 5, 29, "*Magno esse Germanis dolori Ariovisti mortem.*" Plutarch says, that the number of killed in this battle amounted to eighty thousand.

5. *Duæ fuerunt*, &c. The Germans in general, according to Tacitus (*Germ.* 18), had but one wife each. In the case of their chieftains, however, who were anxious to strengthen and enlarge their power by family alliances, more than one wife was allowed.

6. *Duxerat.* "He had married." Compare note 6, page 3.—*Utræque in ea fuga perierunt.* The common text has *utraque in ea fuga periit.* But the MSS. are the other way.

7. *Filiæ.* Nominative absolute, unless we understand *erant.* But this would be far less elegant.

8. *Tris catenis vinctus.* "Bound with a triple chain."—*In ipsum Cæsarem incidit* "Fell in with Cæsar himself."

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9. *Neque ejus calamitate*, &c. "Nor had fortune at all diminished, by the sufferings of such a man, the great pleasure and rejoicing which prevailed." More literally, "taken away anything from so great pleasure and rejoicing." 33

10. *De se ter sortibus*, &c. "That the lots had been thrice consulted respecting him." Tacitus (*Germ.* 8) describes the German mode of divining by lots as follows: "They cut a twig from a fruit-tree, and divide it into small pieces, which, distinguished by certain marks, are thrown promiscuously upon a white garment. Then the priest of the canton, if the occasion be public; if private, the master of the family; after an invocation of the gods, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, thrice takes out each piece, and, as they come up, interprets their signification according to the marks fixed upon them. If the result prove unfavourable, they are no more consulted on the same affair that day; if propitious, a confirmation by omens is still required."

11. *Beneficio.* "By the favour."

12. *Quos Ubii.* The common text has *ubi* in place of *Ubii*, and the advocates for the former insist that *Ubii* must be an erroneous reading, because the people of that name were too far removed from the seat of war. A singular specimen of critical acumen! just as if the relative position of the Ubii and Suevi had anything to do with the theatre of the war between Cæsar and Ariovistus. A strong argument in favour of the reading *Ubii* may be obtained from the 37th chapter of this book, where the Treviri, the immediate neighbours of the Ubii, came to Cæsar with the intelligence, that the Suevi were endeavouring to cross the Rhine in their vicinity. The Ubii, moreover, as appears from another part of these commentaries (4, 3), were old enemies of the Suevi. Davies, Clarke, Oudendorp, and many other editors, declare in favour of *Ubii* as a reading, which was first given by Rhenanus and Hotomannus on conjecture The Greek paraphrast has also *οἱ Οὔβιοι*.

13. *Proximi Rhenum.* "Next the Rhine," i. e., on the banks of that river. There is an ellipsis here of the preposition *ad.* Compare *Lucretius*, 2, 134, "*Proxima sunt ad vireis principiorum.*"

14. *Duobus.* The Helvetian and German.—*Tempus anni.* "The season of the year."—*Hiberna.* "Winter-quarters." The winter-quarters of the Romans were strongly fortified, and furnished, particularly under the emperors, with every accommodation like a city, as storehouses, workshops, an infirmary, &c. Hence from them many towns in Europe are supposed to have had their origin;

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33 in England particularly, those whose names end in *cester* or *chester* Compare the remarks of *Adelung, Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat.* vol ii., p. 271, s. v. *Castrum.*

15. *In citeriorem Galliam.* Gaul south of the Alps, or, the northern part of the Italian peninsula, otherwise called Cisalpine Gaul.—*Ad conventus agendos.* "To hold the assizes." The governors of provinces generally devoted the summer to their military operations, and the winter to the civil part of their administration, which consisted in presiding over the courts of justice, hearing petitions, regulating taxes, &c.

BOOK II.

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1. *Cum esset Cæsar*, &c. The date is A. U. C. 697, in the consulship of Publius Cornelius Lentulus and Quintus Metellus Nepos.—*Crebri rumores.* "Frequent reports." Compare the Greek version, *συχναὶ ἀγγελίαι*. Page 35

2. *Dixeramus.* Compare book 1, chap. 1.—*Conjurare.* "Were combining," i. e., were forming a confederacy.—*Omni Gallia.* Celtic Gaul is here meant, in contradistinction to Belgic.

3. *Partim qui.* "Some of whom."—*Ut.* "As, on the one hand."—*Ita Populi Romani*, &c. "So, on the other, they bore it impatiently, that an army of the Roman people should winter in Gaul, and the thing begin to grow into a custom." Literally, "should winter and grow old in Gaul." Compare the explanation of Donatus, *ad Terent, Hec.* prol. v. 4, "*Inveterascerent*, i. e., *in consuetudinem venirent.*"

4. *Partim qui mobilitate*, &c. "While others of them, from a natural instability and fickleness of disposition, were desirous of a change of government," i. e., were anxious for a revolution.

5. *Ab nonnullis etiam.* Supply *sollicitarentur*, referring still to the Belgæ.—*Qui ad conducendos*, &c. "Who possessed means for hiring troops."

6. *Eam rem consequi.* "To effect that end," i. e., to usurp governments.—*In imperio nostro.* "While we held the chief power in Gaul."

7. *In interiorem Galliam.* "Into inner Gaul." Oudendorp prefers *ulteriorem*, the reading of several MSS., as more in accordance with the phraseology of Cæsar. But *interior*, here, has precisely the same force as *ulterior*, with the additional advantage of its applying, with more force, to one who was to pass from northern Italy into farther Gaul, or, in other words, penetrate into the interior.

8. *Quintum Pedium.* A grandson of Julia, the sister of Cæsar Consult Historical Index.

9. *Dat negotium Senonibus.* "He directs the Senones." More

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35 literally, "he gives a commission."—*Uti cognoscant.* "To ascertain."

10. *Constanter.* "Uniformly."—*Manus cogi.* "That bodies of troops were raising."—*Exercitum conduci.* "That an army was collecting."

11. *Proficisceretur.* The common text has *duodecimo die* before *proficisceretur.* As these words, however, are wanting in most MSS., and as they are utterly at variance with the rapidity of movement which characterized the operations of Cæsar, we have excluded them from our edition. Oudendorp conjectures *primo die* or *primo quoque die*; Frotscher, *propere.* The Greek version has ὡς τάχιστα ἰέναι. Most of the editors who retain *duodecimo die* enclose the words between brackets.

12. *Celeriusque omnium opinione.* "And sooner than any expected."—*Qui proximi Galliæ,* &c. "Who are the nearest of the Belgæ to Celtic Gaul." Compare the Greek version: ἐκ πάντων τῶν Βελγῶν πλησιαίτατοι τῆς Γαλατίας οἰκοῦντες.

36 1. *Neque se cum Belgis,* &c. "That they had neither agreed with the rest of the Belgæ," i. e., entered into the confederacy along with them.

2. *Germanosque.* These are enumerated towards the close of chapter 4, namely, the Condrusi, Eburones, Cæresi, and Pæmani.—*Cis Rhenum.* Referring to the southern bank of the Rhine, on which several of the German tribes had settled.

3. *Furorem.* "The infatuation."—*Fratres consanguineosque suos.* The Remi are here speaking of the Suessiones as "brethren and kinsmen of their own."—*Potuerint.* Still referring to the Remi.—*His.* Referring to the Belgæ who had combined against the Roman power.

4. *His.* The pronoun now refers to the two ambassadors from the Remi.—*Quantæque.* "And how powerful"—*Sic reperiebat* "He obtained this information." Literally, "he thus found."

5. *Magnosque spiritus in re militari.* "And great haughtiness in warlike matters." Compare the explanation of Achaintre: "*Spiritus,* i. e., *sensus superbia ferociaque plenos.*

6. *Omnia se habere explorata.* "That they had all things accurately inquired into," i. e., that they could give him accurate information.—*Propinquitatibus,* &c. "By neighbourhood and affinity." —*Quantam multitudinem.* "What number of men."

7. *Posse conficere.* "Could raise." Literally, "could make

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up."—*Electa millia sexaginta.* "Sixty thousand picked men."— 36
Imperium. "The management." The control.

8. *Divitiacum.* Not to be confounded, of course, with Divitiacus the Aeduan chieftain. He held not only the Suessiones, but also the Ambiani under his sway, and from the country of the latter passed over into Britain. Cæsar is the only ancient writer that makes mention of this Gallic expedition into the island.

9. *Galbam.* Many suppose this name to be an error on the part of some copyist, both because Dio Cassius (39, 1) has Ἄδρα as the appellation of the monarch in question, and also because *Galba* is a Roman family name. But Suetonius informs us, that some in his time considered *Galba* to be a term of Gallic origin, signifying "corpulent" or "fat." (*Vit. Galb.* 3.) Perhaps, therefore, *Adra* may have been the first part of the name, and *Galba* the latter.

10. *Totius belli summam.* "The direction of the whole war." Compare the Greek version: ὅτι ἡγεμὼν καὶ στρατηγὸς πάντων εἰρημένος εἴη.

1. *Longissimeque absint.* "And are very far distant." These 37
words have occasioned considerable trouble to the commentators. Julius Celsus, who for the most part gives the spirit, if he does not follow the very words, of Cæsar, passes over them in silence. The Greek paraphrast has ἐσχάτους τῶν Βελγῶν, which is not true, since the Menapii are as remote, if not more so. Vossius, therefore, thinks that we must either reject the words in question, or read *longissimeque ab omni cultu absint*, or else must transfer them to the close of the chapter, and insert them after *appellantur*, as applying to the four German tribes that are enumerated last. Davies, however, is in favour of retaining the words where they are, and giving *longissime absint* the meaning merely of *valde remoti sint* We have adopted his opinion, which is followed also by Achaintre and Lemaire.

2. *Cæræsos.* Traces of this name appear to exist in that of the modern river *Chiers*, and of the Pæmani in that of *Famenne* or *Famine.* Compare *D'Anville, Not. de la Gaule*, p. 188.

3. *Liberaliterque oratione prosecutus.* "And having spoken kindly to them." Compare *B. G.* 4, 18, "*Quibus pacem et amicitiam petentibus liberaliter respondit.*" So also *B. C.* 3, 104. *B. Alex.* 71. The Greek version has φιλοφρονησάμενος, which amounts to the same thing.

4. *Ad diem.* "By the day appointed."—*Magno opere.* "Stren-

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37 uously." The more correct form for *magnopere*. So *quanto opere* for *quantopere*. Compare *Oudendorp, ad loc.*

5. *Quanto opere*, &c. "How much it concerns the republic and the general safety, that the forces of the enemy be prevented from uniting." Literally, "be kept apart." Compare *Lucretius*, 5, 204, "*Et mare, quod late terrarum distinet oras,*" where *distinet* is equivalent, as Davies well remarks, to *a se invicem dividit*. The terms *rei publicæ* have reference to Rome, and *communis salutis* to the Remi. The army of the Gauls would amount, when united, to 300,000 men, to oppose which Cæsar had, at farthest, but 60 or 70,000. It was all important, therefore, to prevent a junction

6. *Atque ibi castra posuit.* For an account of the Roman camp consult Archæological Index.

7. *Quæ res.* "This position."—*Post eum.* Referring to Cæsar Ciacconius, not understanding to what *eum* could here refer, changed it into *ea*. Davies, however, restored the true reading, although he himself errs in referring *eum* to *exercitum*.

8. *Cohortibus.* As there were ten cohorts in a legion, the number of men would range from 420 to 600, according to the size of the legion itself. Consult Archæological Index.

9. *Duodeviginti pedum.* "Of eighteen feet," i. e., in breadth. Supply *in latitudinem*. Stewecchius (*ad Veget.* 3, 8) thinks that we ought to read here XIX. instead of XVIII., in consequence of the rule which Vegetius lays down respecting an uneven number: "*imparem enim numerum observare moris est.*" Cæsar, however, followed his own rules. The Greek paraphrast makes the ditch 18 feet deep: ταφρεύματι δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα τὸ βάθος.

10. *Munire jubet.* Supply *suos*. The more usual, but less elegant, form would be *muniri jubet*. All military writers who allude to the position of Cæsar on the present occasion, speak of it in high terms of praise.

11. *Ex itinere.* "On their march." Compare the Greek version ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.—*Sustentatum est.* "The attack was supported."—*Gallorum eadem atque*, &c. "The manner of attack on the part of the Gauls, as well as the Belgæ, is as follows."

38 1. *Testudine facta.* "A testudo being formed." To form a *testudo*, the soldiers joined their shields above their heads, and those on the flanks locked theirs so as to defend their sides. This was done in order to secure themselves against the darts of the enemy, and from its resemblance to the form of a *testudo*, or "tortoise," it derived its military name. Under cover of this they came up to

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the gates, and tried either to undermine the walls or to scale them. 38
Consult Archæological Index.

2. *Portas succedunt.* That *succedere* is joined to an accusative as well as dative, is shown by Servius, ad Virg. Eclog. 5, 6, from Sallust, "*Cum murum hostium successisset.*" Consult *Oudendorp, ad loc.*

3. *In muro consistendi,* &c. "The power of standing on the wall was to no one," i. e., no one was able to stand on the wall.

4. *Summa nobilitate,* &c. "Of the highest rank and influence among his countrymen."—*Præerat.* "Was over," i. e., had the command of, or was governor of.

5. *Submittatur.* Some of the MSS. have the simple *mittatur*, but *submittatur* is preferable, as it denotes the sending secretly and unobserved by the foe.

6. *De media nocte.* "Soon after midnight."—*Iisdem ducibus,* &c. "Having used for guides the same persons who had come as messengers from Iccius."

7. *Numidas.* The Numidians were ranked among the light armed troops. (Compare chapter 10.) The Cretans were remarkable for their skill in archery. Compare *Aelian, V. H.* 1, 10, Οἱ Κρῆτες εἰσὶ τοξεύειν ἀγαθοί. The inhabitants of the Balearic islands (Majorca and Minorca) were excellent slingers. Consult Geographical Index, s. v. *Numidia,* and *Baleares.*

8. *Quorum adventu,* &c. "By the arrival of whom, both courage to ward off the attack, together with the hope of a successful defence, was added to the Remi, and, for the same reason, the expectation of making themselves masters of the town departed from the enemy," i. e., the Remi were inspired with fresh courage, and with the hope of finally beating off the enemy, while the latter, on their part, now despaired of accomplishing their object.

9. *Quos.* In the masculine as the worthier gender, but referring, in fact, to both *vicis* and *ædificiis.* The construction of *adire* with an accusative is of common occurrence.

10. *Omnibus copiis.* Without the preposition *cum,* as in chapters 19 and 33. The preposition, however, is more commonly added.

11. *Et ab millibus,* &c. "And encamped within less than two miles of him."

12. *Et propter eximiam,* &c. "And on account of their high reputation for valour."—*Prælio supersedere.* "To defer a battle."

13. *Solicitationibus periclitabatur.* "Strove to ascertain by fre-

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38 quent trials." *Solicitationibus* is here equivalent in fact to *levibus prœliis*.

14. *Adversus.* "Towards the enemy," i. e., on the side facing the enemy.—*Quantum loci*, &c. "As far as our army, when drawn up in line of battle, was able to occupy."

15. *Ex utraque parte*, &c. "Had a steep descent on both sides." Literally, "had descents of side on either part." *Dejectus* is here used for *dejectio*. Compare *Livy*, 9, 2, "*Angustias septas dejectu arborum saxorumque ingentium objacente mole invenerunt*."

16. *Et frontem leniter fastigatus*, &c. "And in front, gently sloping, sank gradually to the plain." *Fastigatus* is properly applied [illegible] pyramidical form, and terminates in a slender or spiral top. It here refers, however, [illegible] the descent or slope of the hill. With *frontem* supply *quoad*.

17. *Ad extremas fossas.* "At the extremities of the ditch," i. e., at each end.—*Tormenta.* "Military engines," i. e., *Catapultæ*, and *Balistæ*, for throwing large stones, heavy javelins, &c. These would be analogous to our modern batteries.

39 1. *Quod tantum*, &c. "Since they could do so much by their numbers," i. e., were so powerful in numbers.—*Pugnantes.* "While engaged in the fight."

2. *Si qua opus esset.* "If there should be need in any quarter." With *qua* supply *parte*. Some editions have *si quid*, others *si quo*. The Greek paraphrast has εἴ τι δέον εἴη.

3. *Palus non magna.* "A marsh of no large size."

4. *Expectabant.* "Waited to see."—*Ut impeditos*, &c. "Were ready under arms to attack them in their disorder," i. e., while more or less embarrassed in their movements by the attempt to cross. Compare the Greek paraphrase: ἀμφὶ τοῦτο ἀσχολουμένοις.

5. *Secundiore equitum*, &c. "The battle of the cavalry proving more favourable to our men," i. e., our men having the advantage in the battle of the horse. The common text has *equitum nostrorum*, which savours of a gloss.

6. *Demonstratum est.* Compare chapter 5.

7. *Si minus potuissent.* "In case they should not be able to do this."—*Ad bellum gerendum.* "For carrying on the war."—*Prohiberentque.* "And might cut off."

8. *Levis armaturæ Numidas.* These were armed merely with javelins, and, instead of a buckler, merely extended a part of their attire with their left hand. Compare the graphic description of Livy (35, 11), "*Nihil primo aspectu contemptius. Equi homi*

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nesque paulluli et graciles: discinctus et inermis eques, præter- 39 *quam quod jacula secum portat: equi sine frænis: deformis ipse cursus, rigida cervice et extento capite currentium.*" So also Claudian, *Bell. Gild.* 15, 435, seq.

> "*Non contra clypeis tectos, gladiisque micantes*
> *Ibitis, in solis longe fiducia telis:*
> *Exarmatus erit, quum missile torserit, hostis.*
> *Dextra movet jaculum, prætentat pallia læva,*
> *Cætera nudus eques.*"

9. *Impeditos.* "Embarrassed in their movements.' Compare note 6, page 53.

10. *Audacissime.* Plutarch's language is at variance with this, since he makes the Gauls to have fought badly. (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 20), αἰσχρῶς ἀγωνισαμένους.

11. *Oppido.* Referring to Bibrax.—*Se fefellisse.* "Had disappointed them."

12. *Quorum in fines.* "Into whosesoever territories."—*Suis* Referring to the respective territories of each.

1. *Et domesticis copiis*, &c. "And might avail themselves of 40 the supplies of provisions which they each had at home." *Domesticis copiis* is here put for *domestica copia.*

2. *Hæc quoque ratio.* "The following consideration also."—*Divitiacum atque Aeduos*, &c. They had done in conformity with the request of Cæsar. Compare chapter 5.

3. *His.* Referring to the Bellovaci. They were desirous of returning home, and defending their territories against the threatened attack of the Aedui.

4. *Nullo certe ordine neque imperio.* "In no fixed order and under no regular command," i. e., in no order and under no discipline.

5. *Cum sibi*, &c. "Each striving to obtain the foremost place on the route."—*Consimilis.* "Very like." *Consimilis* is stronger in meaning than *similis*, and not merely a more sonorous term (*vox sonantior*), as Forcellini maintains.

6. *Insidias veritus.* Cæsar feared an ambuscade, because very little acquainted with the country. Compare *Dio Cassius*, 39, 2, Καῖσαρ δὲ ᾔσθετο μὲν τὸ γιγνόμενον, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε δὲ σφᾶς εὐθὺς, ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν χωρίων, ἐπιδιῶξαι.

7. *Cum ab extremo agmine*, &c. "While those in the rear, with whom our men first came up, made a stand," &c.

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40 8. *Perturbatis ordinibus.* "Having broken their ranks."—*Præsidium.* "Their safety."

9. *Quantum fuit diei spatium.* "As the length of the day allowed." More literally, "as much as there was space of day."

10. *Destiterunt.* Supply *interficere.* The later editions have *destiterunt sequi*, an inferior reading.

11. *Ex itinere.* "On his way," i. e., on the line of march.—*Paucis defendentibus.* "Although only a few defended it," i. e., although the garrison was weak.

12. *Vineas agere.* "To move forward the *vineæ.*" The *vineæ* were mantlets or sheds, under which the besiegers worked the battering ram, or else approached the walls to undermine them. Consult Archæological Index.

41 1. *Aggere jacto.* "A mound being thrown up." The *agger* was a mound or rampart composed of earth, wood, hurdles, and stones, which gradually increased in height towards the town, until it either equalled or overtopped the walls. Towers were erected on it, from which the soldiers threw darts or stones on the besieged by means of engines. Consult Archæological Index.

2. *Turribusque constitutis.* "And towers being erected on it." The Romans had two kinds of military towers, those that were erected on the mound, and which are here meant, and those that were built at some distance from the besieged place, and were moved up to it on wheels. Consult Archæological Index.

3. *Operum.* "Of the works." Referring to the *agger*, *turres*, &c.—*Celeritate.* "The despatch."—*Impetrant.* "They obtain this," i. e., that their lives should be spared.

4. *Galbæ.* Consult note 9, page 36.—*Duxit.* We have here given the reading of Oudendorp's smaller edition. The Bipont editor gives *ducit*, on the authority of several MSS., which is also followed by Daehne and others.

5. *Bratuspantium.* Scaliger and others think that this town was the same with Cæsaromagus, now *Beauvais.* But D'Anville is more correct in making it correspond to *Bratuspante*, an old place that once stood near *Breteuil* in *Picardie.* (*D'Anville, Geogr. Anc.* vol. i., p. 84.)

6. *Majores natu.* "The aged men," or, those advanced in years. Literally, "those greater (i. e., farther advanced) by birth."

7. *Passis manibus.* "With outstretched hands." *Passis* is from *pando.* Compare the Greek paraphrase: ἀνατεταμέναις ταῖς χεροῖν

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8. *Ad eum.* Referring to Cæsar.—*Facit verba.* "Speaks." 41
Literally, "makes words," i. e., a discourse. *Verba habere* is "to hold a conversation with one;" but *verba dare,* "to impose upon a person."

9. *In fide atque amicitia,* &c. "Had always been steady in their attachment and friendship to the state of the Aedui."—*Qui dicerent.* "Who had assured them."—*Omnes indignitates,* &c. "All manner of indignities and insults"

10. *Qui hujus,* &c. The order is, (Eos), *qui fuissent principes hujus consilii, profugisse in Britanniam, quod intelligerent,* &c.—*Principes.* "The authors." The prime movers.

11. *Non solum Bellovacos.* "That not only the Bellovaci themselves."—*Pro his.* "In behalf of these."—*Ut utatur.* "To exercise," i. e., to extend.

12. *Quorum auxiliis,* &c. "By whose aid and resources they (i. e., the Aedui) were accustomed, in case any war broke out, to support them," i. e., to support whatever wars happened to occur. *Quorum* refers to the Belgæ.

13. *Honoris Divitiaci,* &c. "Out of respect for Divitiacus and the Aedui." Literally, "for the sake of the honour of Divitiacus and the Aedui."

1. *His traditis.* "These hostages having been delivered." 42
Supply *obsidibus.*

2. *Nihil pati vini,* &c. Athenæus informs us, on the authority of Posidonius, that the wealthier Gauls were accustomed to drink the wines of Italy and Massilia, and these, too, unmixed. (*Ath. Deipnos.* 4, 36.—Vol. ii., p. 94, *ed. Schweigh.*)

3. *Ad luxuriam pertinentium.* These words are wanting in many MSS., but they are rendered by the Greek paraphrast, and are also given by Celsus.

4. *Increpitare et incusare.* "That they inveighed against and complained of."—*Patriamque virtutem projecissent.* "And had abandoned the bravery of their fathers." More literally, "had thrown away."

5. *Confirmare.* "That they resolutely declared."

6. *Sabim flumen.* Achaintre and Lemaire charge Cæsar with an error in geography here, and maintain, that, instead of *Sabim,* we ought to read either *Samaram,* or else *Scaldim,* more probably the latter. Their argument appears to be a plausible one.

7. *Adventum.* "The coming up."

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42 8. *Mulieres, quique*, &c. The order is, "*conjecisse mulieres, hominesque qui per ætatem viderentur inutiles ad pugnam*," &c.

9. *Eorum dierum*, &c. "The mode of marching, on the part of our army, during those days, having been carefully observed by them." More literally, "the custom of those days, in respect of the march of our army." As regards the construction of the genitive here, compare note 10, page 17. — *Perspecta.* Davies has edited *prospecta*, which is quite inappropriate.

10. *Neque esse quicquam negotii.* "And that there would be no difficulty." More literally, "and that it was no labour."

11. *Hanc sub sarcinis adoriri.* "In attacking this under its baggage," i. e., "in falling upon the soldiers of this legion while each of them was still bearing his load of baggage." By *impedimenta* are meant the heavier articles of baggage, such as tents, &c., whereas *sarcinæ* denotes the load which each soldier carried. The *impedimenta* were conveyed along by beasts of burden and wagons, but the *sarcinæ* formed part of the burden of each soldier. The load which each of them carried is almost incredible; provisions for fifteen days, sometimes more, usually corn, as being lighter, sometimes dressed food; utensils, such as a saw, basket, mattock, an axe, a reaping hook and leathern thong, a chain, a pot, &c., stakes, usually three or four, sometimes twelve, &c., the whole amounting to sixty pounds, not including the weight of his arms, for a Roman soldier considered these last, not as a burden, but as a part of himself. Under this load they commonly marched twenty miles a day, sometimes more. Compare *Cic. Tusc. Quæst.* 2, 37.

43 1. *Qua.* Supply *legione.*—*Reliquæ.* Supply *legiones.*

2. *Adjuvabat etiam*, &c. "It added weight also to the advice of those who brought this intelligence, that the Nervii from early times," &c.

3. *Ei rei student.* "Do they pay much attention to this," i. e., to the training of cavalry.—*Sed quicquid possunt*, &c. "But whatever they are able to do they effect by means of their foot-forces." With *valent* supply *efficere.*

4. *Incisis atque inflexis.* "Being cut in and bent," i. e., being half cut, so that they still continued to grow, the trees were then bent longitudinally, and their branches assumed a lateral direction.

5. *Crebris in latitudinem*, &c. "Numerous branches, and briers, and thorns intervening in a lateral direction." The branches are those of the young trees mentioned in the previous note. The intervals between these were filled up with briers and thorns, which

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intermingled, as they grew, with the boughs of the trees, and the whole formed an impervious kind of hedge, which answered all the purposes of a regular fortification. The common text has *enatis* after *ramis*, which Oudendorp and others reject very properly as a mere gloss. It does not appear in the best MSS.

6. *Non modo.* Put for *non modo non.* This ellipsis is of frequent occurrence. Compare *B. G.* 3, 4, and consult *Sanct. Min.* vol. ii., p. 293, *ed. Bauer.*

7. *Non omittendum,* &c. "That they ought not to neglect the advice which had been given them."

8. *Quem locum.* This species of repetition has already been alluded to. Compare note 7, page 4.

9. *Ab summo æqualiter declivis.* "Sloping with a regular descent from the summit."—*Collis nascebatur,* &c. "Another hill arose, over against and facing this," i. e., directly opposite. The two epithets *adversus* and *contrarius,* being nearly analogous, are used to impart additional force to the expression.

10. *Passus circiter ducentos,* &c. "Having the lower part clear and open for the space of about two hundred paces." In order to convey the true meaning of *apertus* here, we have rendered it by a double epithet. The literal meaning of the clause is, "open as to the lowest parts," *infima* being put for *quod ad infima loca.*

11. *Silvestris.* "So woody." Supply *ita.* The Greek paraphrast has δενδρῶδες μάλιστα.

12. *In aperto loco.* Referring to the lower part of the hill, where there were no trees.—*Secundum flumen.* "Along the river."—*Stationes equitum.* "Troops of horse on guard."

13. *Ratio ordoque,* &c. "The plan and order of the march was different from what the Belgæ had mentioned to the Nervii." More literally, "had itself otherwise than the Belgæ had mentioned," &c.

14. *Expeditas.* "Free from all encumbrance," i. e., who had laid aside the load of baggage which each soldier was accustomed to carry on the march. Compare note 11, page 42.

15. *Duæ legiones.* "The two legions."—*Totum agmen claudebant.* "Closed the whole line of march," i. e., brought up the rear.

16. *Identidem.* "From time to time," i. e., every now and then.

17. *Quem ad finem.* "As far as."—*Porrecta ac loca aperta.* "The clear and open ground." *Porrecta* literally refers to what stretches out in front, and is free from any obstacle or impediment.

18 *Opere dimenso.* "The work having been measured out,

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43 i. e., a space of ground having been marked out for an encampment *Opus* here refers to all the labour requisite for fortifying.

44 1. *Prima impedimenta.* "The first part of our baggage-train." Referring to the wagons which conveyed the heavier baggage, and, on this particular occasion, a part also of the individual burdens of the soldiery.

2. *Quod tempus*, &c. "Which had been agreed upon between them as the time for joining battle."—*Ita ut intra silvas*, &c. 'They on a sudden darted forth, with all their forces, in the same order in which they had posted their line of battle and ranks within the woods, and as they themselves had encouraged each other to do.' *Confirmaverant* refers to previous concert and mutual exhortation.

3. *Proturbatis.* "Repulsed." The early reading was *perturbatis*, which, of course, is far inferior. Faernus restored the true lection from an old MS. Compare Frontinus (2, 2, 4): "*Equitatum pedites proturbantem.*" The primitive meaning of *proturbo* is to push off, or from, one.

4. *In manibus nostris.* "Close at hand." The phrase properly denotes, that the enemy were so near that they could almost be touched by the hand. Compare Sallust, *B. I.* 57: "*Cupere prælium in manibus facere;*" and Lipsius, *Var. Lect.* 2, 13: "*In manibus esse, nisi fallor, dixit præsentes esse, et ita propinquos ut pæne manibus tangi possent.*"

5. *Adverso colle.* "Up the hill," i. e., up the opposite hill, or the one facing that down which they had rushed.

6. *Vexillum proponendum.* "The standard to be displayed." This was of a crimson colour, and was displayed on the prætorium or general's tent. Plutarch, in his life of Fabius, c. 15, calls it χιτὼν κόκκινος, and in that of Marcellus, c. 26, φοινικοῦς χιτών, and it appears to have been, in fact, nothing more than a crimson cloak or chlamys attached to the top of a spear, χιτὼν being used here by Plutarch in the sense of χλαμύς. Compare *Schneider*, *Lex. s. v.* and *Lipsius*, *Mil. Rom.* lib. 4, dial. 12, *sub init.*

7. *Signum.* "The signal of battle." The signal for the conflict to commence; and hence the Greek paraphrast renders it by τὸ πολεμικόν.—*Tuba.* Consult Archæological Index

8. *Aggeris petendi causa.* "In order to seek materials for the mound."—*Milites cohortandi.* Referring to the harangue, or short address to the troops before the action commenced.

9. *Signum dandum.* "The word to be given." This is the

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battle-word, called otherwise in Latin *tessera*, and in Greek *σύνθημα*, 44
as the Greek paraphrast here correctly renders it. The object of giving the word was, that the soldiers might be able to distinguish those of their own side from the enemy, in case night should come on before the battle was over, or they should be separated from each other. The word was generally some auspicious term or name, such as *Victoria*, or *Libertas*, or *Jupiter Servator*, &c.

10. *Successus et incursus.* "The near approach and onset." Cæsar is fond of using terms nearly synonymous, one of which serves in some degree to explain the other. Thus we have "*patienda et perferenda*," *B. G.* 7, 30, and "*extremum et ultimum*," *B. C.* 1, 5, &c.

11. *Erant subsidio.* "Proved of advantage."—*Scientia et usus.* "The knowledge and experience."—*Exercitati.* "Having been practised."

12. *Singulisque legionibus.* "And from their respective legions."—*Nisi munitis castris.* "Unless the camp was previously fortified," i. e., until after the fortifications of the camp were finished.

13. *Nihil jam*, &c. "No longer now looked for any command from Cæsar," i. e., no longer waited for any orders from him. Count Turpin de Crissé very justly censures Cæsar, 1. for leading his archers, slingers, and cavalry across the Sabis, before his camp was at all fortified; 2. for not having reconnoitred the wood, before he attacked the enemy's horse at the bottom of the hill; 3. for rashly joining battle with the enemy on disadvantageous ground, when he ought to have kept his light troops on this side the stream, until the wood was reconnoitred and a suitable ford was found, and should have had one legion at the foot of the hill to support them if attacked. The experience of the Roman soldiers alone saved the army from utter defeat.

14. *Quam in partem*, &c. "In the direction which chance first presented." The common text has *sors*, which will not at all answer here.

15. *Quam quo telum*, &c. "Than whither a dart could be made to reach." *Adjicere telum* is to throw in such a manner that the weapon reaches its destined object.

16. *Pugnantibus occurrit.* "He found them already fighting." Literally, "he met with them," or "came in contact with them."

17. *Exiguitas.* "The scantiness," or "shortness."

1. *Ad insignia accommodanda.* "For fitting the military insignia to their helmets.' The insignia here alluded to were the 45

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45 skins of wild animals, such as bears, wolves, &c. Compare *Polyænus*, 6, 22. Lipsius is wrong, in thinking that Cæsar here refers in particular to crests. (*Anal. ad Mil. Rom.* dial. 2.)

2. *Sed etiam ad galeas induendas.* "But even for putting on their very helmets themselves." Oudendorp prefers *inducendas*, the reading of some MSS. and editions, as the more recondite term, and, therefore, the most likely to be the true reading, and to have been driven from the text by a glossarial interpretation. But the Greek paraphrast settles the point for us by his use of ἐνδύεσθαι The Roman soldiers, when on the march, generally had their helmets hanging down on their breasts or backs, and replaced them on their heads when about to attack or be attacked.

3. *Tegumenta.* These covers were made of leather, and were put upon the shields in order to preserve the polish and ornaments of the latter. They are called by Cicero (*N. D.* 1, 14), "*Clypeorum involucra.*" The Roman soldiers were very fond of painting and otherwise adorning their shields, and Suetonius informs us, that Cæsar's soldiers in particular used to ornament their armour with silver and gold. (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 67. Compare *Polyænus*, 8, 28.)

4. *Ad hæc constitit.* "By these he took his station."—*In quærendo suos.* We have here adopted the reading of one of Scaliger's MSS. It is far superior to the common lection *in quærendis suis.*

5. *Pugnandi tempus dimitteret.* "He might throw away the time of fighting."

6. *Dejectus.* "The declivity," or slope.—*Necessitas temporis.* "The urgency of the occasion."—*Ratio atque ordo.* "The principles and systematic arrangement."

7. *Prospectus impediretur.* "The view in front was obstructed." —*Neque certa subsidia collocari.* "Neither could any succours be placed anywhere with certainty."

8. *Administrari.* "Be given."—*In tanta rerum iniquitate* "In so adverse a posture of affairs."

9. *Legionis nonæ et decimæ.* "Of the ninth and tenth legions." Some MSS. and editions have *legionum nonæ et decimæ*, of which Oudendorp does not disapprove, though he retains the ordinary lection. The Greek paraphrast has δεκάτου τε καὶ ἐννάτου τάγματος.

10. *Ut in sinistra*, &c. "When they had taken their stations on the left part of the line." *Acie* is here the old form of the genitive, for *aciei*. Oudendorp restored this reading from MSS. Com-

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pare the remark of Aulus Gellus: "*Caius Cæsar, in libro de Analogia secundo, hujus die et hujus specie dicendum putat.*" 45

11. *Exanimatos.* "Panting," i. e., almost breathless. Cæsar frequently employs this term to denote those who with difficulty draw their breath through fatigue and exhaustion.

12. *Nam his*, &c. "For that part of the enemy had fallen to the lot of those," i. e., it was their lot to come in contact with that part of the foe. By *his* are meant the soldiers of the ninth and tenth legions.

13. *Impeditam.* "While impeded in their movements by the stream."

14. *Diversæ duæ legiones.* "Two other legions," i. e., two legions *different* from those just mentioned. Compare the Greek [illegible] ἄλλα τάγματα.

15. *Ex loco superiore.* [illegible] descended from the higher ground."

16. *At tum.* "At this stage of the fight, however." Compare the explanation of Oudendorp, "*eo tempore, et ea re.*" Some of the MSS. have *attonitis* for *at tum totis*, without any sense whatever, while many of the later editions give merely *ac totis*. Our present reading *at tum totis* is due to the ingenuity of Oudendorp.

17. *A fronte*, &c. The eleventh and eighth legions had occupied a position in front of the camp, but had been drawn off by their pursuit of the Veromandui, and were now fighting on the banks of the stream. In like manner, the ninth and tenth legions, which had served as a guard for the left of the camp, were gone in pursuit of the Atrebates.

18. *Cum in dextro cornu*, &c. "The twelfth legion having taken up a position on the right wing, and the seventh also at no great distance from it." This remark is added by Cæsar, in order to show where the two remaining legions were, which, together with the four already mentioned, were employed in fortifying the camp when the attack was made.

19. *Aperto latere.* "On their unprotected flank." The right flank of the twelfth, and the left of the seventh, were exposed, the latter in consequence of the advance of the other legions which had occupied the centre and left of the line.

20. *Summum castrorum locum.* "The summit on which stood the camp." Compare the Greek paraphrast, πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τειχέων ἔφξατο. So also in chap. 24, we have, "*ab decumana porta ac summo jugo collis*"

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45 21. *Levisque armaturæ pedites.* The same with the *velites* Consult Archæological Index.

22. *Dixeram.* *Vid.* chapter 19.—*Adversis hostibus occurrebant.* "Met the enemy in front," i. e., face to face. The enemy were now in the Roman camp, and the cavalry and light-armed troops met them as they entered.

46 1. *Aliam in partem,* &c. The more usual form of expression is "*Aliam partem fuga petebant,*" and Ciacconius thinks we should read so here. The expression *fugam petere,* however, as Davies remarks, is one occasionally met with in the best writers. Compare *Virg. Æn.* 12, 263. *Liv.* 9, 23. *Ov. A. A.* 1, 552, &c.

2. *Calones.* "The soldiers' servants." The *calones,* in general, merely followed the army as attendants upon the soldiers. Occasionally they were not allowed at all. At other times, again, they formed no bad kind of troops, from their familiarity with the Roman exercise. Compare, as regards this latter point, the remarks of Josephus, *B. I.* 3, 4.

3. *Decumana porta.* "The Decuman gate." This was the name of the gate in the rear of the Roman camp, and was, on this occasion, of course, the farthest from the enemy. It derived its name from the circumstance of the *tenth* cohorts in the legion having their tents in its immediate vicinity. Compare the words of Lipsius (*Mil. Rom.,* 5. 5.), "Decumana *a cohortibus decimis, ibi tendentibus, sic dicta.*"

4. *Versari.* "To be busily employed." *Versari* may otherwise be considered here as equivalent merely to the simple *esse.*—*Præcipites fugæ,* &c. "Consigned themselves headlong to flight."

5. *Aliique aliam in partem,* &c. "And, being greatly alarmed, they were carried some in one direction, others in another," i. e., they betook themselves to flight in different directions.

6. *Quorum inter Gallos,* &c. "Of whose valour there is a peculiarly high opinion among the Gauls."

7. *Diversos dissipatosque.* "Each in a different quarter, and scattered here and there." *Diversos* is here equivalent to *alios alio loco.*

8. *Ab decimæ legionis cohortatione.* Lipsius (*Elect.* 2, 7) boldly, but without any authority, conjectures *cum decimæ legionis cohorte.*

9. *Urgeri.* "To be hard pressed." *Signis in unum locum collatis.* "The standards having been brought together into one

place," i. e, in consequence of their having been brought, &c.— 46
Sibi ipsos. More elegant than *sibi ipsis*, the common reading.

10. *Omnibus centurionibus.* There were six centurions in each cohort.—*Signo amisso.* To lose the standards was esteemed very disgraceful among the Romans, and the standard-bearer was punished with death, if the loss was occasioned by any misconduct of his. Sometimes a commander, in order to urge on his soldiers, threw the standard into the midst of the foe. Compare *Lips. Mil. Rom.* 4, 5

11. *Primopilo.* "The chief centurion of the legion." The first centurion of the first maniple of the Triarii received this name. He was also called *primus pilus*, was intrusted with the eagle or main standard of the legion, ranked among the equites as regarded pay, and had a place in the council of war with the consul and tribunes.

12. *Ut.* "So that."—*Tardiores.* "Less active in their exertions."—*Et nonnullos*, &c. "And that some in the rear, being deserted by their leaders," i. e., having no leaders or inferior officers to urge them on to the fight.

13. *A fronte.* "In front."—*Subeuntes.* "Coming up."

14. *Et rem esse in angusto.* "And that affairs were desperate." Supply *loco*, and compare the Greek paraphrast : *καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤδη ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ εἶναι.* Appian (*de Reb. Gall.* 4) makes Cæsar to have been for a time completely encompassed on the hill by the forces of the Nervii : *εἰς λόφον τινὰ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν πεφευγότα περιέσχον κύκλῳ (οἱ Νέρβιοι).*

15. *Ab novissimis*, &c. "Having been snatched by him from a soldier in the rear." *Uni militi* is by a Hellenism for *ab uno milite.* According to Florus (3, 10), the soldier was at the time in the act of fleeing from the battle. Celsus, however, makes him to have been contending with but little spirit.

16. *Signa inferre*, &c. "He ordered the troops to advance and open their files." Literally, "to extend, or widen, their maniples." They had been previously crowded together; he now ordered them to station themselves apart, or at intervals from each other, and in this way to keep the maniples distinct.

17. *Cujus.* Equivalent to *hujus*, as it begins the clause. The common text has *hujus*, but it is less elegant.—*Redintegrato animo.* "Their courage having revived." Literally, "being renewed."

18. *Pro se.* "To the best of his ability." Equivalent to *pro sua virili parte.*—*In extremis suis rebus.* "In the last extremity

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46 of their affairs," i. e., when their affairs were in the last extremity. Compare the Greek paraphrast: ἐν τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις πράγμασι.

47 1. *Legiones.* The seventh and twelfth.—*Et conversa signa,* &c. "And should advance with a double front against the foe." *Convertere signa* properly means, "to face about," and the literal signification of the clause, therefore, is, "should advance the standards turned about against the foe." It must be borne in mind, however, that, when the legions united, the seventh formed in the rear of the twelfth. When, therefore, the word was given, *convertere signa,* the seventh faced about against the foe in their rear, and the two legions then stood back to back, the twelfth having continued all the time facing in front. In this way *conversa signa inferre,* which, elsewhere, would mean "to face about and advance," gets here the signification, "to advance with a double front." The passage is generally misunderstood by commentators, but the meaning is well expressed by Count Turpin de Crissé: "*César ordonne aux officiers de faire joindre peu à peu les deux légions, et, réunies, de s'adosser l'une à l'autre, faisant front de tous les côtés.*"

2. *Ne aversi,* &c. "Lest, being turned away, they should be surrounded by the enemy," i. e., of being attacked behind and surrounded. Their rear was defended by the other legion, who now stood with their backs towards them, and fronting the foe.

3. *Cursu incitato.* "Advancing at full speed." Literally "their pace being quickened."

4. *Decimam.* Plutarch erroneously makes it the twelfth.

5. *Versaretur.* "Were." Equivalent to *esset.*—*Nihil ad celeritatem,* &c. "Made all the haste they could." Literally, "caused nothing to remain unaccomplished by them as regarded speed." The Greek paraphrast gives this elegant expression rather tamely οὐδὲν ἀνίεσαν τῆς ταχύτητος.

6. *Procubuissent.* "Had reclined upon the ground."—*Scutis innixi.* "Having supported themselves on their shields."

7. *Etiam inermes,* &c. "Even though unarmed encountered them armed."—*Delerent.* "They might wipe away."

8. *Omnibus in locis,* &c. "Put themselves forward in every quarter for the fight before the legionary soldiers," i. e., strove to surpass them in valour. The common text has *omnibus in locis pugnabant, quo se,* &c., which is not a bad reading.

9. *Præstiterunt.* "Displayed."—*Jacentibus insisterent.* "Stood on them as they lay."—*His.* Referring to those just mentioned who had been standing on, and fighting from, the bodies of their countrymen

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10. *Uti ex tumulo.* "As if from an eminence." Compare the Greek paraphrase: ὡς ἐκ τινὸς γηλόφου, "As from a kind of hill." 47

11. *Ut non nequidquam*, &c. "So that it ought to be concluded, that men of so great valour had not, without good reason, dared to cross a very broad river, ascend very high banks, enter upon a very disadvantageous position; for their resolute spirit had rendered these things easy from having been most difficult," i. e., their conduct on this occasion was not the mere result of a momentary impulse, but in perfect accordance with the opinion always entertained of their valour. *Nequidquam* is here equivalent to *frustra*, or *sine causa.* The Greek paraphrast renders it by μάτην.

12. *Redegerat.* In the sense of *reddiderat.* The term, as Davies observes, is one of uncommon occurrence, though used by Cæsar B. G. 4, 3, "*Vectigales sibi fecerunt ac multo humiliores infirmioresque redegerunt.*"

13. *Prope ad internecionem redacto.* "Being almost exterminated." Literally, "reduced to extermination." So *internecivum bellum*, "a war of extermination;" *internecivum odium*, "a deadly hatred," i. e., which is only to be satisfied by the destruction of one or other of the parties.

14. *Æstuaria ac paludes.* "The low grounds and fens." By *æstuaria* are here meant low grounds, in which the waters settle after an inundation or heavy rains. The term *æstuarium*, however, is generally applied to an estuary, or arm of the sea, where the tide ebbs and flows.—*Dixeramus.* Consult chapter 16.

1. *Nihil impeditum.* "That nothing was a hinderance," i. e. that nothing was too difficult.—*Victis nihil tutum.* "That nothing was safe for the vanquished." 18

2. *Suisque finibus*, &c. "And directed them to continue to occupy their own territories and towns," i. e., allowed them to retain their lands and towns.

3. *Itinere.* In one of the MSS. *itere* occurs, which is the old form of declining: viz., *iter*, *iteris*, *iteri*, &c.

4. *Oppidum.* Thought by D'Anville to have been situate on the hill where stands the modern *Falais.*

5. *Quod cum ex omnibus*, &c. "For while it had on every side round about, very steep rocks, and commanded a view of the country below." Literally, "very high rocks and lookings down."—*Quem locum.* Referring to the approach to the town.

6. *Ipsi.* The Aduatici.—*Ex Cimbris.* Appian erroneously makes this remark concerning the Nervii (*de Reb. Gall.* 4). Dio

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48 Cassius, on the other hand, gives the correct account, in accordance with Cæsar's (39, 4). *'Ατουατικοὶ ...... καὶ τὸ γένος τό τε φρόνημα τὸ τῶν Κίμβρων ἔχοντες.*

7. *Hominum.* After this word almost all the editions have *una* But it is difficult to conceive what need there is of it in the sentence, and it is more than probable that it arose from the careless repetition, on the part of some copyist, of the termination of *hominum.* It is found, however, in almost all the MSS. But still, as it does not appear in others, and is omitted by the Greek paraphrast, we have thrown it out from our text.

8. *Post eorum obitum.* "After the destruction of their countrymen." Referring to the disastrous overthrow of the Cimbri and Teutones by Marius.—*Exagitati.* "Having been harassed."

9. *Cum alias,* &c. "When at one time they made war on them, at another warded it off when made upon themselves," i. e., when at one time they acted on the offensive, at another on the defensive.

10. *Excursiones.* "Sallies."—*Parvulis præliis.* "In slight skirmishes."

11. *Pedum duodecim.* "Of twelve feet in height." Supply *in altitudinem.*

12. *Turrim.* This was a moveable tower, to be brought forward on wheels. Consult Archæological Index.

13. *Quo.* "For what purpose." This is the reading of Lipsius, Scaliger, and others. The MSS. and early editions have *quod.* Oudendorp thinks that perhaps *quoi* had been used here and elsewhere, for which *cui* was in later times the prevalent form.

49 1. *Præ magnitudine,* &c. "Compared with the large size of their own frames."—*In muros.* "Near the walls." Equivalent to *juxta muros.*

2. *Moveri et appropinquare.* "Was set in motion, and was approaching."—*Ad hunc modum.* "After this manner," or "to this effect."

3. *Non.* To be joined in construction with *sine.*—*Qui possent.* "Since they were able."

4. *Et ex propinquitate pugnare.* These words are omitted in many MSS. As they are retained, however, by others of good note, and are translated also by the Greek paraphrast, we have deemed it best to retain them.

5. *Unum petere ac deprecari.* "That they begged and earnestly entreated one thing."—*Pro sua clementia,* &c. "In accordance

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with his wonted clemency and compassion."—*Audirent.* The subjunctive is here used, because it refers to the sentiments of the speakers, not to those of the historian, and hence *audirent* is equivalent, in fact, to "had heard, as they said." 49

6. *Sibi præstare.* "That it was better for them."—*Si in eum casum deducerentur.* "If they should be reduced to that state." More literally, "to that unhappy condition."

7. *Per cruciatum interfici.* "To be tortured to death."

8. *Magis consuetudine,* &c. "In accordance rather with his usual custom, than from any merit on their part," i. e., than because they were at all deserving of lenity.—*Aries.* Consult Archæological Index. The Romans generally spared those who surrendered before the battering-ram struck their walls.

9. *In Nerviis.* "In the case of the Nervii." The common text has *in Nervios,* which is an inferior reading. Consult *Burmann, ad Quintil. Decl.* 15, 6.

10. *Facere.* The present with the force of the future. Consult *Sanct. Min.* 1, 14, and *Perizonius, ad loc.*

11. *Muri aggerisque.* The wall was that of the town, while the *agger* or mound was that of the Romans. The arms were cast between the wall and mound.

12. *Sub vesperum.* "Towards evening."

1. *Præsidia deducturos.* "Would draw off the guards."—*Aut denique,* &c. "Or, at least, would keep watch less carefully than usual." *Denique* is here equivalent to *saltem.* Compare Seneca, *de Ira,* 3, 18, "*Quid instabat? quod periculum aut privatum aut publicum una nox minabatur? quantulum fuit, lucem exspectare? denique ne senatores Populi Romani soleatus occideret.*" 50

2. *Pellibus induxerant.* "They had covered with hides."—*Tertia vigilia.* The third watch began at twelve and ended at three.

3. *Ignibus.* "By signal-fires." Compare the Greek paraphrase, πυρκαϊαῖς.—*Proximis.* Nearest that part of the town from which the sally was made.

4 *Ita acriter,* &c. "As fiercely as it ought to have been fought by brave men," &c., i. e., with that spirit which might have been expected from brave men so situated.

5. *Occisis ad hominum,* &c. "About four thousand having been slain." The preposition is here to be rendered as an adverb, though, when the ellipsis is supplied, it will be found to govern a case as usual: thus, *occisis millibus hominum ad* numerum *quatuor* millium Compare the remarks of Perizonius, *ad Sanct. Min.* 1 16

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50 6. *Refractis portis.* "The gates being broken open." Stronger than the simple *fractis.*—*Quum jam defenderet nemo.* The early editions add *captum oppidum*, probably from a gloss.

7. *Sectionem ejus oppidi*, &c. "Cæsar sold all the booty of that town," i. e., sold all the inhabitants as slaves, and their effects along with them. The inhabitants constituted the principal booty of the place. The primitive meaning of *sectio* is a cutting, or dividing into small portions. It is then applied to the purchasing of the booty of a captured place, or of the goods of a condemned or proscribed person; because the purchaser, in such cases, bought by the quantity, and sold out in small portions to others, or, as we would say, by retail. Sometimes, however, as in the present instance, the term *sectio* is taken to denote the booty or goods themselves. Our own expression, "retail," from the French *retailler*, which is itself compounded of *re* and *tailler*, "to cut," illustrates very forcibly the peculiar meaning of *sectio.*

8. *Ab his qui emerant*, &c. "The return made to him by those who had purchased, was fifty-three thousand souls." Literally, "there was returned unto him, by those who had purchased, the number of fifty-three thousand heads." The highest bidders made returns to Cæsar of the number which they had respectively bought, and the sum total was 53,000. Compare the Greek paraphrase: οἱ δ' ὠνησάμενοι ἀριθμὸν εἶναι ἔφασαν ἀνδρῶν πεντακισμυρίων καὶ τρισχιλίων.

9. *Oceanum.* The Atlantic. The tribes referred to in the text were situated in the westernmost portion of Gaul, partly along the coast from the Liger (Loire) to the Sequana (Seine), and partly a short distance in the interior.

10. *Illyricum.* Cæsar's authority extended over Illyricum, which had been given him with the province of Gaul.

11. *Dies quindecim*, &c. "A thanksgiving for fifteen days was decreed." A *supplicatio*, or thanksgiving, was decreed by the senate, for any signal victory, and was solemnly made in all the temples. On such occasions, the senators and people at large, crowned with garlands, attended the sacrifices. A *lectisternium* also took place, couches being spread for the gods, as if about to feast, and their images being taken from their pedestals, and placed upon these couches, round the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes. Compare the language of Plutarch in relation to the present occasion (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 21). Ἡ σύγκλητος πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέρας ἐψηφίσατο θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ σχολάζειν ἑορτάζοντας.

BOOK III

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1. *Quo.* "By which." Supply *itinere.—Magnisque cum portoriis.* "And with heavy imposts." It was this circumstance that caused the articles, which were brought into Gaul by the traders, for the use of Cæsar's army, to command so high a price, and Cæsar, therefore, wished to lower this price, by breaking up the system of taxation which the inhabitants of the Alps had imposed upon all merchandise conveyed through their country. *Portorium* originally signified the duty levied on goods in a harbour (*in portu*), whence the name. The signification was afterward extended, and, as in the present instance, denoted the tax paid for liberty to carry goods through a particular country. 52

2. *Hic.* "This village." Supply *vicus.—Flumine.* Orosius, 6, 8, gives *torrente.* The Greek paraphrast omits the term.

3. *Eum locum.* "This latter part," i. e., that part of the village in which the cohorts were to have their winter quarters.

4. *Hibernorum.* "Of their wintering," i. e., of their being in winter quarters. The term *hiberna* usually signifies the winter quarters themselves; it is here, however, taken for the time of remaining in them.

5. *Id aliquot de causis,* &c. "It had happened, on several accounts, that the Gauls had suddenly formed the design of renewing the war and crushing the legion."

1. *Neque eam plenissimam.* "Which was not, in fact, a complete one." More literally, "nor it completely full." Equivalent to *et eam quidem non plenissimam.* Compare *Cic. Phil.* 2, 18, "*Certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva;*" and *Liv.* 5, 33, "*Præter sonum linguæ, nec eum incorruptum retinent.* By *legio plenissima* is meant one with the full complement of men as fixed by the usage or law of the day. This complement varied at different times. Consult Archæological Index, and compare note 23, page 5. 53

2. *Singillatim.* "Individually." Compare the explanation of Morus: *Singulorum militum, qui singuli discesserant.*

3 *Decurrerent.* "Should run down." Compare the Greek,

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53 ἑαυτῶν καταδραμουμένων.—*Ne primum quidem*, &c. The common text has *suum* after *impetum*, on the authority of some MSS., and *sustineri* instead of *sustinere*. The reading which we have adopted is far more elegant, and harmonizes with the Greek paraphrase: Οὐδὲ τὴν πρώτην σφῶν ὁρμὴν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δέξεσθαι. With *sustinere* we must supply *legionem illam*.

4. *Accedebat* "Another reason was." More literally, "to this was added."—*Suos ab se*, &c. "That their children were torn from them," &c.

5. *Sibi persuasum habebant.* "They were firmly persuaded." More literally, "they had it persuaded unto themselves."

6. *Cum neque opus*, &c. "As neither the labour of constructing winter quarters, and the requisite fortifications, were completed." More literally, "completely gone through with." Davies, Morus, and many other commentators, regard *opus hibernorum munitionesque* as a hendiadys for *opus munitionum hibernarum*, "the labour of fortifying winter quarters." This, however, is incorrect. *Opus hibernorum* refers to the erecting of suitable buildings to accommodate the soldiers, and also of hospitals, armories, workshops, &c., all of which were contained in the winter quarters of the Romans.

7. *Neque de frumento*, &c. "Nor had a sufficient supply of grain and other provisions been procured." More literally, "nor had sufficient provision been made with respect to grain and other sustenance."

8. *Neque subsidio veniri.* The verb *veniri* is here taken impersonally, *posset* being understood. "Neither could assistance come to them." Literally, "neither could it be come unto them with aid."

9. *Ad salutem contenderent.* "They should hasten to some place of safety."—*Majori tamen parti placuit.* "It pleased, however, the greater part," i. e., it was the opinion of the majority of the council.

10. *Hoc consilio.* Referring to the design, as recommended, of leaving their baggage behind, and sallying forth from their winter quarters.

11. *Rei eventum experiri.* "To await the issue." Literally, "to try the issue of the affair."

12. *Collocandis atque administrandis.* "For arranging and executing."—*Decurrere.* The historical infinitive for *decurrebant* So *conjicere* for *conjiciebant*, *repugnare* for *repugnabant*, &c. Compare note 8, page 10.

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13. *Gæsaque.* "And javelins." The *gæsum* was a Gallic jave- 53
lin, entirely of iron. Compare *Hesychius*, γαισὸς ἐμβόλιον ὁλοσίδηρον, and *Pollux*, 7, 33. The latter makes it to have been used also by the Africans. Servius is equally explicit, but terms it a Gallic weapon. "*Pilum, proprie est hasta Romana, ut Gessa Gallorum.*" Compare *S. Augustin, loc. de Josue*, lib. 6, "*Septuaginta interpretes, qui posuerunt Geson* (Jos. 8, 18), *miror, si et in Græca lingua hastum vel lanceam Gallicanam intelligi voluerunt, ea quippe dicuntur Gesa.*" Consult *Adelung, Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat.* vol. iii., p. 785.

14. *Integris viribus.* "While their strength was fresh."—*Frustra.* "In vain," i. e., without effect.—*Ex loco superiore.* "From the higher position which they occupied," i. e., from the rampart on which they stood.

15. *Eo occurrere.* "Thither they ran." *Occurro* here denotes, "to run up to and confront." Cæsar means, that, wherever danger presented itself, thither the Roman soldiers ran and met it.

16. *Sed hoc superari.* "But in this they were overcome," i. e. the enemy had in this the advantage over them.

17. *Quod diuturnitate pugnæ*, &c. "Because the enemy, wearied by the long continuance of their exertions, from time to time kept retiring from the battle, while others kept succeeding to them with fresh strength." *Pugna*, when opposed, as in the present instance, to *prælium*, denotes the closeness of the fight, and the physical exertions of the combatants. *Prælium*, on the contrary, expresses rather the state of the battle, in whatever manner conducted. *Pugna*, too, may be either long or short, with or without preparation; whereas *prælium* refers to a contest of some length, for which, generally, preparation is made. *Crombie, Gymn.* vol. i., p. 128.

1. *Paucitatem.* "Their smallness of number." Literally 54
"their fewness."—*Non modo.* Put for *non modo non.* Compare note 6, page 43.—*Sui recipiendi.* "Of recovering himself," i. e., of having his wound attended to, and of otherwise reinvigorating himself.

2. *Deficerent.* "Were failing."—*Atque.* "While."—*Languidioribusque nostris*, &c. "And, our men growing every moment more and more faint, had begun to hew down the rampart," &c.

3. *Ad extremum casum.* "To the last extremity."

4. *Primi pili centurio.* "The chief centurion of the legion," i. e., the first centurion of the first maniple of the *triarii.* *Primopilus* has already occurred in the second book (c. 25), as a military title

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54 applied to the oldest centurion (compare note 11, page 46). Here, however, though the same office is meant, the expression changes, and *centurio primi pili* is employed. In this latter case, the term *pilus*, from which *pili* comes in the genitive, stands for *centuria.* Thus, Forcellini remarks, "*Differunt autem* primipilus *et* primus pilus; *nam* primus pilus *est prima centuria;* primipilus *vero ejus centuriæ ductor.*" Compare *B. G.* 5, 35, "*Superiore anno primum pilum duxerat;*" and *Sueton. Calig.* 44, "*Plerisque centurionum, maturis jam, primos pilos ademit.*" The term *pilus* gets this meaning, from the circumstance of the soldiers composing it being armed with the javelin or *pilum.*

5. *Diximus.* Compare *B. G.* 2, 25.—*Tribunus militum.* Compare note 5, page 23, and consult Archæological Index.

6. *Unam esse spem salutis.* "That the only hope of safety was," i. e., that their only chance of saving themselves consisted in making a sally.—*Extremum auxilium.* "A last resource."

7. *Convocatis centurionibus.* The centurions were called together, in order that the necessary instructions might be passed through them to the soldiers.—*Celeriter milites,* &c. "He quickly gives orders to the soldiers through them." Literally, "informs the soldiers."

8. *Exciperent.* "To take up." Compare the Greek, φυλάττειν. As their own missiles had begun to fail them, they were directed to supply themselves, with a sufficient number for the intended sally, from the javelins cast by the enemy.

9. *Omnibus portis.* A Roman encampment had always four gates, *porta prætoria,* in front; *decumana,* in the rear, opposite the former; *principalis dextra,* on the right; *principalis sinistra,* on the left. Consult Archæological Index.

10. *Neque cognoscendi,* &c. "They allow the enemy no opportunity either of ascertaining what was doing, or of rallying themselves."

11. *In spem,* &c. "Had entertained the hope of getting possession of the camp." Literally, "had come into the hope."

12. *Plus tertia parte.* Celsus gives 10,000 as the number of the slain, Orosius 30,000.

13. *Fusis armisque exutis.* "Being routed and stripped of their arms."

14. *Alio consilio.* "With one view," i. e., for one purpose.—*Aliis occurrisse rebus.* "That he had encountered things very different from this," i. e., had been unexpectedly involved in matters

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very different from the object which had called him thither. He had come to make the route over the Alps safer and less expensive for the traders, but had met with things quite different in their nature, namely, an insurrection on the part of the Gauls, and hard fighting. He prudently resolved, therefore, to try fortune no farther. 54

1. *Omnibus de causis*, &c. "Cæsar had every reason to suppose that Gaul was reduced to a state of peace." More literally, "imagined from all reasons." Compare, as regards the force of *pacatam*, the Greek paraphrase: τὴν Γαλατίαν εἰρηνεῖσθαι. 55

2. *Atque ita*, &c. "And when he had, therefore, set out for Illyricum, in the beginning of winter." With *atque* supply *cum*. Some editions omit the preposition before *Illyricum*. This latter country, as has already been remarked, formed part of Cæsar's government.

3. *Mare Oceanum.* "The ocean," i. e., the Atlantic. *Oceanum*, added here to *mare*, shows the sense in which the latter term is to be taken, as referring, namely, to the Atlantic, and not to the Mediterranean. Compare Catullus, 115, 6, "*Usque ad Hyperboreos, et mare ad Oceanum;*" Pomp. Mela, 2, 6, "*Paulatim se in nostrum et Oceanum mare extendit;*" and L. Ampelius, lib. mem c. 1, "*Atque, ex qua mare Oceanum.*"

4. *Præfectos tribunosque militum.* By *præfecti militum* are here meant the officers of the allies, of equal rank with the *tribuni militum*, or officers of the Roman troops. Each Roman legion contained six *tribuni militum*, and each legion of the allies six *præfecti militum.* Consult Archæological Index.

5. *Dimisit.* They were not sent for the purpose of employing force, but to procure the corn by asking it from the Gauls. Hence the term *legati*, or "ambassadors," is applied to some of them in chapters 9 and 16.

6. *Scientia atque usu.* "In the knowledge and experience."—*In magno impetu maris atque aperto.* "Amid the strong and outspread ocean surge." Cæsar means, that the heavy swells of the Atlantic compelled the small Gallic vessels to keep close to the shore, and to run into the harbours of the Veneti whenever a storm threatened. This circumstance, of course, rendered them, in a manner, tributary to that nation. The term *aperto* is applied to the Atlantic in contradistinction to the Mediterranean, where there is land on every side. Forcellini explains *impetus maris*, in this passage, by "*Spatium et latitudo maris, ubi libere fertur impetu suo atque agi*

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55 *tatur*." So in Lucretius, 5, 201, *impetus coeli* is explained by Gifanius (*Collect.* p. 359) as meaning *celerrimus coeli ambitus.*

7. *Ipsi.* Referring to the Veneti.—*Vectigales.* "Tributary to them," i. e., the Veneti levied a regular tax or impost upon them.

8. *Ut sunt*, &c. "Since the resolves of the Gauls are always hasty and sudden." *Ut* is here employed in an explanatory sense. Consult *Tursellinus, de Part. Lat.* p. 448, *ed. Bailey.*

9. *Omnis.* The accusative plural for *omnes.* Some, with less propriety, make it the genitive singular, agreeing with *fortunæ.*

10. *Mallent.* There is no necessity for substituting *malint* Cæsar, on other occasions, also uses the imperfect subjunctive after the present tense: thus, *B. C.* 2, 39, "*Accelerat ut posset*;" *B. C.* 3, 109, "*Ut in potestate haberet, efficit*;" *B. Afr.* 37, "*Imperat ut essent præsto*," &c.

11. *Suos.* "His countrymen." Referring to those persons whom they had detained.

56 1. *Quod ipse aberat longius.* "Since he himself was at too great a distance," i. e., could not come at once to the scene of action and superintend the preparations in person.

2. *Naves longas.* "Vessels of war." The *naves longæ* were so called, from their being much longer than vessels of burden (*naves onerariæ*). They were impelled chiefly by oars, the ships of burden by sails. Consult Archæological Index.

3. *Remiges.* Freedmen and slaves were employed as marines and rowers.—*Institui.* "To be raised."

4. *Quantum in se*, &c. "How great a crime they had committed against themselves," i. e., how much they had injured themselves by their violation of the rights of the Roman ambassadors. (Compare note 5, page 55.) This conduct would recoil upon themselves.

5. *Quod nomen.* "A title, which," i. e., a class of persons who. We may very reasonably doubt, whether the persons here alluded to came under the denomination of ambassadors. Cæsar, however, was determined to regard them in this light, and, therefore, made their detention a plea for hostilities.

6. *Pro magnitudine.* "In proportion to the greatness."—*Hoc majore spe.* "With the greater confidence on this account."

7. *Pedestria esse itinera*, &c. "They knew that the approaches by land were interrupted by arms of the sea, and that access by sea was difficult through our ignorance of the country and the fewness of harbours." *Pedestria itinera*, literally, "the foot-roads." So

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navigationem impeditam, literally, "that navigation was embarrassed."

8. *Neque nostros*, &c. "And they were confident, that our armies could not remain for any length of time among them," &c.—*Ac jam, ut omnia*, &c. "And, besides, even though all things should turn out contrary to their expectations." *Ut* is here elegantly used for *quamvis*.

9. *Ac longe aliam*, &c. "And that the navigation was far other in a confined sea, than in a very wide and open ocean," i. e., was very different in a confined sea from what it was in a very wide, &c. The confined sea is the Mediterranean, to the navigation of which the Romans were accustomed.

10. *In Venetiam*. The accusative implies, that they were brought to the country of the Veneti from other quarters. The ablative would have denoted, that the vessels were already at different parts of the coast of that country, and were merely brought together to some general place of assemblage.

11. *Erant hæ*, &c. "Were such as we have already mentioned."

12. *Injuriæ retentorum*, &c. "The insolent wrong done in detaining Roman knights." *Injuriæ* is here what grammarians term the plural of excellence, and hence, in translating, is entitled to an epithet, in order to express its force more fully. The peculiar force of the genitive will also be noted by the student. Cæsar does not mean the wrong suffered by the Roman knights in their private capacity, but the insult offered to the state by detaining its ambassadors. The Greek paraphrase gives the meaning very clearly; ἥ τε εἰς Ῥωμαίους ὕβρις τοῦ τοὺς ἱππέας Ῥωμαίους κατασχεῖν.

13. *Defectio datis obsidibus*. "A revolt after hostages had been given." The student will mark the difference between *defectio* and *rebellio*. The former denotes a mere "revolt," or refusal of obedience to established authority. *Rebellio*, on the other hand, means "a renewal of hostilities."

14. *Hac parte neglecta*. "If this part were overlooked," i. e. the movements in this part of Gaul. Strabo (4, 4, p. 195, *Cas.*) assigns a reason, for the commencement of hostilities against the Veneti, far different from any here mentioned by Cæsar. He says that this nation were prepared to interfere with that commander's sailing to Britain, since they had this island as an emporium or mart: ἕτοιμοι γὰρ ἦσαν κωλύειν τὸν εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν πλοῦν, χρώμενοι τῷ ἐμπορίῳ.

15. *Novis rebus studere*. "Are fond of change." The refer-

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56 ence is in particular to changes of government or authority.—*Natu-ra libertati studere.* "Are naturally desirous of freedom"

57 1. *Auxilio.* The MSS., with only a single exception, give *auxilio.* This exception is in the case of one of the earliest of the number, which reads *in auxilio,* 'among the auxiliaries." If several MSS. confirmed this lection, observes Oudendorp, I should not condemn it.

2. *Cum cohortibus legionariis duodecim.* Each legion was divided into ten cohorts. Cæsar sent, therefore, one complete legion and two cohorts besides.

3. *Galliam.* Celtic Gaul is meant, or Gaul properly so called.—*Conjungantur.* "Become united," i. e., form a union against him.

4. *Qui eam manum,* &c. "To keep that force from effecting a junction with the rest." Literally, "to take care that that body of men should be kept separated or apart." Compare the Greek, τὴν ἐκείνων δύναμιν διείργειν.

5. *D. Brutum.* Not to be confounded with M. Brutus, one of the conspirators against Cæsar. Consult Historical Index.

6. *Situs.* "The situations."—*In extremis lingulis,* &c. "On the extreme points of tongues of land and promontories." The *lingulæ* are lower than the *promontorii.* Compare the remark of Festus: "Lingua *est Promontorii quoque genus non excellentis, sed molliter in planum devexi.*"

7. *Cum ex alto,* &c. "When the tide had come in from the deep," i. e., when it was full tide.—*Quod bis accidit,* &c. We have adopted the emendation of Bertius, as proposed by him in Sallengre's *Thesaurus Ant. Rom.* vol. ii., p. 948, namely, *viginti quatuor,* or XXIV., in place of the common reading, *duodecim,* or XII. The ordinary lection is a blunder either of Cæsar's or some copyist's, most probably the latter, since, where the motion of the water is free, as on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, the period which elapses between two successive tides is never less than twelve hours and eighteen minutes, nor more than twelve hours and forty-two minutes. Perhaps, after all, the reading of the Oxford MS. is the true one, which omits the word *bis,* but retains XII.

8. *Quod rursus,* &c. "Because when the tide again ebbed, the ships were thrown upon the shoals." With *minuente* supply *sese.* The student will note the expression *in vadis.* Cæsar uses this form and not *in vada,* to denote that the vessels not only struck upon the shoals, but remained there The expression *in vada,* on

the other hand, would refer merely to their striking. Morus, in his 57 *Index Lat.*, explains *adflictari* by *veluti hærentem teneri*, but, as we have just remarked, this idea is rather derived from *in vadis* than from the verb itself.

9. *Utraque re.* "By either circumstance," i. e., in either case, whether the tide were high or low.

10. *Magnitudine operis.* "By the greatness of our works."—*Superati.* Referring to the townsmen, and equivalent to *victi*, "overcome," or overpowered. Morus erroneously makes it the genitive singular, agreeing with *operis* in the sense of "completed," or, to use his own words, "*absoluti, ad finem perducti.*"

11. *Extruso mari*, &c. "The sea being forced out by a mound and large dams." We have here, in reality, a species of hendiadys The terms *agger* and *moles* both refer to the same works, the former denoting their intended military use, as a mound on which to erect towers and plant machines; the latter referring to their being made to serve also as a species of dike or dam against the waters of the ocean. Lipsius makes *extruso* equivalent here to *excluso*. In this he is wrong. It is more properly to be explained by *submoto ac veluti repulso.* Compare the Greek: ἐξωσθείσης χώμασι τῆς θαλάσσης.

12. *Atque his*, &c. "And these being almost made equal in height to the walls of the town." *His* refers to the mound and dams, or, keeping up still the idea of a hendiadys, to the mound itself.

13. *Appulso.* "Being brought to the spot." *Appellere* is, literally, to impel or bring to any place, by either oars or sails, or both.—*Cujus rei*, &c. "Of which kind of force they had a large supply. Compare the Greek: αὐτῶν (*scil.* νεῶν) εὐποροῦντες.

14. *Magnis æstibus*, &c. "Where the tides ran high, and where there were few and almost no harbours."

1. *Factæ armatæque erant.* "Were built and equipped." 58 *Arma*, besides its warlike reference, is used by the Latin writers for instruments or implements of every kind, and, when applied to a vessel, denotes the rigging and equipment, either in whole or in part, according to the context.

2. *Carinæ aliquanto planiores.* "Their bottoms considerably flatter."—*Excipere.* "To withstand." More literally, "to receive" the collision of. Compare the Greek paraphrase: ὑποφέρειν.

3. *Ad quamvis*, &c. "For the purpose of enduring any force and shock." *Contumelia*, as here applied to inanimate objects, denotes any shock, brunt, or violence.—*Transtra pedalibus*, &c.

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58 "The rowers' benches, of beams a foot in breadth, were fastened down with iron spikes, of the thickness of one's thumb."

4. *Pelles pro velis*, &c. "For sails they had raw hides, and thin dressed skins." *Aluta*, from *alumen*, "alum," with which it was dressed, denotes the skin or hide after it has been converted into leather by the process of tanning. *Pellis*, the raw hide, or a skin of any kind stripped off.

5. *Lini*. "Of canvass." Literally, "of linen."—*Eo*. "On this account."—*Quod est magis verisimile*. "As is more likely."

6. *Tanta onera navium*. "So heavy vessels."—*Satis commode*. "With sufficient ease," i. e., very readily, or easily.

7. *Cum his navibus*, &c. "The meeting of our fleet with these vessels was of such a nature, that the former had the advantage in agility only and the working of the oars," i. e., in engaging with them, our ships had no advantage but in agility, &c. Gruter suspects that *pulsu* has been received into the text from a gloss in the margin of some MS., because one MS. has *pulsu remorum incitatione*. His conjecture is very probably correct, as Cæsar, on such occasions, is accustomed to employ some part of *incitare* or *incitatio*; so that the true reading here would appear to have been *incitatione remorum*, or rather *remorum incitatione*. In either case, whether we have *pulsu* or *incitatione*, the literal reference is to the *impulse* given to the vessel by the oars, which we have rendered freely by the term "working."

8. *Reliqua*. "All other things."—*Pro*. "Considering."—*Illis*. Referring to the Gauls.

9. *Rostro*. "With their beak." Ships of war had their prows armed with a sharp beak, usually covered with brass, with which they endeavoured to run into their antagonists' vessel.

10. *Facile telum adjiciebatur*. "Was a dart easily thrown so as to reach." *Adjiciebatur* is equivalent here to *jaciebatur ad*.

11. *Minus commode*, &c. "They were less easily held by the grappling irons," i. e., the ships of the Veneti were too high to allow the grappling irons of the Roman vessels to be conveniently applied. We have given *copulis* (from *copula*) instead of the common reading *scopulis*. It is difficult to comprehend what the height of the Gallic vessels had to do with the rocks, but it is very easy to perceive the bearing which it has as regards the application of grappling irons. The reading *copulis* rests on the authority of the Palatine MS., and was first suggested by Hotomannus. It has been approved of by Bentley, Davies, Oudendorp, Morus, and many

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others Scaliger, in order to save the common lection, conjectured *incommode* in place of *commode*, but the original difficulty is not completely obviated by this emendation. Scaliger's reading, however, was followed by many editors until the time of Clark, who restored *commode*. 58

12. *Et se vento dedissent.* These words labour very justly under the suspicion of being a gloss, and, as such, they are enclosed within brackets by Oudendorp, in his smaller edition.

13. *In vadis consisterent tutius.* "Could lie with more safety among the shallows."

14. *Casus.* "The chances," or dangers. — *Extimescendi.* "Greatly to be feared."

15. *Neque his noceri posse.* "Nor could any serious injury be done them." *Noceri* is here used impersonally.—*Expectandum.* The common text has *expectandam*, for which we have given *expectandum*, with Drakenborch, on MS. authority. Consult *Drakenb. ad Liv.* 40, 38.

16. *Paratissimæ*, &c. "In the best order, and the best prepared with every species of equipment." *Arma* here refers to the sails, ropes, and other things of the kind, not to arms. The Greeks use ὅπλα frequently in the same way: ὅπλα, τὰ τῆς νεὼς σχοινία.

17. *Quam rationem pugnæ insisterent.* "What mode of fighting they should adopt." Ciacconius suggests *instituerent* for *insisterent*, but there is no necessity for the change. As Oudendorp remarks, the verb *insistere* involves the idea of ardour, zeal, and the most intense application to what we have in hand.

1. *Turribus autem excitatis.* "While if towers should be raised." 59
Ships, when about to engage, had towers erected on them, whence stones and missive weapons were discharged from engines.

2. *Satis commode.* "With sufficient effect."—*Gravius acciderent* "Fell with greater force."

3. *Falces præacutæ.* "Hooks with sharp edges towards the points." A description of these is given by Vegetius (4, 46), "*Falx dicitur acutissimum ferrum, curvatum ad similitudinem falcis, quod contis longioribus inditum, collatorios funes, quibus antenna suspenditur, repente præcidit,*" &c.

4. *Muralium falcium.* "Mural hooks," i. e., hooks used for pulling down the walls of besieged towns. Strabo calls them δορυδρέπανα.

5. *Comprehensi adductique erant.* "Were grappled and pulled towards us."

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59 6. *Armamentisque.* "And rigging." The term *armamenta* here refers to the ropes, sail-yards, &c.—*Omnis usus navium* All advantage from their ships."

7. *Reliquum erat certamen*, &c. "The contest afterward depended on valour." Literally, "the rest of the contest," &c.

8. *U nullum*, &c. "So that no action a little braver tnan ordinary could escape observation."

9. *Dejectis.* The sail-yards were thrown down (i. e., fell by reason of the ropes being cut), either upon the deck of the vessel, or into the sea. The common reading, *disjectis*, is erroneous, and does not suit the case. Compare the Greek paraphrase, *καταβληθέντων.*

10. *Cum singulas*, &c. "When two and three of our ships, at a time, had surrounded a single one of the enemy's." Some editors erroneously refer *binæ ac ternæ naves* to the Gallic vessels, and *singulas* to the Roman, giving *cum* the meaning of "although." The Greek paraphrast understands the passage correctly: *δύο ἢ τρεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων νῆες μίαν τῶν πολεμίων περιΐστασιν.*

11. *Transcendere in hostium naves.* "To board the enemies' ships."

12. *Quo ventus ferebat.* "Whither the wind bore them."—*Malacia, ac tranquillitas.* "Calm and stillness." Compare Festus: "Flustra *dicuntur cum in mari fluctus non moventur, quam Græci μαλακίαν vocant.*

13. *Singulas consectati*, &c. "Having pursued, took them one by one."—*Ut.* "Insomuch that."—*Hora quarta.* Answering to ten o'clock in the morning, according to our mode of reckoning time.

14. *Gravioris ætatis.* "Of more advanced years." The literal reference in *gravioris* is to the increasing burden of years.—*Aliquid consilii aut dignitatis.* "Aught of wisdom or respectability." —*Navium quod ubique fuerat.* "What of ships they had anywhere possessed."

60 1. *In quos eo gravius*, &c. "Cæsar determined to punish them with the greater severity."

2. *Sub corona vendidit.* "He sold as slaves." Various explanations are given to this phrase, some referring it to the circle or ring (*corona*) of Roman soldiers, who stood around the captives during the sale; others to the circumstance of the captives being ranged in a circle, the better to be inspected by purchasers; and others again explain it by the persons who were sold wearing garlands on their heads. This last appears to be the true reason

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from the language of Cælius Sabinus, and Cato, as quoted by Aulus Gellius (7, 4). The former remarks, "*Sicuti antiquitus, mancipia, iure belli capta, coronis induta veniebant, et idcirco dicebantur sub corona venire.*" So also Cato: "*Ut populus sua opera potius ob rem bene gestam coronatus supplicatum eat, quam re male gesta coronatus veneat.*" 60

3. *Quintus Titurius*, &c. Compare chapter 11.

4. *Atque his paucis diebus.* "A few days before also." Literally "within these few days."—*Aulerci Eburovices.* There were four nations or tribes of the Aulerci. Consult Geographical Index.

5. *Perditorum hominum.* "Of men of desperate fortunes." Literally, "of ruined men."

6. *Idoneo omnibus rebus.* "Convenient for all things." Compare the Greek paraphrase, πρὸς πάντα ἐπιτηδείῳ, and the explanation of Morus: "Idoneo omnibus rebus, *ratione omnium rerum.*"

7. *Duum.* Old form for *duorum.*

8. *Nonnihil carperetur.* "Was in some degree carped at," i. e., censured, found fault with.—*Præbuit.* "Gave rise to."

9. *Eo absente.* "In the absence of that individual." Alluding to Cæsar.—*Legato.* Ciacconius thinks *legato* superfluous here, but it is required, in fact, by the opposition of "*qui summam imperii teneret.*"

10. *Hac confirmata*, &c. "Having confirmed the enemy in their opinion of his cowardice." Literally, "this opinion of his cowardice being confirmed."—*Auxilii causa.* "Among the auxiliaries." Literally, "for the sake of aid."

11. *Proponit.* "Makes known to them." Literally, "lays before them."—*Quibus angustiis.* "By what difficulties."—*Neque longius abesse, quin*, &c. "And that at no more distant period than the very next night, Sabinus intends to lead forth his army secretly from the camp," &c. More literally, "and that it was not farther off, but that on the next night Sabinus intends," &c. The comparative form *longius* alters somewhat the usual force of the phrase. The ordinary phraseology is as follows: "*Haud multum abfuit quin interficeretur.*" "He wanted very little of being slain," i. e., was on the point of being slain.—*Non longe abest quin faciat.* "He is very near doing it."

1. *Multæ res.* "Many circumstances." Dio Cassius is here directly at variance with Cæsar, for he informs us, that the Gauls acted on this occasion without any reflection at all, being sated at the time with food and drink: πάνυ γάρ τοι διακορεῖς καὶ τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τοῦ ποτοῦ ἦσαν. 61

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61 2. *Perfugæ confirmatio.* "The positive assertion of the deserter."—*Inopia cibariorum.* Compare note 1.

3. *Spes Venetici belli.* "The expectations they had formed from the war of the Veneti," i. e., of Cæsar's being defeated by them. They were not aware that this war had already been brought to a close.

4. *Non prius Viridovicem,* &c. "They do not allow Viridovix and the other officers to leave the council, before," &c.

5. *Circiter passus mille.* "For about a mile."—*Magno cursu.* "With great speed."—*Quam minimum spatii.* "As little time as possible."

6. *Exanimati.* "Out of breath." *Exanimatus,* in other authors, generally has the meaning of "alarmed," "in consternation." The literal reference, however, is the same in either case, namely, that of excessive palpitation, or a difficulty in drawing the breath, whether the result of fear or exhaustion.

7. *Integris viribus.* "With their strength still fresh."—*Paucos* "But few."

8. *Sabinus.* Supply *certior factus est.*

9. *Nam ut ad bella suscipienda,* &c. Compare with this the language of Livy: "*Gallos primo impetu feroces esse, quos sustineri satis sit; eorum corpora intolerantissima laboris atque æstus fluere, primaque prælia plus quam virorum, postrema minus quam feminarum esse.*"

10. *Minime resistens.* "By no means firm." More literally, "by no means capable of resistance."

11. *Ex tertia parte Galliæ est æstimanda.* "Is to be reckoned as the third part of Gaul." We have an expression here (*ex tertia parte*) which is far from being either elegant or usual. If the text be correct, about which, however, there is considerable doubt, *ex tertia parte* must be regarded as equivalent to *pro tertia parte.* Some MSS. give *Gallia* instead of *Galliæ,* a reading which is very far from being a bad one.

12. *Paucis ante armis.* The event here alluded to happened in the war with Sertorius, whose side the Aquitani favoured. The Sertorian war had been ended twenty-seven years.—*Lucius Manilius.* One of the MSS. gives *Lucius Manlius,* and the Greek paraphrase has Λούκιος Μάλλιος. Lemaire reads *Lucius Mallius.*

62 1. *Quæ sunt civitates.* "Which are cities." *Civitas* generally has the meaning of "a state," but here that of *urbs.*—*His regionibus.* Referring to Aquitania, where Crassus was carrying on his

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operations. The common text had *Quæ sunt civitates, Galliæ provinciæ finitimæ, ex his regionibus*; but, as this was geographically false, the cities in question lying, not in Aquitania, but in the province itself, Ciacconius, by omitting *ex*, and changing the punctuation, gave us what is now the received and true reading.

2. *Quo plurimum valebant.* "In which they were very powerful."

3. *Tandem.* We have adopted here the reading of several MSS. and early editions in place of *tamen*, the common lection, and have, with Giani, placed a period after *cuperent*, where the other editions have a colon. Those who retain *tamen* give it the force of *tandem*, instances of which usage are occasionally found. It is better, however, to make the actual change at once, of *tandem* for *tamen*, when we can do so on MSS. authority. Scaliger conjectures *tandem tamen*. The Greek paraphrast has τέλος, which furnishes an additional argument in favour of *tandem*.

4. *Cuniculis ad aggerem*, &c. "Mines having been worked up to our mound and vineæ." The object of these mines was to destroy the Roman works, by either drawing away the earth from the mound, or by first propping up the roof of the mine with wooden supports, and then setting fire to these, in order that, when the props were burnt through, the superincumbent mass, and, along with it, the Roman works, might fall in.

5. *Cujus rei*, &c. "In which all the Aquitani are by far the most expert."—*Aerariæ secturæ.* "Copper mines." The commentators make a very great difficulty here about the true reading, and look upon *sectura*, in the sense of "a mine," as an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. The truth is, however, we may very easily obtain this meaning from *sectura*, if we only bear in mind its derivation from *seco*, for it will denote a place where they cut and follow the veins or lodes of copper. (Compare *Gesner, Thesaur. L. L.* s. v.) Those who are in favour of reading *stricturæ* find it no easy matter to fix its meaning in the present case. *Strictura*, according to Nonius (1, 77, and 12, 23), properly signifies a spark that flies off from a piece of metal struck with the hammer while red hot. It is then applied to a mass of metal in the furnace, and also to a mass of unwrought metal, and it is from this last that a signification is still farther sought to be obtained, about the correctness of which we may well entertain doubts, namely, "a mass of earth and stone from which ore is obtained by means of the furnace." This is the meaning which the advocates for *stricturæ* wish to give it in the

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62 present case. Another reading is *structuræ*, which is certainly superior to *stricturæ*, and may, after all, be the true lection, for it is found in some of the MSS.

6. *Nihil his rebus profici posse.* "That no advantage could be derived by them from these things."

7. *In ea re intentis.* "Were wholly engaged in this matter."

8. *Cum sexcentis devotis.* "With six hundred devoted followers, whom they call *Soldurii*." There is some doubt whether we ought to read here *Soldurios* or *Saldunas*. The term *Soldurii* is supposed to be of Celtic origin, *soldure*, and the same with the Welsh *sawldwr*, with which terms also the French *soldat* is connected, although some would derive it from the pay received, *a solidis, vel a soldo*. The other reading, *Saldunas*, finds some support from the language of Athenæus (6, 54), who, in quoting from Nicolaus Damascenus, calls the persons referred to in our text Σιλοδούνους, which Schweighaeuser, however, has changed to Σιλοδούρους, in order to reconcile it with the received text of Cæsar. It is worthy of remark, moreover, that in the Basque language *Saldi* means "a horse," and *Salduna* "a cavalier." Still, as Σιλοδούρους is explained in Athenæus by εὐχολιμαίους, which is equivalent to the Latin *devotos*, the reading *Soldurios* must not be disturbed. Consult *Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois*, vol ii., p. 14, and 391, *in notis*, and *Adelung, Gloss.* vol. vi., p. 277.

9. *Quorum hæc est conditio.* "The condition of whose association is this."

10. *Aut sibi*, &c. "Or make away with themselves." The primitive meaning of *consciscere* is to determine, or resolve, after previous deliberation either with one's self or another. It then gets the additional signification of "to put in execution, to bring about what has been determined upon." Hence the phrase *consciscere mortem sibi*, "to lay violent hands upon one's self," is well explained by Forcellini, "*nempe exsequi id quod deliberaveris et decreveris.*"

63 1. *Cum iis Adcantuannus.* These words are here added, for the sake of perspicuity, after the long parenthesis which intervenes, and hence the words *Adcantuannus cum sexcentis devotis*, in the beginning of the chapter, stand, as it were, absolutely.

2. *Tamen uti*, &c. "Obtained, notwithstanding, permission from Crassus to avail himself of the same terms of surrender with the rest."

3. *Barbari.* "These barbarous tribes." Referring to the Vo

vates and Tarusates.—*Et natura loci et manu.* "By both the nature of its situation and the hand of man," i. e., both by nature and art. 63

4. *Paucis diebus quibus*, &c. "In a few days after the Romans had come thither." The relative is here employed, agreeing with *diebus*, in place of the more usual form *postquam* or *ex quo* (*Zumpt L. G.* p. 307). With *ventum est* supply *a Romanis*, or *a nostris.*

5. *Citerioris Hispaniæ.* Hither Spain, the same with Hispania Tarraconensis, may be said, in general language, to have formed the northern part of the country, comprehending an extent equal to three fourths of modern Spain. The remaining part was called *Ulterior*, or Farther. The limits of each, however, are given with more accuracy in the Geographical Index.

6. *Magna cum auctoritate.* "With great confidence," i. e., with a high opinion of their own resources. Compare the explanation of Morus: "*Cum opinione majoris dignitatis auctarumque virium.*"

7. *Quinto Sertorio.* The famous commander.—*Omnes annos* "During all the years of his warfare in Spain."—*Summamque scientiam*, &c. They were thought to possess great military skill from their having served under so able a commander, and for so great a length of time.

8. *Consuetudine Populi Romani.* "Following the custom of the Roman people." They had learned this under Sertorius.—*Loca capere*, &c. "Begin by selecting proper ground, fortifying a camp," &c. By *loca* is meant ground fit for an encampment. With regard to the use of *instituo* in the sense of *incipio*, compare *Quintil.* 1, 5, 63, and *Burmann, ad loc.*

9. *Facile.* "With safety." Equivalent here to *tuto.* Compare the Greek paraphrast: ἀσφαλῶς γε.

10. *Hostem et vagari*, &c. "That the enemy both roamed at large over the country, and possessed themselves of the passes, and yet, at the same time, left a sufficient guard for their camp." *Obsidĕre* is here a verb of the third conjugation, from *obsido*, not *obsideo.*

11. *Duplici acie instituta.* The usual arrangement, on the part of the Romans, was three lines. On the present occasion, however, only two were formed, as the Roman army was inferior in numbers to that of the enemy: and, besides, the mountainous nature of the country enabled Crassus to dispense with the usual order of battle.

12. *Auxiliis* The auxiliary forces were usually stationed on

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63 the wings; here, however, they occupy the centre, because Crassus did not place much reliance upon them.

13. *Sub sarcinis.* Compare note 11, page 42.—*Inferiores animo.* "Depressed in spirit." Compare the Greek paraphrase: ἀθυμοτάτοις.

64 1. *Cum sua cunctatione*, &c. "When the enemy had, by their own delay, and the opinion which was now entertained of their cowardice, made our soldiers the more eager for battle." The commonly received reading is *timidiores hostes* (i. e., *hostes timidiores jam facti*), the adjective *timidiores* agreeing with *hostes* in the nominative. This reading, although it has the sanction of some great names, appears to us a very inferior one, and not much in unison with the context. We have not hesitated, therefore, to substitute *timoris*, the emendation of Robert Stephens and Vossius, of which Oudendorp thinks highly, although he retains *timidiores*. By *opinione timoris* is meant the opinion, which the Roman soldiers began to entertain of the enemy's cowardice, from seeing them, although superior in numbers, keeping in their camp; and this lection receives support also from the Greek paraphrase: ᾗ φόβον παρεῖχον δόξῃ, which is equivalent to τῇ φόβου ἣν παρεῖχον δόξῃ. Compare also the language of Julius Celsus: "*Romani hostium tarditatem non consilio imputantes, sed pavori*," &c.

2. *Quibus ad pugnam*, &c. Compare note 12, page 63.—*Speciem atque opinionem*, &c. "Gave rise to the appearance and opinion of their being actually engaged in the fight," i. e., produced the appearance, and gave rise to the opinion on the part of the enemy, of their being actually combatants.

3. *Constanter ac non timide.* "Steadily and boldly." The Greek paraphrast either follows a different reading, or else very strangely mistakes the meaning of *constanter*, for he renders it by φρονίμως.

4. *Non frustra acciderent.* "Fell not without effect."—*Ab Decumana porta.* "In the quarter of the Decuman gate." As the Gallic camp, on this occasion, was fortified after the Roman manner, it had the same number of gates, and in the same quarters. Hence the name "Decuman gate" applied to the entrance in the rear.

5. *Intritæ ab labore.* "Not fatigued by any previous labour." The common text has *integræ*, but this savours of a gloss. *Intritæ* is equivalent with *non tritæ*, or *non defatigatæ*. A large number of MSS. have *interritæ*, but this appears to have arisen from a corruption of *intritæ*.

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6. *Ad eas munitiones.* "To that part of the enemy's works." 64
Alluding to the fortifications near the Decuman gate.

7. *His prorutis.* "These being pulled down." The common editions have *proruptis* and *perruptis*, especially the latter. *Prorutis* was first given by Faernus from one of his MSS., and has since been adopted into the best texts. It is far more graphic and vivid than either of the other two readings, and is, moreover, in accordance with the Greek paraphrase, which has *καταβαλόντες*.

8. *Plane ab iis videri posset.* "It could be clearly seen by them," i. e., the movement on the part of the Romans could be clearly discovered by the enemy.

9. *Intenderunt.* "Strove." This is the reading of nearly all the MSS. and early editions. The common text has *contenderunt*, 'hastened." The Greek paraphrase has *ἐπεχείρησαν*, in accordance with our lection.

10. *Multa nocte.* "Late at night," i. e., after *much* of the night had passed.

1. *Supererant.* "Alone remained." 65

2. *Qui longe alia ratione*, &c. "Who resolved to carry on the war in a very different manner from the rest of the Gauls." The expression *bellum agere*, which rests on MSS. authority, is rarer and more elegant than *bellum gerere*, the reading of the common text. Thus Pomponius Mela, 1, 16, "*Ut aliena etiam bella mercede agerent*;" and Quintilian, 10, 1, "*Quis enim caneret bella melius quam qui sic egerit.*"

3. *Continentes.* "Extensive." The Greek paraphrast takes *continentes* here in the sense of "contiguous to their own country." The term is certainly susceptible of this meaning, but the other signification is more natural in the present instance.

4. *Longius*, &c. "Having pursued them too far, amid the more intricate parts."—*Deperdiderunt.* Some MSS. give *disperdiderunt* One of the Oxford MSS. has *desideraverunt*, which is rather an interpretation of *deperdiderunt*.

5. *Inermibus imprudentibusque.* "While unarmed and off their guard," i. e., while occupied in felling the trees of the forest, and unprovided, consequently, for any regular resistance.

6. *Materiam.* "Timber." This term is elsewhere used in the same sense, or in that of "wood," by Cæsar. Compare also Curtius, 6, 6, 28: "*Multam materiam ceciderat miles.*"

7 *Conversam ad hostem.* "Directly facing the enemy."—*Ex-*

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65 *s.. uebat.* "Piled it up." The timber was to supply the place of a regular rampart.

8. *Magno spatio confecto.* "A large space being cleared" Literally, "being completed," or "finished," i. e., a large number of trees having been felled.

9. *Extrema impedimenta.* "The rear of their baggage."—*Densiores silvas.* "Still thicker parts of the woods."

10. *Sub pellibus.* "In tents." Literally, "under the skins." The tents of the Roman soldiers were covered with skins. In winter quarters huts were erected. Canvass does not appear to have been employed until a comparatively late period. *Lipsius, Mil. Rom.* lib. 5, dial. 5.

11. *Quæ proxime bellum fecerant.* "Which had made war upon him last." *Bellum facere* is here put for *bellum inferre*; thus, *B. G.* 7, 2, "*Principesque se ex omnibus bellum facturos pollicentur.*"

BOOK IV.

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1. *Cneio Pompeio*, &c. B. C. 55, A. U. C. 699.—*Germani.* 67
"A people of Germany."—*Et etiam Tenchtheri.* These were also a German tribe.

2. *Quo Rhenus influit.* "Where the Rhine flows into it," i. e., near the mouth of that river.

3. *Centum pagos.* "A hundred cantons."—*Ex quibus*, &c. "From each of which they led forth annually, beyond their confines, a thousand armed men," &c. *E finibus* is equivalent here to *extra patriam.*—*Bellandi causa.* We have retained *causa*, though it is omitted by some MSS., and though the omission is approved of by Oudendorp and others. For instances of this ellipsis, compare chap. 17, near its close, and also B. G. 5, 8, and consult *Ruddiman, Instit.* 2, 2, vol. ii., p. 245, and *Perizon. ad Sanct. Min.* 4, 4.

4. *Sic neque agricultura*, &c. "In this way neither is agriculture, nor are the art and practice of war, intermitted," i. e., discontinued, or forgotten.

5. *Privati ac separati agri*, &c. Tacitus makes a similar remark: *M. G.* 3, 9, "*Arva per annos mutant, et superest ager*" —*Incolendi causa.* "For the sake of a residence."

6. *Maximam partem.* "For the most part." Supply *secundum.* A Hellenism of frequent recurrence in Cæsar.—*Multumque sunt in venationibus.* "Are much addicted to hunting." Literally, "are much in hunts," i. e., are much engaged in them.

7. *Nullo officio*, &c. "Accustomed to the control of no rules of duty or of education."—*Alit.* "Nourishes," i. e., increases.—*Et immani corporum*, &c. "And makes them men of prodigious size of body." Scaliger rejects *homines* contrary to the MSS. The Greek paraphrase sanctions its being retained: καὶ πελωρίους, ὡς εἰπεῖν, μεγέθους ἄνδρας παρέχει.

8. *Locis frigidissimis.* "In the coldest parts of their country," i. e., in the parts farthest to the north, and the most exposed to the rigours of their climate.—*Exiguitatem.* "Scantiness."—*Aperta.* "Exposed," i. e., in a state of nudity.

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67 9. *Quæ bello ceperint*, &c. The order is, *ut habeant* (illos) *quibus vendant* (ea) *quæ ceperint bello.*

10. *Quinetiam jumentis*, &c. "The Germans, moreover, do not use imported cattle, in which the Gauls take the greatest delight, and which they procure at an extravagant price." All the MSS. give *importatis his*, but *his* is wanting in some of the earlier editions. Oudendorp, therefore, very neatly conjectures *importatitiis*, which he introduces into the text of his smaller edition, and in which he is followed by Oberlin. We have adopted the conjecture without any hesitation. Bentley, however, is in favour of *importatis* omitting *his*, and this reading is given by many editors.

68 1. *Sed quæ sunt*, &c. The grammatical construction is as follows: *Sed* (quod attinet ad) *parva atque deformia* (jumenta) *quæ nata sunt apud eos, efficiunt quotidiana exercitatione ut hæc sint summi laboris.* In rendering, however, into our idiom, it will be neater to translate without reference to the actual ellipsis of *quod attinet ad*: "But the small and ill-shaped cattle which are bred among them, these they render, by daily exercise, capable of enduring the greatest toil."

2. *Parva atque deformia.* The common text has *prava atque deformia*, which savours strongly of a pleonasm. We have, therefore, adopted *parva* in place of *prava*, which is the reading of Oudendorp's smaller edition, and is given also by eight MSS. The Greek paraphrast, moreover, has μικρὰς, and Tacitus (*M. G.* 5), in speaking of the German cattle, says expressly that they were for the most part of small size: "*plerumque improcera.*"

3. *Turpius aut inertius.* "More shameful or spiritless."—*Ephippiis.* "Housings." The term *ephippium* does not denote a saddle, but a cloth laid on the back of a horse (ἐφ' ἵππου). Saddles were not used by the ancients. It is extremely probable, that they were not invented until the middle of the fourth century of our era The earliest proof of their use is an order of the Emperor Theodosius, A. D. 385, by which those who wished to ride post-horses were forbidden to use saddles that weighed more than sixty pounds. *Codex Theodos.* 8, 5, 47.—*Beckmann's History of Inventions*, vol ii., p. 251, seqq.

4. *Itaque ad quemvis*, &c. "And hence they dare, however few they may be, to advance against any number of cavalry that use housings."

5. *Importari non sinunt.* At a later period, in the time of Tacitus, the Germans along the Rhine purchased wines from the Roman traders. *Tacit. M. G.* 23

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6. *Publice.* "In a public point of view," i. e., to the state at large.—*Vacare agros.* "For the lands to lie desolate," i. e., uninhabited and waste. Literally, "to be empty."—*Hac re significari.* "That by this it is shown." 68

7. *Civitatium.* The common form is *civitatum*, but many examples of genitives plural in *ium*, where the rules of the grammarians would lead us to expect the termination in *um*, may be found in Vossius, *Anal.* 2, 14, and Ruddiman, *Instit.* 1, 2, 59, *in notis*, vol. i., p. 93.

8. *Ad alteram partem*, &c. "On the other side the Ubii are next to them." More literally, "the Ubii come up to the other side," i. e., are in their immediate vicinity.

9. *Quorum fuit civitas*, &c. "Whose state was at one time extensive and flourishing, considering the condition of the Germans," i. e., who once possessed an extensive and flourishing state for Germans. More literally, "as the state of the Germans is."

10. *Et paulo, quam sunt*, &c. The true reading here is extremely doubtful, owing to the discrepancy of the MSS. and editions. The generally received lection is *et paulo, quam sunt ejusdem generis, et ceteris humaniores.* Now to this there are two serious objections; one, that by it two different constructions are joined with one and the same comparative, of which but a very few instances can be found elsewhere; and the other, that by (homines) *ejusdem generis*, and *ceteris*, the very same persons are meant, namely, the Germans; for it is absurd to say, that by the former of these expressions the Ubii are meant, since Cæsar would make them, in that event, a little more civilized than themselves! We have adopted, therefore, the emendation of Bentley. By *ceteri ejusdem generis* are meant the rest of the German nation.

11. *Amplitudinem gravitatemque civitatis.* "The extent and populousness of their state," i. e., the state of the Ubii. *Gravitatem* is here equivalent to *frequentiam.*

12. *Humiliores infirmioresque.* The former epithet refers to the diminution of their *amplitudo*, which embraces the ideas of both extent of territory and abundance of resources; the latter alludes to the lessening of their numbers.

13. *In eadem causa.* "In a similar case," i. e., similarly situated, subject to the same treatment from the Suevi as that which the Ubii had endured. Compare the Greek paraphrase: ταὐτὰ τούτοις οἱ Οὐσιπετεῖς τέ καὶ οἱ Τέγχθεροι ἔπαθον.

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68 14. *Quas regiones.* Those namely in the vicinity of the Rhine —*Aditu.* "At the approach." Compare the Greek, ἐφόδῳ.

15. *Demigraverant.* We have adopted the pluperfect, as recommended by Morus, instead of the perfect, as given in the common text. The former of these tenses harmonzies better with the context.

69 1. *Rursus reverterunt.* A pleonasm, of which examples often occur in the best writers: thus, *Curtius*, 3, 11, 14, "*Rursus in prælium redeunt;*" and *Petronius*, c. 10, "*Rursus in memoriam revocatus.*"

2. *Quieta in suis sedibus.* These words are not in the common text. They were first restored by Oudendorp, from MSS.

3. *Reliquam partem hiemis*, &c. "They lived, for the remainder of the winter, on their provisions," i. e., on the provisions which they, the Menapii, had collected for their own consumption. *Aluerunt se*, literally, "they maintained," or "supported themselves." As regards the use of *copiis*, here, in the sense of "provisions," compare Tacitus, *Ann.* 15, 16: "*Contraque prodiderit Corbulo, Parthos inopes copiarum, et, pabulo attrito, relicturos oppugnationem.*"

4. *Infirmitatem.* "The fickleness."—*Mobiles.* "Changeable." *Nihil his committendum.* "That no trust should be reposed in them," i. e., that none of his plans ought to be made known to them, and that their fidelity and attachment ought not to be taken for granted.

5. *Est autem hoc Gallicæ consuetudinis.* "For this is one of the Gallic customs." More literally, "this appertains," or "belongs to Gallic custom," i. e., forms a part of it; is one of their customs.

6. *Vulgus circumsistat.* "The mob gather around."—*Pronuntiare.* "To declare."

7. *His rumoribus*, &c. "Influenced by these reports and hearsays, they often concert measures respecting the most important affairs." Literally, "enter into consultations."—*E vestigio.* "Instantly."

8. *Cum incertis rumoribus serviant.* "Since they are mere slaves to uncertain rumours," i. e., have blind faith in them.—*Et plerique ad voluntatem*, &c. "And since most persons give them false answers adapted to their wishes." More literally, "answer things feigned according to their wish," i. e., feigned designedly to please them.

9. *Ne graviori bello occurreret.* "That he might not meet with

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a more formidable war (than he had originally expected)," i. e., be 69
involved in a more formidable one. The phraseology here employed by Cæsar is equivalent to "*ne in gravius bellum incideret.*" Cæsar feared lest the Gauls, with their known fickleness, should make common cause against him along with the Germans.

10. *Facta.* "Had been already done," i. e., had already taken place. Compare the Greek: συμβεβηκότα ἤδη.

11. *Ad Germanos.* Referring to the Usipetes and Tenchtheri. —*Uti ab Rheno discederent.* "To leave the vicinity of the Rhine," i. e., to advance into Gaul. Compare the language of Celsus, c. 65. "*Seque inferrent in intima Galliarum.*"

12. *Dissimulanda sibi.* "Should be concealed by him." Compare the Greek paraphrase: κρυπτέα ἡγήσατο εἶναι.

1. *Resistere.* Supply *iis.*—*Neque deprecari.* "And not to sup- 70
plicate for peace." Compare the Greek: μήτε καθικετεύειν.—*Venisse.* Supply *se*, and compare the previous chapter, "*invitatosque eos*," &c.

2. *Suam gratiam.* "Their friendship."—*Vel sibi*, &c. "Let them either assign lands to them."

3. *Eos tenere.* "To retain those subject to them."—*Possederint.* The subjunctive is here employed, as indicating what they, the speakers, asserted of themselves. So again *possint* expresses their own opinion, not that of Cæsar also.

4. *Concedere.* "Yielded," i. e., acknowledged themselves inferior to.—*Ne dii quidem*, &c. Compare the Homeric ἀντίθεος, as applied by the poet to his heroes.—*In terris.* "On the earth."

5. *Exitus.* "The conclusion."—*Neque verum esse.* "That it neither was right. *Verum* here denotes what is right, just, or proper. Compare Horace, *Sat.* 2, 3: "*An quæcunque facit Mæcenas, te quoque verum est?*" and again, *Epist.* 1, 7: "*Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.*"

6. *Neque ullos*, &c. "Nor were there any lands vacant in Gaul."—*Sine injuria.* "Without injury," i. e., without positive injustice to the Gauls, or injury of some kind to the Roman sway. —*Sint.* "Are," i. e., are, as he informs them.

7. *Ab iis.* "From them," i. e., from the Ubii. The common text has *ab Ubiis.* We have adopted, however, the conjecture of Brutus, which Oberlin erroneously ascribes to Morus. The Greek paraphrase accords with this: παρ' αὐτῶν.

8. *Hos expectari equites.* "That the return of this body of cavalry was only waited for."

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70 9. *Voscgo.* This name is variously written: *Vosegus*, *Vogesus* and *Vosagus*. We have given the preference to *Vosegus*, as sanctioned by MSS., by the language of an ancient inscription, and the usage of writers in the middle ages. Consult *Venant. Fortunat* 7. 4, and *Greg. Turon*, 10, 10, as cited by Cellarius, *Geog. Ant.* vol. ii., p. 141. Cortius, however, prefers *Vogesus* (*ad Lucan.* 1, 397), but consult Benther on the other side. (*Animadv. Hist.* c. 5, p. 75.)

10. *Et parte quadam*, &c. We have adopted here the Bipont reading with Oberlin, Morus, Lemaire, and Daehne. Oudendorp gives a very different lection, and one far inferior, as follows: *insulamque efficit Batavorum, in Oceanum influit, neque longius ab Oceano millibus passuum octoginta in Rhenum transit.*

71 1. *Citatus.* "In rapid course."—*Oceano appropinquat.* Some of the MSS. give *oceanum*, but Cæsar more frequently employs the dative with this verb. Compare B. G. 5, 44, and 7, 82.

2. *In plures diffluit partes.* "Divides into several branches."

3. *Qui piscibus atque ovis*, &c. Compare Pliny, *H. N.* 16, 1.—*Multis capitibus.* "By many mouths." Compare the Greek paraphrase: πολλοῖς στόμασιν. Vossius denies that any other Latin writer employs *caput* in the sense of *ostium*; but compare Lucan, 3, 201, and Cortius, *ad loc.* Consult also *Liv.* 33, 41, and Crevier *ad loc.*

4. *Ut erat constitutum.* "As had been mentioned by them." Equivalent to *ut erat dictum.* It appears to be, in truth, a careless manner of expression in the present instance, since, as appears from chapter 9, Cæsar had not consented to any such arrangement.

5. *Sibi jurejurando fidem fecissent.* "Should give them security by an oath." *Fidem facere* is here the same as *fidem dare.*—*Ea conditione*, &c. "They assured him, that they would avail themselves of those conditions that might be proposed by Cæsar," i. e., of whatever conditions might be proposed.

6. *Eodem illo pertinere.* "Tended to the same end," i. e., had this one object in view.—*Qui abessent.* "Who were said to be absent."

7. *Præfectos.* The commanders of *turmæ* are here meant, being analogous to the Greek ἰλάρχαι.—*Mittit.* Supply *quosdam.*

8. *Sustinerent.* "Only to stand their ground." Literally, "to sustain the attack."

9. *Non amplius quingentos*, &c. Supply *quam* after *amplius.* So *B. C.* 3, 99, "*Amplius millia viginti quatuor*;" Livy, 33, 7,

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"*Amplius tria millia militum amissa*;" and Nepos, 16, 2, 3, 71
"*Non amplius centum adolescentuli.*" The reason why so small a number of German horse dared to attack so large a body of Roman cavalry, was the contempt which the former entertained for the latter from the circumstance of their using *ephippia.* Compare chapter 2.

10. *Eorum.* Referring to the Germans.

11. *Rursus.* "In turn." Equivalent here to *vicissim.*—*Subfossisque equis.* "And having stabbed our horses in the belly"—*Dejectis.* "Being dismounted."

1. *Ita perterritos.* "In such dismay."—*In conspectu.* The 72
common text has *in conspectum*, but some of the MSS. exhibit *in conspectu*, which is undoubtedly the true reading. *In conspectum venire* refers merely to the action of the moment; but *in conspectu venire*, as Clarke well explains it, is to come into the sight of another, or of others, and remain there for some length of time. Compare *Vechner, Hellenolex.* p. 261, and *Ramshorn, L. G.* § 150, p. 290.

2. *Intercluso.* "Intercepted," i. e., cut off by the enemy from the rest of our troops.

3. *Animum advertisset.* For *animadvertisset*, which is the reading of the common text.—*Incitato equo.* "Spurring on his horse."

4. *Per dolum atque insidias.* "By deceit and treachery," i. e., with a deceitful and treacherous design.—*Expectare.* "To wait," i. e., to delay coming to an action.—*Summæ dementiæ esse.* "To be the height of folly." *Dementia*, want of judgment on particular occasions; *amentia*, madness, total alienation of reason.

5. *Infirmitate.* "The fickleness."—*Quantum jam*, &c. "He was sensible how much reputation the enemy had already gained among them by the issue of a single battle." *Eos* refers to the Gauls, and *hostes* to the Germans.

6. *Quibus.* Referring back to *eos*, i. e., to the Gauls.

7. *Ne quem diem*, &c. "Not to let a day pass without bringing the enemy to an engagement." *Quem* for *aliquem.*

8. *Omnibus principibus*, &c. "All their leading men and elders being brought along." Literally, "being taken unto them."

9. *Sui purgandi causa.* "For the sake of clearing themselves."—*Quod contra atque*, &c. "Because, contrary to what had been said by them, and to what they themselves had requested, they had actually joined battle the day previous," i. e., had fallen upon our men.

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72 10. *De induciis fallendo impetrarent.* "They might obtain a farther truce by deceiving him." It is more than probable, that both this and the previous statement are false, and that Cæsar acted with bad faith towards the Germans, not they towards him. It is difficult to conceive, that their leading men would have put themselves so completely into the hands of the Romans, had their object been a treacherous one. On the other hand, Plutarch informs us (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 12, *seq.*), that Cato actually charged Cæsar with a violation of good faith on this occasion, and was for giving him up to the enemy. (Compare *Sueton. Vit. Jul.* c. 24.) The breach of good faith with which Cato charged him, seems to have consisted in his attacking the Germans while he had their ambassadors with him; more especially since Dio Cassius informs us (39, 47, *seq.*), that the battle was owing to the uncontrollable ardour of the younger warriors among the Germans, which their elders disapproved of to such a degree, as to send an embassy to Cæsar for the purpose of explaining what had been done. This embassy, therefore, Cæsar detained, and, in the mean time, marched against and conquered those for whom they had come to intercede.

11. *Gavisus.* Nearly all the MSS. and earlier editions give *gravius* without any meaning at all, and *gavisus*, therefore, has been substituted by all the more recent editors. With this latter reading also the Greek paraphrase concurs: *τούτοις δὲ παροῦσιν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἡσθεὶς, ἐκείνους μὲν κατέσχεν.*—*Illico.* The common text has *illos*, and the pronoun is said to be here redundant. (Consult Arntzenius, *ad Aurel. Vict.* c. 27, 43.) We have preferred, however, *illico*, the very neat emendation of Daehne, which is in some degree borne out by the language of Celsus: "*Quos ubi Cæsar adspexit, nulla penitus de re auditos* illico *capi jussit.*"

73 1. *Discessu suorum.* "By the departure of their own countrymen," i. e., by the absence of the leading men and elders, who had been detained by Cæsar.—*Perturbantur.* "Are thrown into great confusion, and are altogether at a loss."

2. *Pristini diei.* "Of the day before." *Pristina* is here put for *pridiani*, examples of which usage also occur in *Cic. de Orat.* 1, 8. *Quint. Curt.* 8, 4. *Suet. Aug.* 94. Compare also the language of Aulus Gellius (10, 24), "Die Pristino, *id est priore, quod vulgo* pridie dicitur."

3. *Ad quos consectandos.* The barbarity of this transaction admits of no excuse. Hottoman endeavours to save the credit of Cæsar, by reading *conservandos* for *consectandos*, but this is directly

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contradicted by the language of the next chapter, "*suos interfici,*" 73
&c. The Greek paraphrase also is express on this point: *καὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τούτους ἐπέμψατο.*

4. *Post tergum clamore audito.* This proceeded from the outcries of those who were pursued by the Roman cavalry.—*Suos.* Referring principally to their children and wives.

5. *Ad confluentem,* &c. "To the confluence of the Meuse and Rhine." The battle appears to have been fought near the spot where now stands the modern *Aix-la-Chapelle.* By the confluence of the Meuse and Rhine is meant the junction of the former river with the Vahalis or *Waal,* a little above the modern *Bommel.*

6. *Reliqua fuga desperata.* "The rest of their flight being despaired of," i. e., all hope of farther flight being taken away.

7. *Ex tanti belli timore.* "After the alarm of so great a war," i. e., a war of so formidable a nature being ended.—*Quadringentorum,* &c. Orosius makes the number 440,000; Plutarch 400,000. But both these numbers are very probably exaggerated.

8. *Multis de causis.* According to Plutarch, Cæsar's true motive was a wish to be recorded as the first Roman who had ever crossed the Rhine in a hostile manner. (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 22.) Dio Cassius makes a similar statement (39, 48).

9. *Suis quoque rebus,* &c. "He wished them to be alarmed for their own possessions also." Literally, "to fear for their own things."

10. *Accessit etiam.* "Another reason likewise was." More literally, "it was added also."—*Quam supra commemoravi.* Consult chapter 12.

1. *Ad quos.* Referring to the Sigambri.—*Eos.* The Usipetes 74
and Tenchtheri.

2. *Cur sui quicquam esse,* &c. "Why should he insist that any right of commanding, or any authority whatsoever, belonged to him across the Rhine?" *Sui* is the personal pronoun, governed by *esse.*

3. *Occupationibus reipublicæ.* "By his public engagements." More literally, "by the occupation which the republic (i. e., public affairs) afforded." Some MSS. have *populi R.* instead of *reipublicæ,* with which reading the Greek paraphrase (*τῶν Ῥωμαίων*) appears to agree. Celsus, on the other hand, has "*reipublicæ negotiis occupatus.*"

4. *Nomen atque opinionem.* "The name and reputation."—*Ad ultimas,* &c. The preposition *ad* is here used in the same sense as *apud,* which latter is the reading of the common text Compare *Sanct. Min.* 4, 6 and Perizonius, *ad loc.*

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74 5. *Neque suæ*, &c. "Nor consistent with his own character o the dignity of the Roman people." *Dignitatis* here varies slightly in meaning, according as it refers to Cæsar or the Roman people at large.

6. *Proponebatur.* "Was manifest." Literally, "was placed before the view."—*Id sibi contendendum.* "That he must strive to effect this."

7. *Rationem pontis*, &c. "He determined upon the following plan of a bridge."—*Tigna bina sesquipedalia*, &c. "At the distance of two feet from one another, he joined together two piles, each a foot and a half thick, sharpened a little at the bottom, and proportioned to the depth of the stream." We have preferred rendering *tigna* by the word "piles," as more intelligible than "beams" in the present instance. The distributive *bina* refers to the circumstance of their being many pairs of these piles or beams

8. *Dimensa ad altitudinem fluminis.* The meaning is, that they were of greater or less length, according to the various depths of the stream, being longest in the middle of the river, and diminishing in length according to the proximity to the banks. All, however, projected equally above the level of the water.

9. *Hæc cum machinationibus*, &c. "When he had, by means o. engines, sunk these into the river and held them down there, and had then driven them home by rammers." The participle and verb, *immissa defixerat*, are to be rendered as two verbs with the connective, *immiserat et defixerat.*

10. *Fistucis.* The *fistucæ* here meant are not hand-rammers, but machines worked with ropes and pullies, by which weights are raised to a considerable height, and then allowed to fall upon the pile beneath. Compare *Vitruvius*, 3, 3, and 10, 3, and also the explanation of Morus, *ad loc.*

11. *Non sublicæ modo*, &c. "Not quite perpendicular, after the manner of a stake, but bending forward and sloping, so as to incline according to the direction of the stream." The slope of the piles will be perceived from the plan that is given of the bridge. The piles here spoken of were those on the upper part of the river, and which looked downward, or *secundum flumen.* In other words, they pointed down the stream.

12 *Iis item contraria bina*, &c. "Opposite these, at the distance of forty feet, lower down the river, he placed other pairs, joined in the same manner, and turned against the force and current of the river." The common text has *contraria duo*, for which

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Clarke first gave *contraria bina.* Cæsar very probably wrote *contraria* II., and hence the error arose. The context requires *bina.* So the distributive *quadragenum* refers to the several pairs. The piles here spoken of lay on the lower part of the river, and pointed up the stream. In either case, therefore, whether in the upper or lower part of the river, they were *prona ac fastigata.* 74

13. *Ab inferiore parte.* Supply *fluminis.*

14. *Hæc utraque*, &c. "Each of these pairs of piles, moreover, were kept from closing by beams let in between them, two feet thick, which was the space from one pile to another, fastened on both sides, at either extremity, by two braces."

15. *Quantum eorum tignorum*, &c. Literally, "as far as the joining of these piles was apart." The reference is to the space of two feet which was left between the two piles of each pair, when they were first sunk into the river.

1. *Quibus disclusis*, &c. "These pairs being thus kept apart (by the beams let in), and, at the same time, firmly clasped by the braces in the opposite direction." This sentence is explanatory of the preceding one, *hæc utraque*, &c., and contains, if the expression be allowed, the key to the whole structure. The beams let in between the two piles would have a tendency, of course, to keep them apart, while the braces above and below would have an opposite tendency, and would serve to keep the piles together. The greater the pressure, therefore, one way, the stronger the resistance the other; and the constantly acting power would be the current of the stream itself. 76

2. *Tanta erat*, &c. "So great was the firmness of the whole structure, and such was the nature of the materials employed, that the more powerfully the force of the current drove itself against the different parts, the more closely were they connected together and kept in their places." Literally, "by how much a greater force of water had urged itself on."

3. *Hæc directa materie*, &c. "These cross-beams were overlaid and connected together, by rafters placed in the length of the bridge, and these again were covered over with poles and hurdles." *Hæc* refers to the beams running across from one pair of piles to the opposite pair.—*Directa materie.* The term *materie* is very erroneously rendered "planks" by some editors. Planks would not be strong enough for the purpose. *Directa* is well explained by Clarke, from Lipsius: "*secundum longitudinem pontis.*"

4 *Longuriis.* The *longurii* were long poles, placed across the

Page 76 rafters, very close to one another, and the hurdles were strewed over these, in order to produce a more level surface.

5. *Ac nihilo secius*, &c. "And, besides all this, piles were likewise driven in obliquely, at the lower part of the stream," &c. These piles, as will be perceived from the plan, served as props, or rather buttresses, against the impulse of the waters. Had they not been placed where they were, the violence of the current might have carried the bridge over to the opposite side of the river.—*Nihilo secius.* Literally, "nevertheless," i. e., notwithstanding all that had been done, a still farther precaution was exercised by driving in piles, &c.

6. *Pro pariete.* Some of the MSS. and editions have *pro ariete*, which is not so bad a reading as it may at first appear to be; the piles in question being compared by it to the appearance which a battering-ram presents, when raised for the purpose of inflicting a blow. The Greek paraphrase has also δίκην κριοῦ. Still, however, the true lection is *pro pariete*, the idea intended to be conveyed being that of a buttress, or wall of support.

7. *Et aliæ item*, &c. These last, which Cæsar immediately after calls *defensores*, were merely stakes fixed above the bridge to act as fenders. In the ordinary plans of Cæsar's bridge they are arranged in a triangular form, with the apex of the triangle pointing up the stream. This is all wrong. They were placed in a row, very probably a double one, directly across, from one bank to the other, for in this way alone could they afford perfect security to the structure.

8. *Dejiciendi operis.* "For the purpose of demolishing the work." According to the generality of grammarians, we must here supply *causa.* (*Sanct. Minerv.* 4, 4.—Vol. ii., p. 49, *ed. Bauer.*) Zumpt, however, inclines to the opinion, that this form of expression arose from the construction of the genitive with *esse.* (*Zumpt, L. G.* p. 388.)

9. *Quibus materia*, &c. "After the materials had been begun to be brought together to the spot." Compare, as regards the force of *quibus*, note 4, page 63. Plutarch regards the erection of this bridge as a very wonderful act on the part of Cæsar. In a late French work, however, on Cæsar's wars, ascribed to the Emperor Napoleon, that distinguished commander is made to say, that this work of Cæsar's has nothing extraordinary in it whatever, and that the bridges constructed over the Danube, in 1809, by General Bertrand, displayed far more skill, the difficulties to overcome being far

greater. (*Précis des Guerres de Jules César, par l'Empereur Napoleon. Paris*, 1836.) 73

10. *Ad utramque partem.* "At either end." Compare the Greek, ἑκατέρωθεν τῆς γέφυρας.

11. *Hortantibus iis.* "By the advice of those."—*Quos ex Tenchtheris*, &c. These were the cavalry, who had taken refuge, as already stated, with the Sigambri, and whom the latter had refused to deliver up to the Romans. Consult chap. 16.

12. *In solitudinem ac silvas.* Better than *in solitudine ac silvis*, as some read. The former expresses the idea of going into a place, and concealing one's self there; the latter of being already in the place before the attempt at concealment is made.

13. *In silvas deponerent.* "Should convey into the woods and deposite there for safe-keeping." Compare preceding note.

14. *Hunc esse delectum*, &c. "That this was selected, as being nearly in the centre of those regions which the Suevi possessed," i e., as being almost the centre of their country.

1. *Ulcisceretur.* "That he might punish." Equivalent to *puniret*. 77

2. *Satis profectum* "That enough had been done by him." *Profectum* (from *proficio*, not from *proficiscor*) is here elegantly used for *perfectum*, which latter is the reading of some MSS. Compare *B. G.* 7, 65, "*Ad reliqui temporis pacem parum profici*;" Livy, 3, 14, "*Ibi plurimum profectum est*;" and Ovid, *A. A.* 2, 589, "*Hoc tibi profectum Vulcane*;" with the note of N. Heinsius

3. *Se in Galliam recepit.* His true motive for retreating was the fear entertained by him of the Suevi. Hence Lucan (2, 570) makes Pompey say, that Cæsar fled from the Rhine: "*Rheni gelidis quod fugit ab undis.*"

4. *Maturæ sunt.* "Are early," i. e., set in early. Compare the Greek, πρωΐμων ὄντων τῶν χειμώνων.

5. *In Britanniam*, &c. Dio Cassius (39, 53) remarks, that no benefit whatever resulted either to Cæsar himself, or to the state, from this expedition into Britain, and that Cæsar's only motive, in going thither, was the honour of having been the first Roman that invaded the island. Plutarch's observations are pretty much to the same effect. (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 23.) Suetonius, on the other hand, informs us, that Cæsar was attracted thither by the fame of the British pearls. (*Vit. Jul.* c. 47.) Pliny states, that this commander consecrated to Venus Genitrix a cuirass adorned with British pearls. "*ex Britannicis margaritis factum.*" (*N. H.* 9, 57.)

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77 6. *Inde.* "From that quarter." Referring to Britain.—*Magni sibi usui.* "A source of great utility to him." *Usui* is here put for *utilitati.* Compare *B. C.* 2, 8, "*Inventum est magno esse usui posse, si hæc esset in altitudinem turris elata.*"

7 *Temere.* "Commonly." More literally, "upon any slight occasion," "for any slight reason." The Greek paraphrast renders it by οὐ ῥᾳδίως.

8. *Quem usum belli haberent.* "In what way they carried on war." Compare the version of De Crissé, "sur la manière dont ces peuples faisoient la guerre."—*Aut quibus institutis uterentur.* "Or what customs they followed," i. e., what their customs were.

9. *Caium Volusenum.* The punctuation adopted in the text, namely, the comma after *Volusenum*, connecting it with the preceding clause, is the suggestion of Bentley, who also recommends the insertion of *eum* before *cum.* This latter emendation, however, is quite unnecessary.

10. *Præmittit.* Suetonius (*Vit. Jul.* 58) states, that Cæsar reconnoitred the island in person. Of course the remark must be an erroneous one, since Cæsar's own assertion is entitled to far more credit. Some editors, however, and among them Ernesti, have endeavoured, by altering the text of Suetonius, to make it harmonize with that of the commentaries. Consult Crusius *ad loc.*

11. *Dare.* For *se daturos.* So *obtemperare* for *se obtemperaturos.* Compare *B. G.* 2, 32, "*Illi se quæ imperarentur facere dixerunt;*" and 7, 14, "*Necessario dispersos hostes ex ædificiis petere.*"

78 1. *Magni habebatur.* "Was regarded as extensive." The genitive of value. More literally, "was estimated highly."

2. *Ut Populi Romani fidem sequantur.* "To embrace the alliance of the Roman people."

3. *Quantum ei facultatis,* &c. "As far as opportunity could be afforded him."—*Qui non auderet.* "Since he did not venture." The student will note the force of the subjunctive.

4. *De superioris temporis consilio.* "For their past conduct."

5. *Nostræ consuetudinis.* Alluding to the Roman custom, of exercising humanity towards those who had yielded to their power, and of protecting them from the aggressions of the neighbouring states.

6. *Has tantularum,* &c. "That these engagements in such trifling affairs ought to be preferred by him to Britain," i. e., to the invasion of Britain

7. *Navibus onerariis.* "Vessels of burden." Consult Archæological Index.—*Navium longarum.* "Of vessels of war." Analogous to the Greek *μακρὰ πλοῖα.* Consult Archæological Index.

9. *Legati non venerant.* This arose from dissensions among the Morini, some embracing the party of Cæsar, others opposing it.

9. *Tertia fere vigilia solvit.* "He set sail about the third watch." The third watch began at midnight. The place from which Cæsar sailed on this occasion was the portus Itius or Iccius, a little south of *Calais*, and, according to D'Anville, the same with the modern Witsand. (*Strabo*, 4, 5, p. 199, *Cas.—D'Anville, Not de la Gaule*, p. 389).

10. *Solvit.* Supply *naves.* Literally, "loosens his vessels," i. e., from the shore. The full form of expression is given in chapter 36; *B. C.* 1, 28, &c. So in Ovid, *Her.* 7, 9, "*Certus es, Aenea, cum foedere solvere naves.*"

11. *Ulteriorem portum.* Called *superior portus* in chapter 28.

1. *Hora diei circiter quarta.* "About the fourth hour of the day," i. e., about ten o'clock in the morning. He sailed, it will be remembered, about midnight.

2. *Britanniam attigit.* D'Anville thinks that Cæsar landed at the *portus Lemanis*, now *Lymne*, a little below *Dover.*

3. *Expositas hostium copias armatas.* "The forces of the enemy drawn up under arms."—*Cujus loci.* "Of the spot."

4. *Adeo montibus*, &c. "The sea was confined by mountains so close to it." Many commentators give *angustis*, in this passage, the sense of *præruptis.* But this is erroneous; the adjective carries with it here the idea rather of something that contracts, or makes narrower, any space. Compare *Ramshorn, L. G.* § 206, p. 693.

5. *Ad egrediendum.* "For disembarking." Supply *navibus.*

6. *Ad horam nonam.* "Until the ninth," i. e., three o'clock in the afternoon.

7. *Monuitque*, &c. "And cautioned them, that all things should be performed by them at a beck and in a moment, as the principles of military discipline, and especially as naval operations required, since these are characterized by rapid and ever-varying movements." More literally, "have a rapid and unstable motion." There is a good deal of doubt respecting the latinity of some parts of this passage, and it is more than probable that some corruption has crept into the text.

8. *Sublatis anchoris.* "The anchors being weighed."—*Aperta*

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79 *ac plano littore.* This was probably the *portus Lemanis*, alluded to under note 2, page 79.

9. *Et essedariis.* "And Essedarii." We have preferred anglicizing the Latin term to paraphrasing it in our idiom. By *essedarii* are meant those who fought from the *esseda*, or British chariots of war. *Essedum* is said by the ancient writers to be a word of Gallic origin, and denotes a species of two-wheeled chariot in use among the Gauls and Britons. It is said to have been invented among the Belgæ. Compare the authorities cited by Adelung, *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat.* vol. iii., p. 359.

10. *Quo genere.* "Which kind of force."—*Prohibebant.* "Endeavoured to prevent."

11. *Constitui non poterant.* "Could not be moored."—*Ignotis locis.* "On a strange coast."—*Impeditis manibus.* "With their hands already engaged."

12. *Et in fluctibus consistendum.* "And to keep themselves steady amid the waves." Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἐν τῷ ῥῷ μενητέον.

13. *Omnibus membris expediti.* "Having the free use of all their limbs."—*Notissimis locis.* "In places which they knew perfectly."

14. *Et equos insuefactos incitarent.* "And spurred on their horses accustomed to such exercise." *Insuefactos*, equivalent to *valde assuetos.*

15. *Quarum et species*, &c. "Both whose figure was more novel to the barbarians, and whose movements were quicker for use," i. e., and which were more easy to be managed. The barbarians, in consequence of the commerce carried on with their shores by the merchants of Gaul, were accustomed to the sight of vessels of burden, but not to the figure of ships of war.

16. *Onerariis navibus.* The vessels of burden were employed on this occasion, it will be remembered, as transports.—*Et remis incitari.* "And to be rowed briskly forward."

80 1. *Fundis.* "By slings."—*Tormentis.* "Engines." The *tormenta* were engines for discharging heavy iron javelins, large stones, &c. The term itself is derived from *torqueo*, as referring to the mode of working the machine. Thus, "*tormentum, quasi torquimentum, machina, qua tela, saxa, aliave missilia, nervo aut fune contento torquentur et jaciuntur.*"

2. *Quæ res magno usui*, &c. "Which thing was of great service to our men."—*Navium.* Referring to the vessels of war.

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3. *Qui decimæ legionis*, &c. "He who bore the eagle of the tenth legion." The eagle, or main standard of the legion, was borne by the *centurio primi pili*, or *primopilus*, who was the oldest centurion in the legion. Consult Archæological Index, s. v., *centurio* and *aquila*. 80

4. *Ea res*. "This thing," i. e., what he intended to do.—*Aquilam hostibus prodere*. It was considered very disgraceful to lose any standard, but particularly so the main one of the legion. Commanders of ten availed themselves of this circumstance, for the purpose of urging on their troops, by casting the standard into the midst of the foe.

5. *Præstitero*. "Will promptly discharge." The future perfect (or, as it is more frequently, but very erroneously called, the future subjunctive) is here used to express prompt execution, the future being thus represented as already past. Compare *Zumpt*, *L G.* p. 320.

6. *Tantum dedecus*. Alluding to the disgrace consequent on the abandonment of their standards. Compare the language of Lipsius (*Mil. Rom.* 4, 5), "*Suadebat enim repetere* (signa) *non poena tantum, quæ manebat iis amissis, sed etiam pudor et religio, et quasi deos ac sacra sua prodidissent.*"

7. *Ex proximis navibus*. All the MSS. have *ex proximis primis navibus*, but we have rejected *primis* with Hotomann, Scaliger, and some more recent editors, as savouring strongly of a pleonasm. The Greek paraphrast, moreover, has only ἐκ τῶν ἐγγὺς νεῶν. Oudendorp, indeed (*ad Suet. Cæs.* 50, p. 82), endeavours to explain *ex proximis primis navibus*, by making it equivalent to *ex iis navibus quæ in proximo ordine erant primæ*; few, however, will agree with him.

8. *Cum conspexissent*. Supply *milites*.

9. *Neque firmiter insistere*. "Nor to get a firm footing." Literally, "nor to stand firmly."—*Atque alius alia ex navi*, &c. "And kept joining, one from one vessel, another from another, whatever standard each had chanced to meet," i. e., the men from different ships being compelled to join whatever standard they first came up with.

10. *Singulares egredientes*. "Coming forth individually," or one by one.—*Impeditos*. "Embarrassed in their movements."—*In universos*. "At our collected force."

11. *Quod cum animum advertisset*. For *quod cum animadvertisset*. The strict grammatical construction, however, is *cum advertisset animum quod*, i. e., *vertisset animum ad quod*.

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80 12. *Scaphas longarum navium.* "The boats belonging to the ships of war."—*Speculatoria navigia.* "The light vessels of observation," i. e., spy-vessels. These were light and fast sailing cutters, generally used to explore coasts, and to watch the movements of an enemy's fleet. According to Vegetius (4, 37) they were painted of a greenish blue colour, in order to escape observation. The sails and cordage were also greenish blue, and even the dress of the mariners and soldiers on board. "*Ne tamen exploratoriæ naves candore prodantur, colore veneto (qui marinis est fluctibus similis) vela tinguntur et funes: cera etiam qua ungere solent naves inficitur. Nautæ quoque et milites venetam vestem induunt, ut non solum per noctem, sed etiam per diem facilius lateant explorantes.*" With regard to the "*cera*" mentioned in this passage, consult Pliny, *H. N.* 35, 11.

13. *Simul.* For *simul ac.* "As soon as."

14. *Equites.* Alluding to the cavalry which had embarked in the eighteen transports. These had not been able to "hold on their course and reach the island." It will be seen, from chapter 28, that they had encountered a violent storm. *Tenere cursum* is applied to a vessel passing with a favourable wind to her point of destination, and is well explained in the Greek paraphrase by εὐθυδρομεῖν.

15. *Legatos.* Dio Cassius (39, 51) says, that these ambassadors were some of the Morini, who were on friendly terms with them: πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τῶν Μορίνων τινάς, φίλων σφίσιν ὄντων.

81 1. *Supra.* Consult chapter 21.

2. *Oratoris modo.* "In character of ambassador." We have recalled these words into the text with some of the best editors. They are found in numerous MSS., and in all the early editions until the Aldine. The reason urged for their omission is, that they savour of a mere gloss. But it may be stated, on the other hand, that the Greek paraphrase has ὡς πρέσβυν, and, besides, that Cæsar would very naturally employ the words in question, to show that the laws of nations had been violated by the barbarians, in imprisoning a Roman ambassador.

3. *Remiserunt.* "They sent him back."—*Contulerunt.* "Laid."—*Propter imprudentiam.* "On account of their indiscretion," i. e., as it was merely an act of indiscretion.

4. *Continentem.* Referring to Gaul.

5. *Arcessitam.* "Sent for," i. e., since they had to be sent for.—*Remigrare in agros.* "To retire to their lands," i. e., to go

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back to their usual occupations, the war being at an end.—*Convenire.* Many editions have *convenere*, which is inferior, and makes the sentence flow less smoothly 81

6. *Post diem quartum quam*, &c. "On the fourth day after." —*Supra demonstratum est.* Consult chapter 23.

7. *Cursum tenere.* "Hold on its course," i. e., make any headway. Compare the Greek εὐθυδρόμειν.—*Referrentur.* "Were carried back."

8. *Quæ est propius*, &c. "Which lies more to the west."—*Dejicerentur.* Ciacconius, without any necessity, reads *rejicerentur.* The verb *dejicere* is very properly employed here, as the vessels "were carried down" to the lower part of the island.

9. *Cum.* "When."—*Necessario adversa nocte*, &c. "Having, through necessity, put to sea during an unfavourable night."

10. *Qui dies.* "Which period," i. e., which day of the month. All the MSS. have this reading. Some editions, however, omit *dies*, and have merely *quæ*, which then refers to *luna.* Compare, however, the following expressions: "*Jussu Pompeii, quæ mandata*" (*B. C.* 3, 22); and, "*Ante comitia, quod tempus.*" (*Sallust*, *B. I.* 36. Compare Cortius, *ad loc.*) So also *Horat. Od.* 4, 11, 14, "*Idus tibi sunt agendæ, Qui dies*," &c.

11. *Nostrisque id erat incognitum.* The Romans were accustomed to the navigation of the Mediterranean, where the tides are comparatively slight, and in some parts of which they hardly deserve the name.

12. *Afflictabat.* "Broke from their moorings and dashed against each other."—*Administrandi.* "Of managing them."

1. *Totius exercitus*, &c. Count Turpin de Crissé censures Cæsar very deservedly, for his imprudence in making this descent upon Britain, before he had either obtained an accurate knowledge of the coasts of the island, or had procured a sufficient supply of provisions. Cæsar's wonted good fortune, however, once more saved him. 82

2. *Quod omnibus constabat.* "Because it was evident to all." Literally, "because it was agreed upon by all."—*His in locis.* Referring to Britain.

3. *Exiguitate.* "The small size."—*Hoc.* "On this account."

4. *Rem producere.* "To prolong the war."—*Reditu.* Hotomann very unnecessarily conjectures *auditu.* By *reditu* is meant, of course, a return to Gaul.—*Ex agris deducere.* Compare the conclusion of chapter 27. "*Suos remigrare in agros jusserunt.*"

5 *Ex eventu navium suarum* "From what had happened to

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82 his ships." Compare Hirtius, *B. G.* 8, 21 : "*Quæ Bellovacorum speculabantur eventum*;" and Livy, 33, 48 : "*Ita Africa Hannibal excessit, sæpius patriæ, quam suorum eventus miseratus.*"

6. *Et ex eo quod intermiserant.* "And from their having intermitted." Literally, "and from this circumstance, because they had intermitted."

7. *Ad omnes casus.* "Against every emergency." More literally, "against everything that might happen."

8. *Gravissime afflictæ.* "Most seriously injured."—*Aere.* The Romans made use of brass in the construction of their ships more frequently than iron. Thus, they covered the *rostrum* or beak, and occasionally the sides, with this metal. The nails or spikes, also employed in securing the timbers of the vessel, were generally of this same metal. Compare Vegetius (5, 4) : "*Utilius configitur Liburna clavis æreis quam ferreis.*" It must be borne in mind, that what we here call brass was, strictly speaking, a kind of bronze. The term *æs* is indiscriminately used by the Roman writers to denote copper, brass, or bronze. It was not till a late period that mineralogists, in order to distinguish them, gave the name of *cuprum* to copper. The oldest writer who uses the word *cuprum* is Spartianus (*Vit. Caracall.* c. 9), which appears to have been formed from the *cyprium* of Pliny (*H. N.* 33, 5).

9. *Reliquis ut navigari*, &c. "He brought it to pass, that it could be safely navigated with the rest," i. e., he enabled himself to put to sea safely with the rest.

10. *Hominum.* Referring to the Britons, not to the Romans. Compare the Greek paraphrase : μέρους τῶν Βρετανῶν ἔτι ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς μενόντων. The British chieftains, it will be remembered, had at first disbanded their forces, and then had begun to withdraw them secretly from the fields again, in order to renew hostilities. The persons mentioned in the text are those who still remained in the fields (i. e., at home), and had not yet obeyed the latter call.

11. *Pars etiam in castra ventitaret.* "A part kept even coming frequently into our camp." Compare the Greek, μέρους δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ θαμιζόντων.

12. *In statione.* "On guard."—*Quam consuetudo ferret.* "Than was customary." Literally, "than custom used to bring with it." —*In ea parte*, &c. Compare note 7, page 5.

83 1. *In stationem succedere.* "To take their post," i. e., to succeed them as a guard for the gates. Compare the Greek, τὸν ἐκείνων τόπον διαδέχεσθαι.

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2. *Et, conferta legione*, &c. "And that, the legion being crowd- 83
ed together, darts were hurled upon it from all sides."

3. *Quod.* "Inasmuch as."—*Ex reliquis partibus.* "From the other parts of the adjacent country."—*Pars una.* "One quarter."

4. *Paucis interfectis.* Dio Cassius (39, 52) makes the loss to have been a more serious one.—*Reliquos incertis ordinibus*, &c. "They threw the rest into confusion for want of knowing their ranks." The Romans were out of their ranks, and mowing down the grain when the enemy attacked them. Hence the confusion which ensued from their inability to regain their ranks in so sudden an onset.

5. *Genus hoc est*, &c. "Their manner of fighting from chariots is as follows."—*Per omnes partes.* "In every direction." Compare the Greek: πάντοθεν.

6. *Ipso terrore equorum*, &c. "By the very alarm occasioned to the horses of the foe, and the noise of their wheels," i. e., by the alarm which they excite in the horses of the foe, through their rapid movements up and down, and the rattling of their chariot wheels.

7. *Cum se insinuaverint.* "When they have insinuated themselves," i. e., have worked their way into.

8. *Aurigæ.* "The charioteers." Each chariot held two persons, the *auriga*, or driver, and the *essedarius*, or one who fought. So, in Homeric Antiquities, the chariot is called δίφρος (*quasi* δίφορος), from its carrying two persons (δίς and φέρω), namely, the charioteer, or ἡνίοχος, and the warrior, or παραιβάτης. (*Terpstra, Antiq. Hom.* p. 306.)

9. *Atque ita cum*, &c. "And place themselves in such a situation with their chariot, that if their masters are overpowered by a number of the foe, they may have a ready retreat to their friends." By *illi* are here meant the *essedarii*.

10. *Ita mobilitatem*, &c. "Thus they exhibit in battles the agility of horse, the steadiness of foot," i. e., they answer a double purpose, serving both for cavalry and infantry.

11. *Incitatos equos sustinere.* "To rein in their horses when at full gallop." *Sustinere* is here equivalent to *retinere*. Compare Ovid, *Fast.* 5, 301:

> "*Sæpe Jovem vidi, cum jam sua mittere vellet*
> *Fulmina, ture dato sustinuisse manum.*"

12 *Et brevi*, &c. "And in one instant to manage and turn them." Many editors supply *loco* after *brevi*, but the sense requires an ellipsis of *tempore*

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83 13. *Quibus rebus.* "In this state of affairs." *Quibus rebus* may also be the dative, depending on *tulit.* The former construction, however, is the simpler of the two.

14. *Constiterunt.* "Stood motionless," i. e., stopped driving to and fro with their chariots.

15. *Lacessendum.* Some of the later editions, contrary to the best MSS., insert *hostem* after this word. Compare Livy, 33, 7, and Virgil, *Æn.* 5, 429.

16. *Reduxit.* Cæsar here very artfully glosses over what was in reality a kind of flight on his part. Hence Lucan (2, 572) makes Pompey say of him on this occasion, "*Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.*"

17. *Qui erant in agris,* &c. "The rest of the Britons, who were in the fields, departed," i. e., left the fields to join the army of their countrymen. Compare chapter 32.

18. *Continuos complures dies.* "For very many days in succession."

84 1. *Suis prædicaverunt.* "Published to their countrymen."—*Sui liberandi.* "Of freeing themselves," i. e., from the Roman yoke, with which they were threatened.—*His rebus.* "By these means."

2. *Nactus equites circiter triginta.* "Having got about thirty horse." This small number surprises some of the commentators, who therefore read CCC. (i. e., *trecentos*, "three hundred") instead of XXX. (*triginta*). But the MSS. have all the latter number, and the Greek paraphrase, too, gives τριάκοντα. A parallel instance occurs in the commentaries on the African war (c. 6), where less than thirty Gallic horse put to flight two thousand Mauritanian cavalry.

3. *Ante dictum est,* &c. Compare chapters 21 and 27.

4. *Quos tanto spatio,* &c. "Our men having pursued them as far as their speed and strength enabled them," i. e., as far as their strength enabled them to run. Literally, "having pursued them over as great a space as they were able to traverse by running and strength."

5. *Omnibus longe lateque,* &c. "All things far and wide being prostrated and burnt." *Afflictis* is here equivalent to *eversis* or *stratis.* The common text has merely in place of *afflictis incensisque,* the reading *ædificiis incensis.*

6. *Propinqua die æquinoctii.* "The equinox being at hand." In the 20th chapter, it was said, "*exigua parte æstatis reliqua,*" &c Hence the autumnal equinox is here, of course, meant The equi

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nox (or time when the days and nights are equal, over all the globe) 84
happens twice a year, on the 22d of March and 22d of September, the former being called the vernal, the latter the autumnal equinox.

7. *Hiemi navigationem subjiciendam.* "That his voyage ought to be exposed to a storm." The weather about the time of the equinox is generally very stormy.

8. *Eosdem, quos reliquæ,* &c. "Were ~~all~~ able to make the same port with the rest."—*Paulo infra.* "A little lower down," i. e., lower down along the Gallic coast.

9. *Quibus ex navibus.* "From these two ships." Referring to the two *naves onerariæ,* or transports.

10. *Non ita magno numero.* "With no very large number." *Ita* in such phrases is equivalent to *valde.* Consult *Tursellin. Part. Lat.*, and *Scheller, Præcept. Styl.* vol. i., p. 208.

11. *Orbe facto.* The orb, or circular order, was a disposition of which Cæsar speaks in his commentaries, as highly advantageous in cases of danger and extremity. It was resorted to on the present occasion as a means of defence.

1. *Horis.* Some editors read *horas,* which requires an ellipsis 85
of *quam.* The ablative, however, is more customary with Cæsar.

2. *Propter siccitates paludum.* "On account of the dryness of the marshes." The marshes, which had formerly protected them, and had served as a barrier against the Romans, were now dry, it being the end of summer. Hence they were deprived of their usual place of retreat.

3. *Quo perfugio,* &c. "Of which refuge they had availed them selves the year before." The MSS. and editions vary here in a surprising degree. We have given the reading which harmonizes with the Greek paraphrase: ταύτῃ γὰρ τῇ ἀποχωρήσει τῷ πρόσθεν ἔτει ἐκέχρηντο.

4. *Duxerant.* Compare chapter 22.—*Omnibus eorum agris vastatis,* &c. Cæsar appears to have acted here upon the principle, that severe measures alone could check the natural tendency of the Gauls for insurrection and change.

5. *Eo.* "Thither," i. e., to his winter quarters among the Belgæ.—*Reliquæ neglexerunt.* Dio Cassius (40, 1) assigns this circumstance as a pretext on the part of Cæsar for making a second descent on Britain.

6. *Supplicatio.* Compare Suetonius (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 24), "*Prospere decentibus rebus, et sæpius et plurimum quam quisquam dierum supplicationes impetravit.*" Consult also note 11, page 50.

BOOK V.

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87 1. *Lucio Domitio*, &c. A. U. C. 700, B. C. 54.—*Italiam.* Hither, or Cisalpine, Gaul is meant. This was Cæsar's province.

2. *Demonstrat.* "He points out," i. e., gives a plan of.—*Subductionesque.* "And drawing them on shore." Compare chap. 11. *Subducere naves* is to draw vessels on shore; *deducere naves*, to draw them down from the land into the water.

3. *Nostro mari.* The Mediterranean. Compare Mela, 1, 1: "*Id omne, qua venit, quaque dispergitur, uno vocabulo* nostrum mare *dicitur.*"

4. *Has omnes actuarias*, &c. "He ordered them all to be made of a light construction, to which purpose their lowness in the water contributes greatly." By *actuariæ naves* are meant vessels remarkable for lightness and swiftness, and so called from the ease with which they were impelled (*quia* facile *agi potuerunt*). They were managed by sails and oars, having but one bank of the latter, or, at farthest, two. Compare Livy (38, 38): "*Decem naves actuarias* (*nulla quarum plusquam triginta remis agatur*) *habeto.*"

5. *Ad armandas naves.* "For equipping the vessels."—*Ex Hispania.* Among other things requisite for fitting out ships, Spain furnished large quantities of *Spartum*, or Spanish broom, much used for making ropes. Compare *Strabo*, 3, p. 160, and *Plin. H. N.* 19, 2.

6. *Illyricum.* This country, it will be remembered, was attached to, and formed part of, Cæsar's province of Hither Gaul. The whole province was Cisalpine or Hither Gaul, Illyricum, and Transalpine Gaul. Compare *Suetonius*, *Vit. Cæs.* c. 22.

7. *Omnibus rationibus.* "By all reasonable means," i. e., to make every reasonable compensation for the injury.

88 1. *Civitatem.* "Their whole state."—*Arbitros inter civitates dat*, &c. "He appoints arbitrators among the states, to estimate the damage, and fix the compensation." Compare the language of Forcellini, in explanation of the phrase *æstimare litem* "Aestimare

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item *est, decernere quanta pecunia a reo post damnationem solvenda sit: atque hac ratione lis ponitur pro re de qua lis est.*"

2. *Conventibusque peractis.* Compare note 15, page 33. The idea intended to be conveyed by this phrase is, that the business of the supreme tribunal of the province had been performed in its several circuits.

3. *Sexcentas.* Lipsius thinks this number incredible, considering the shortness of the time; but the reference is to old vessels that had been repaired, as well as to new ones that had been built.

4. *Cujus supra demonstravimus.* Referring to the *naves actuariæ* mentioned in the previous chapter. *Cujus* is here put by attraction for *quod,* in imitation of the Greek.

5. *Instructas.* "Got ready." The proper term to be employed in such cases. Some editions have *constructas,* which is far inferior, and does not suit the number of vessels as well as *instructas.* Compare note 3.

6. *Neque multum abesse,* &c. "And that there was not much wanting of their being able to be launched in a few days," i. e., and that not many days were required to make them fit for launching.

7. *Portum Itium.* Consult Geographical Index, and compare note 9, page 78. — *Transmissum.* "Passage across." —*A continenti.* "From the continent," i. e., from the continent of Gaul to the island of Britain; or, as we would say, from land to land.

8. *Huic rei.* "For this purpose," i. e., to execute these orders. Compare the Greek paraphrase, πρὸς τὸ δὲ ταῦτα διάπραττειν.

9. *Expeditis.* "Disencumbered of baggage." Supply *impedimentis,* and compare note 11, page 42.

10. *Cingetorix.* O'Brien, in his Irish and English Dictionary, makes this name equivalent in Celtic to *Cin-go-toir,* i. e., "*caput ad expeditionem,*" with *Ver* ("a man") prefixed. The name will then signify, the chief, or leader, of an expedition. Sir W. Betham, on the other hand ("The Gael and Cymbri," p. 197), makes the name come from *cingead,* "valiant,' and *rig,* "a king," with a similar prefix of *Ver.*

11. *Alter.* Referring to Cingetorix.—*Confirmavit.* "Assured him."

12. *Silvam Arduennam* "The forest Arduenna," i. e., the forest of Ardennes. Compare B G. 6, 29, and consult Geographical Index. The student will mark the construction *in silvam Arduennam abditis,* which implies a going or conveying into the wood, previous to the act of concealment, whereas *in silva Arduenna ab-*

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88 *ditis* would mean that the persons concealed had been in the wood some period before the concealment took place.

89 1. *Quoniam civitati consulere non possent.* "Since they could not take any measures for the common welfare." The dissensions between Indutiomarus and Cingetorix prevented them from doing anything for the interests of the state at large, and they therefore came to Cæsar to entreat his protection for themselves individually.

2. *Laberetur.* "Might fall off," i. e., might revolt.—*Itaque esse civitatem*, &c. "That the state, therefore, was completely under his control."

3. *Permissurum.* Some read *commissurum*, but the former is the true lection. The distinction between *committere* and *permittere* is drawn by Cicero, *Verr.* 2, 1, 32, "*Incommoda sua nostris* committere *legibus, quam dolori suo* permittere *maluerunt.*"

4. *Quæque eum res*, &c. "And what cause detained him from his projected purpose."—*Omnibus ad Brittanicum*, &c. "When everything was prepared for the British war," i. e., now that everything was ready, &c.

5. *Nominatim.* "Expressly."—*Consolatus*, &c. "He consoled Indutiomarus, and exhorted him," &c. Cæsar consoled Indutiomarus, for the temporary deprivation of his son and relations, whom he intended carrying with him, as hostages, into Britain, and assured him that they should suffer no injury.

6. *Hos singillatim*, &c. "He reconciled these, man by man, to Cingetorix."—*Quod cum merito*, &c. "This he both thought was done by him in accordance with the deserts of the latter, and at the same time imagined it was greatly his interest, that the authority of one, whose signal attachment towards himself he had clearly perceived, should be as great as possible among his own countrymen."

7. *Suam gratiam*, &c. "That his influence was lessened among his countrymen." His influence was lessened by the reconciliation which had been effected between Cingetorix and the other chieftains.—*Multo gravius hoc dolore exarsit.* "Blazed out with augmented fury, through resentment at this."

8. *In Meldis.* The Meldi here referred to were situate on the Scaldis, or *Scheldt*, between what are now *Gand* and *Bruges*. Some editors, imagining that there was only one Gallic tribe of this name, that situate on the Mediterranean coast, have changed *Meldis* into *Belgis*, but the old reading is correct.

90 1. *Antea dictum est.* Compare book 1, chapter 3.

2. *Cupidum novarum rerum* "Fond of change," i. e., fond of

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political changes, or of revolutions in the state.—*Magni animi.* "Of a high spirit."

3. *Jam.* "Already before this."—*Sibi deferri.* "Was bestowed upon him." Was vested in him.

4. *Recusandi aut deprecandi causa.* "For the purpose either of refusing his appointment, or entreating to have it revoked."

5. *Id factum.* "This fact."—*Ex suis hospitibus.* "From his friends." More literally, "from those connected with him by the ties of hospitality."

6. *Petere contendit.* "Strove to obtain."—*Religionibus.* "By religious scruples." What these were we are not informed. Hotomann thinks, that the allusion is to the performance of some vow, or of funeral rites, while Rhellicanus and Glandorp suppose Dumnorix to have pretended that the omens or auspices were unfavourable. This latter is the more probable opinion.

7. *Obstinate.* "Peremptorily."—*Sevocare singulos.* "To call them aside one by one."

8. *Non sine causa fieri*, &c. "That it was not done without some secret motive, that Gaul was stripped of all her nobility."

9. *Hos omnes in Britanniam*, &c. Alluding to the hostages which Cæsar intended taking with him into Britain, as a means of keeping the Gauls quiet during his absence.—*Fidem reliquis interponere.* "He pledged his word to the rest."—*Quod esse ex usu*, &c. "Whatever they should understand to be for the interest of Gaul."

10. *Quod tantum*, &c. "Because he had ever paid so much respect to the Aeduan state."

11. *Quod longius*, &c. "And that, since he saw his mad folly going too far, he ought to take care, lest the other might have it in his power to do any injury to himself and the Roman government." The construction of the latter part of the clause is, *prospiciendum* (esse sibi, i. e., Cæsari) *ne* (ille, i. e., Dumnorix) *posset nocere quid sibi* (Cæsari) *ac reipublicæ.*

12. *Corus ventus.* "The northwest wind." Some editions have *Caurus ventus*, but the form *Corus* is more common. The wind here meant is the same with the ἀργέστης of the Greeks.

13. *Nihilo tamen secius*, &c. "But still, not the less on that account, to make himself acquainted with all his designs." Supply *ut* before *cognosceret*, from the previous clause.

14. *Omnium impeditis animis.* "While the attention of all was engaged," i. e., with the embarcation.

Page 91 1. *Hunc.* Referring to Dumnorix.—*Pro sano.* "As a prudent man," i. e., as might be expected from, or as became, a prudent man. Literally, "as a man in his senses."—*Qui neglexisset.* "Since he had slighted." The student will note the force of the relative here with the subjunctive mood.

2. *Enim.* "However." *Enim* is here used as an adversative particle, with the force of *autem*, instances of which are of no unfrequent occurrence in Tacitus, Plautus, and other writers. Compare the words of Gronovius (*ad Liv.* 34, 32), "*Observarunt eruditi ex Plauto, hanc particulam* (enim) *interdum a fronte orationis induere vim adversativæ.*"

3. *Rem frumentariam.* The common text has *rei frumentariæ*, but the accusative is far preferable. Consult *Sanctius, Min.* 3, 3, vol. i., p. 514.

4. *Consiliumque pro tempore,* &c. "And might take measures according to time and circumstance," i. e., such measures as time and circumstance might require.

5. *Pari numero equitum,* &c. "A body of cavalry equal to that which he was leaving on the continent." The student will mark the elegance of the construction in the text. It is equivalent to *numero equitum pari ei numero quem relinquebat.* The number of horse referred to is two thousand.

6. *Leni Africo.* "By a gentle southwest wind." The south west wind was called Africus by the Romans, because coming to them in the direction of Africa Propria, the modern district of Tunis.

7. *Longius delatus æstu.* "Being carried down a considerable distance by the tide." *Longius,* literally, "a greater distance than ordinary."—*Sub sinistra relictam.* "Far away on the left."

8. *Secutus.* "Having taken advantage of."

9. *Virtus.* "The patient endurance." *Virtus* here denotes patient endurance of the fatigue of rowing, or, in other words, bodily labour resolutely endured.—*Vectoriis gravibusque navigiis.* "Though in transports and heavily laden vessels."

10. *Cum annotinis.* "With the ships employed the previous year." More literally, "with the ships of the previous year." *Annotinus* means, "of only one year." Compare the Greek paraphrase: σὺν τοῖς τοῦ πρόσθεν ἔτους. Some, very incorrectly, read *annonariis*, referring to vessels of burden used in transporting provisions.

11. *Sui commodi.* Supply *causa.* So in Greek ἕνεκα is often understood

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12. *Cohortibus decem.* Ten cohorts formed a legion, and the complement of cavalry for each legion was three hundred. Cæsar, however, calls the force referred to "ten cohorts," and not "one legion," most probably because the cohorts in question belonged to different legions. 91

13. *Eo minus veritus navibus.* A somewhat unusual phrase, but occurring also in Cicero, *Acad.* 4, 45, "*Vos mihi veremini.*" —*In littore molli atque aperto.* "On a smooth and open shore." Compare the explanation of Morus: "Molli, *nullis scopulis pericu oso;* aperto, *nullis rupibus aut prominentiis impedito.*"

1. *Crebris arboribus succisis.* The trees thus felled were placed together in form of an abattis or breastwork.—*Præclusi* "Blocked up." 92

2. *Propugnabant.* "Came forth to fight."

3. *Testudine.* Consult Archæological Index.—*Aggere ad munitiones adjecto.* "A mound having been thrown up against the fortifications of the enemy." A mound is properly said to be thrown up, *jaci;* while a tower is said *agi* (or *excitari.* B. G. 5, 40).

4. *Milites.* "The foot." *Milites* is here opposed to *equites,* and is to be taken, therefore, in the sense of *pedites.* So in the 61st chapter of the 7th book, "*exercitus equitatusque.*"

5. *Superiore nocte.* "On the preceding night."—*Afflictas,* &c. "Had been dashed against each other, and driven on shore." Some read *in littus,* but *in littore* is more graphic, since it implies, that the vessels had not only been driven on shore, but were still lying there.

6. *Subsisterent.* "Could hold out," i. e., could stand firm against. Compare Livy, 27, 7, "*Vix Annibali atque ejus armis subsistentem.*"

7. *Ex eo concursu navium.* "From this collision of the vessels," i. e., from the ships thus running foul of one another.

8. *Coram perspicit.* "He sees with his own eyes," i. e., before him, on the spot. Compare the Greek paraphrase, *χώραν αὐτὸς ἐνταῦθα κατεῖδεν.*—*Magno negotio.* "With great trouble."

9. *Fabros.* "The artificers." Each legion had its proper complement of artificers. Compare Vegetius, 2, 11, "*Habet præterea legio fabros lignarios, instructores, carpentarios, ferrarios,*" &c., and consult *Stewecchius, ad loc.* p. 168. Under the term *fabri* Cæsar here includes the *fabri lignarii,* or carpenters, and the *fabri ferrarii,* or smiths.

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92 10. *Ut quam plurimas*," &c. "To build as many vessels as possible with the legions that are with him," i. e., with the legions which he commanded.

93 1. *Subduci.* "To be drawn on shore." Supply *in aridum* The full form is given *B. G.* 4, 29.—*Una munitione.* "By one general fortification," i. e., the same rampart and ditch were to encompass the vessels and the tents.

2. *Unde.* Referring to the place where he was when the news reached him of the disaster of his vessels.

3. *Summa imperii*, &c. "The supreme command and direction of the war."—*Cassivellauno.* The derivation which Sir William Betham gives for this proper name is extremely amusing, and shows the reckless handiwork of a professed etymologist. He deduces it from *Cass*, a man's name, and *bealln* "a little mouth," and makes Cassivellaunus equivalent, therefore, to "Cass with the little mouth!"

4. *Superiore tempore.* "At a former period."—*Continentia.* Put for *continua.* So *continentes silvæ* (*B. G.* 3, 28), and *continentes paludes* (*B. G.* 6, 31).

5. *Quos natos*, &c. "Who they say it has been handed down by tradition were born in the island itself," i. e., of whom they have a tradition that they were sprung from the very soil of the island itself. This is in accordance with the erroneous, but very prevalent, belief among so many of the nations of antiquity, that their first ancestors were produced or born from the earth. The Athenians in particular were remarkable for this, and hence the name *αὐτόχθονες* which they applied to their race. Thus Thucydides remarks (1, 2), *τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἄνθρωποι ᾤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεί.* Where the scholiast adds, *τῷ γένει δηλονότι, οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀθάνατοι.* The most ancient nations thought themselves indigenous, because, having long dwelt in the same country, they at length forgot their origin.

6. *Quibus orti ex civitatibus.* "From which being sprung." *Civitatibus* is here repeated with the relative, according to Cæsar's not unfrequent custom. Compare note 7, page 5.—*Bello Illato.* "The war having been waged," i. e., when the war was over.

7. *Hominum est infinita multitudo.* "The number of inhabitants is unbounded," i. e., the population is immense.—*Gallicis consimilia.* Compare Jornandes 2, 2: "*Virgeas habitant casas communia tecta cum pecore, silvæque illis sæpe sunt domus.*"

8. *Utuntur aut ære*, &c. "They employ for money either copper or oblong pieces of iron, ascertained to be of a certain weight."

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Literally, "tried by a certain weight." The term *taleis*, in this passage, occasions great trouble to the commentators, and they give it, generally speaking, the meaning of "rings," because the Greek paraphrast renders it by δακτυλίοις. Nothing, however, can be more erroneous than this interpretation. *Talea* properly denotes a wooden pin, or small piece of wood shaped like a spike, used in architecture for connecting together the timbers of an edifice. (*Vitruv.* 1, 5.) It is then applied to agricultural operations, and means a small branch of a tree, sharpened like a spike or stake, and planted in the ground to produce another tree. (*Varro, R. R.* 1, 40.) Cæsar employs the term here in precisely the same sense, as far as regards shape; but as *talea* properly means something of wood, he appends the adjective *ferreus*, in order to show that the *talea* here meant were pieces of iron. The Britons, therefore, according to him, employed for money either copper, or small pieces of iron shaped like spikes. This view of the subject receives a striking confirmation from the custom said to have prevailed among the earlier Greeks. The earlier ὀβολὸς, according to ancient authorities, denoted originally "a spit," i. e., a piece of iron or copper fashioned like a small spit, and used for money, and six of these made a drachma (δραχμὴ), or, "handful," these being as many as the hand can grasp. Consult on this point, *Plutarch, Vit. Lys.* c. 17. *Julius Pollux* 9, 6, § 77, who refers to Aristotle in support of this assertion. *Eustath, ad Il.* 1, 465. *Etymol. Mag.* s. v., ὀβελίσκος.

9. *Nascitur ibi plumbum album.* "Tin is found there." Literally, "is produced there." By *plumbum album* is meant the κασσίτερος of the Greeks. Compare *Plin. H. N.* 36, 16. The tin mines of England are situated in Cornwall, which occupies the south-western extremity of the country.—*In mediterraneis regionibus.* This statement of Cæsar's is incorrect. Tin is not brought from the interior.

10. *Materia.* "Wood," i. e., trees.—*Fagum.* "The beech." The φηγὸς of Dioscorides (1, 121), and ὀξύα of Theophrastus (3, 10).

11. *Animi voluptatisque causa.* "For the sake of amusement and pleasure.—*Loca sunt temperatiora*, &c. "The climate is more temperate than in Gaul, the cold being less intense." The account which Tacitus gives of the climate of Britain (*Vit. Agric.* 12), agrees very well with what it is at present: "*Coelum crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum: asperitas frigorum abest.*"

12. *Triquetra.* "Triangular." This, taking the general form of the island, is not very far from the truth. Cæsar must have ob-

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93 tained his information, respecting the shape of the island, from the account of others, since Britain was not circumnavigated by the Romans till the time of Agricola. (*Tacit. Agric.* 10.) In the same way are we to account for Cæsar's acquaintance with the manners and customs of the Britons, since he never penetrated into the interior.

13. *Ad Cantium.* "At Kent."—*Ad orientem solem.* Supply *spectat.*—*Tenet circiter*, &c. "Contains about five hundred miles." Measuring in a straight line from Bolerium Promontorium, or *Land's End*, to Cantium Promontorium, or *North Foreland* the distance does not exceed 344 British, or 356 Roman miles. If Cæsar included the irregularities of the coast, the measurement would b greatly enlarged.

14. *Ad Hispaniam.* This statement is very erroneous, as Spain lies to the south, not to the west of Britain.

94 1. *Dimidio minor*, &c. "Less than Britain, as is supposed, by a half." The superficial extent of Great Britain is computed at 77,370 square miles, and that of Ireland at 30,370; hence the magnitude of the former is upward of two and a half times that of the latter.

2. *Sed pari spatio transmissus*, &c. "But the passage across to Britain is the same distance as from Gaul."

3. *Mona.* The Isle of Man. Consult Geographical Index.—*Complures præterea minores*, &c. "Besides several other smaller islands are thought to lie facing in the channel." Some read *subjectæ* for *objectæ*, but the Greek paraphrase has ἀντικεῖσθαι. The Orkney and Shetland Islands are meant, but that they are properly speaking *objectæ* is, of course, untrue.

4. *Dies continuos triginta*, &c. "That there is night for thirty successive days at the winter-solstice," i. e., 22d December. This report was without any foundation in truth.

5. *Nisi certis ex aqua*, &c. "But we perceived, by accurate water measures, that the nights were shorter than on the continent," i. e., but measuring the time by water-glasses &c. The allusion here is to the *clepsydra*, or, as we would call it, water-clock. The *clepsydra*, as its name imports, was a Grecian invention, and was first adopted at Rome in the third consulship of Pompey. (*Auctor dial. de caus. cor. eloq.* 38.) In the most common kind of water clocks, the water issued drop by drop through a hole in one vessel, and fell into another, in which a light body that floated marked the height of the fluid as it rose, by pointing to a scale of hours on the

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side of the vessel, and thus indicated the time. All the *clepsy-* 94
dræ, however, had this defect in common, that the water at first flowed out rapidly, and afterward more slowly, so that they required much care and regulation. Consult *Beckman*, *History of Inventions*, vol. i., p. 136.

6. *Septingentorum millium.* "Seven hundred miles." A calculation which exceeds the truth 90 Roman miles. The length of the western coast is 590 British, nearly equal to 610 Roman, miles.

7. *Contra Septentriones.* "Opposite the north." This is not correct; the east is much nearer the truth.—*Octingenta.* This greatly exceeds the real measurement. The exact length is about 550 British, or 570 Roman, miles.

8. *Humanissimi.* "The most civilized."—*A Gallica consuetudine.* "From the customs of Gaul." Compare *B. G.* 6, 21, "*Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt.*"

9. *Se vitro inficiunt.* "Stain themselves with woad," i. e., or a blue colour. The Greek name for this plant is *isatis*; its other appellation in Latin, besides *vitrum*, is *glastum*. This last is supposed to be derived from the old British word *glas*, which means not only "green," but also "blue." The Romans, it is thought, confounded the *glas* of the Britons with the old German word *glas*, applied first to "amber," and afterward to "glass," and hence gave the name of *vitrum* to the plant in question.

10. *Atque hoc*, &c. "And hence they are of a more frightful appearance in battle." The Greek paraphrast very neatly expresses this by, ὥστε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καταπληκτικώτατοι τὸ θεάμά εἰσι.

11. *Capilloque sunt promisso*, &c. "They have, moreover, long hair, and every part of the body shaved except," &c.—*Uxores habent*, &c. The order is, *deni duodenique* (Britanni) *habent uxores communes inter se.* Render *deni duodenique*, "parties of ten or twelve."

12. *Quo primum*, &c. "By whom each female when a virgin was first married." With *deducta est* supply *domum*, and compare the phrase *ducere domum*, "to marry."

13. *Tamen ut.* "In such a way, however, that," i. e., with so little success that. Before *tamen* supply *ita*, and consult *Palairet*, *Ellips. Lat.* p. 157.

14. *Cupidius insecuti.* "Our men having pursued them too eagerly."—*Illi.* Referring to the Britons.—*Intermisso spatio.* "Some interval having elapsed."—*Imprudentibus nostris.* "Our men not expecting them."

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95 1. *Submissis.* "Being sent to their aid." Put for Cæsar's more usual form of expression, *subsidio missis.* Oudendorp is in favour of *immissis.*

2. *Atque his primis*, &c. "And these the first of two legions." The first cohort of a legion not only exceeded the rest in number, but contained the bravest men. Thus Vegetius remarks (2, 6), "*Prima cohors reliquas et numero militum et dignitate præcedit.*" Lipsius, however, insists, that what Vegetius here says about superiority of numbers merely applies to later warfare, and that the first cohort only surpassed the rest in its containing braver men. (*Mil. Rom.* 1, dial. 4, p. 67, *seq.*)

3. *Cum hæ*, &c. "When these had taken their ground at a very small distance from each other." The common text incorrectly punctuates after *spatio*, connecting *inter se* with *constitissent.* The Greek paraphrast gives the true meaning, ὀλιγὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπεχουσῶν.

4. *Perruperunt.* Supply *hostes.*—*Immissis.* "Being sent out against them." Compare the Greek, πλειόνων ἐπελθουσῶν σπειρῶν.

5. *Cum dimicaretur.* "As the battle was fought."—*Intellectum est.* Supply *a nobis.* "We perceived."

6. *Cedentes.* "Those who gave ground."

7. *Dimicare.* Before this word *prælio* occurs in some editions But, as it does not appear in many MSS., and is not at all needed, we have thrown it out.—*Illi.* Referring to the Britons.

8. *Et pedibus*, &c. "And fought with great advantage on foot." Literally, "fought on foot in unequal combat."—*Equestris autem proelii ratio*, &c. "The manner of fighting, however, on the part of the British horse, brought with it equal and the same danger to our cavalry, whether the former retreated or pursued." Compare the explanation of Lemaire: "*Ratio qua equites Britanni pugnabant idem periculum Romanis inferebat, seu ii* (Barbari scil.) *cederent seu insequerentur.*"

9. *Conferti.* "In close array."—*Rari.* "Scattered here and there." The reference is to the cavalry of the Britons.—*Atque alii alios*, &c. "And kept relieving one another in succession, while the vigorous and fresh took the places of those that were wearied."

10. *Lenius.* "With less spirit"

11. *Sic, uti ab signis*, &c. "With so much fury, as to be close up with the standards and legions." *Non absisterent*, literally, "not to stand at a distance from," is here equivalent to *prope starent*

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12 *Quoad.* "Until."—*Subsidio confisi.* "Confident of being supported." 95

13. *Summis copiis.* "With any very numerous force." Literally, "with numerous forces." Some render *summis copiis*, "with all their forces," but the Greek paraphrast favours the other interpretation, οὐκέτι πολλῇ δυνάμει τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συνέμιξαν.

1. *Animum advertit.* For *animadvertit*, which appears in the 96
common text, Grævius observes (*ad Cic. Off.* 2, 19) that the copyists have in many places altered this elegant form of expression, substituting for it the latter.

2. *Ripa autem erat*, &c. "The bank, moreover, was defended by sharp stakes fastened in front of it, while other stakes of the same kind, fixed down beneath the water, were covered by the river." Lipsius (*Poliorcet.* 5, dial. 3) thinks we ought to read here *plumbo* instead of *flumine*, because Bede, who lived in the eighth century, speaks in his history (1, 11) of certain stakes, still seen in his time in this quarter, which had lead attached to them in order to keep them in their places. Cæsar, however, says they were sharpened at the end, which would supersede, of course, the necessity of any lead being employed; and besides, Bede may easily have been led into error with regard to the particular spot. Stakes kept in their places by means of lead indicate, moreover, a higher degree of civilization than that to which the Britons had thus far attained.

3. *Cum capite solo*, &c. "Though they were above the water with the head only," i. e., though their heads only were above the water. Literally, "though they were out of the water with the head alone."

4. *Ut supra demonstravimus.* Compare chapter 17.—*Servabat.* "Kept watching." *Servabat* is here put for *observabat.* Compare the Greek paraphrase, παρετήρει. *Servare* for *observare* is of frequent occurrence. Compare *Sil. Ital.* 6, 384. *Terence*, *Andr.* 1, 3, 7. *Lucan*, 1, 601, &c.

5. *Ex via.* "From the beaten track." i. e., public road or highway.—*Impeditis.* "Intricate."

6. *Magno cum periculo*, &c. "With great danger to our horse." —*Hoc metu.* "By the fear of this."

7. *Relinquebatur.* "It remained."—*Discedi.* Supply *ab equitibus.* "The cavalry to depart."—*Et hostibus noceretur.* "And the enemy were injured."—*Quantum labore*, &c. "As far as the legionary soldiers could effect this amid fatigue and marching," i. e., amid the fatigue of a long march.

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96 8. *Continentem Galliam* So *Livy*, 31, 45, "*Continens Attica,*" and *Nepos, Themist.* 3, "*Continens terra.*"

9. *Atque in civitatem mittat*, &c. "And to send him into the state, to preside over it and hold the government." Compare the Greek paraphrase: καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς πόλεως καὶ σφῶν ἄρξοντα πέμπειν. The reference is to Mandubratius.

97 1. *Obsides ad numerum*, &c. "Hostages, to the number required, and an abundant supply of corn." The student will mark the force of the plural in *frumenta.*

2. *Ab omni militum*, &c. "And secured from all violence on the part of the soldiery."—*Cenimagni.* Most probably the Cenomani, who had come over from Gaul and settled in Britain. The Greek paraphrase has Κενιμανοί.

3. *Oppidum Cassivellauni.* Bede (*Hist. Ang.* 1, 2) calls this town *Cassibellaum.*

4. *Oppidum autem*, &c. "Now the Britons call it a town, when," &c. The native term was *Caer*. Compare Cæsar's description of a British town with that given by Strabo, 4. p. 200: πόλεις Βρεττανῶν εἰσὶν οἱ δρυμοί, κ. τ. λ.

5. *Locum.* "The place in question." One MS. has *lucum*, which Oudendorp pronounces no inelegant reading.

6. *Ad mare.* "On the seacoast." Compare the Greek paraphrase, παραθαλασσία.—*Supra.* Chapter 13.

7. *Castra navalia.* "The naval camp." This has already been mentioned in the 11th chapter.—*Oppugnent.* "Storm." Used here for *expugnent*, as *adoriantur* precedes.

8. *In continenti.* "On the continent," i. e., in Gaul.—*Quid vectigalis.* "How much tribute." Literally, "what of tribute."

98 1. *Refectas.* "Repaired."—*His deductis.* "These being launched." Supply *ad mare.* Literally, "being drawn down to the sea."

2. *Duobus commeatibus.* "By two embarcations."

3. *Navigationibus.* "Voyages."—*Desideraretur.* "Was missing," i. e., was lost. The Greek paraphrast has καταποντισθῆναι, "was sunk."

4. *Prioris commeatus.* "Of the previous convoy."—*Locum caperent* "Made good the harbour," i. e., reached the island More literally, "reached the (destined) place."

5. *Angustius milites collocavit.* "Stowed his troops in a narrower compass than usual."

6. *Subductis navibus.* "The ships being drawn on shore." Supp'y *in aridum*

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7. *Frumentum angustius provenerat.* "Grain had been produced in less quantities than usual," i. e., the crop had partially failed, or there was a scarcity of grain. 98

8. *In plures civitates.* "Among a greater number of states," i. e., than had before been customary.—*Essuos.* Some editors suggest *Aeduos* as a reading, because no mention is elsewhere made of the Essui But Cæsar is here speaking of nations near the lower Rhine, whereas the Aedui were at a considerable distance from that river.

9. *Belgio.* By *Belgium* is here meant a part of Gallia Belgica, not the whole. It comprehended the territory of the Bellovaci, Atrebates, and Ambiani. Consult *Cellarius, Geog. Antiq.* vol. ii., p. 307.

10. *Mederi.* "Remedy."

1. *Millibus passuum centum.* There is an error in this, for from 99
the confines of the Eburones to the winter quarters of Crassus the distance was nearly 180 miles. The Greek paraphrast, on the other hand, errs by excess, for he has ἐν ὀγδοήκοντα στάδιων μυριάσι περιείχετο

2. *Tertium jam hunc,* &c. The true reading of this passage is very much disputed. The one which we have given rests in part on the editions of Basle, Aldus (1580), Glareanus, &c., and partly on the Greek paraphrase: τῷ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ τρίτῳ ἔτει, οἱ δυσμενεῖς αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχόντων τούτου τοῦ πράγματος αἰτίων γεγενημένων, ἐξ ἐμφανοῦς ἀπέκτειναν. *Hunc* refers to Tasgetius, not to *annum.*

3. *Quod ad plures pertinebat.* "Because several persons were concerned." Literally, "because it pertained to more persons than one."

4. *In hiberna perventum,* &c. "That they had reached their respective quarters, and that a place for wintering in had been fortified by each."

5. *Ad fines regni sui,* &c. "Had met Sabinus and Cotta on the borders of their kingdom."

6. *De re communi.* "Relative to their common interest."—*Minui posse.* "Could be adjusted."

7. *Missu Cæsaris.* Equivalent to *mittente Cæsare.* "Being despatched for this purpose by Cæsar."

1. *Plurimum ei,* &c. "Acknowledged he was under very great 100
obligations to him."—*Stipendio liberatus esset.* "He had been liberated from tribute," i. e., freed from the payment of it.

2. *De oppugnatione castrorum.* "As regarded the attack on our camp"

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100 3. *Suaque esse imperia*, &c. "And that his authority was of such a nature, that the people at large had no less power over him than he had over them."

4. *Ex humilitate sua.* "From his own weakness." Compare the Greek paraphrase, τούτου δὲ πεῖραν τὴν ἐμὴν ταπεινότητα δύναμαι διδόναι.

5. *Sed esse Galliæ commune consilium.* "But that it was the common design of Gaul," i. e., that it was a common and preconcerted plan on the part of the whole nation.

6. *Non facile Gallos*, &c. "That it was no easy matter for Gauls to give a refusal to Gauls," i. e., a refusal to join with them.

7. *Quibus quoniam*, &c. "That since he had satisfied them, as far as duty to his country was concerned, so now he had respect to the claims of duty, as regarded the favours bestowed upon him by Cæsar," i. e., as he had discharged his duty to his country, he would now discharge that which he owed to Cæsar in return for his numerous kindnesses.—*Pietate.* The term *pietas* among the Roman writers has a very extensive meaning, denoting the duty which we owe to our parents, relations, friends, country, and the Deity. The reference in the present passage is to country merely.

8. *Pro hospitio.* "In consideration of the ties of hospitality."—*Conductam Rhenum transisse.* "Having been hired for the purpose, had crossed the Rhine."—*Hanc.* "That this band."

9. *Ipsorum esse consilium.* "That it was for themselves to consider." *Ipsorum* refers to Titurius and Cotta. Compare the explanation of Lemaire: "*Deliberent ergo inter se* (scil. Sabinus et Cotta), *seu videant Romani, au velint*," &c.

10. *Quod cum faciat*, &c. "That in doing this, he was both consulting for the good of his own state, in its being freed from the burden of winter quarters, and was making a proper return to Cæsar for his acts of kindness towards him."

101 1. *Ad consilium rem deferunt.* "They lay the matter before a council of war."—*Existit.* "Arises."

2. *Rem esse testimonio.* "That the fact spoke for itself."—*Multis ultro*, &c. "Many wounds having been inflicted upon the latter, without any being received in return." Compare the explanation of Lemaire: "*nam Romani intulerant hostibus vulnera; ipsi vero non acceperant.*"

3. *Re frumentaria non premi.* "That they were not distressed for corn.' Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἐπιτηδείων ἐνδεεῖς οὐκ εἶναι

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4. *Levius aut turpius.* "Weaker or more cowardly."—*Auctore hoste*, &c. "To deliberate concerning matters of the utmost importance when an enemy was the author of the step." Compare the Greek, κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων γνώμην περὶ τῶν πάντων βουλεύεσθαι. The reference is to the information derived from the enemy, on which their deliberations would be based. 101

5. *Sero.* "Too late."—*Clamitabat.* "Kept crying out loudly and repeatedly." The frequentative is here very emphatic.

6. *Aliquid calamitatis.* "Some disaster."—*Brevem consulendi*, &c. "That the time for deliberation was short."—*Arbitrari.* "That he supposed." Supply *se.*

7. *Non hostem auctorem*, &c. "That he did not look to the enemy as an authority for the step which he recommended, but to the fact itself."—*Subesse.* "Was near." Compare the Greek· πλησίον μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ῥῆνος.

8. *Ardere Galliam*, &c. "That Gaul burned with resentment at having been reduced, after so many insults had been received by it, under the sway of the Roman people."

9. *Sine certa re.* "Without accurate information," i. e., unless on sure grounds.

10. *Si nil sit durius.* "If no greater difficulty came in their way," i. e., if no attack were made by the Gauls.

11. *Unam salutem.* "Their only safety." Compare Virgil, *Æn.* 2, 354, "*Una salus victis.*"

12. *Præsens.* "Immediate."—*Longinqua obsidione.* "Resulting from a protracted siege." *Longinquus* is here put for *diuturnus.* Compare Broukhus. *ad Propert.* 1, 6, 27.

1. *Primisque ordinibus.* "And the principal centurions," i. e., the centurions of the first ranks. Consult Archæological Index, and compare note 11, page 46. 102

2. *Vincite.* "Prevail," i. e., carry your point.—*Neque is sum qui*, &c. "For I am not the man among you to be very greatly alarmed at the danger of death."

3. *Hi sapient*, &c. "These will discover which of us is right, and, in case any disaster occur, will demand satisfaction, Cotta, from you," i. e., will call you to account for it. *Hi* refers to the Roman soldiers standing without, but near enough to hear what was said. Compare the Greek paraphrase: οὗτοι δὲ φρονούντων στρατιῶται, κ. τ. λ.

4. *Qui.* "Since they."—*Perendino die.* "On the third day hence." *Perendie*, from which the adjective *perendinus* comes, is

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102 derived, according to the grammarians, from *peremptus* and *dies*, and is the same as *perempta die*, the intervening day being meant by *die*.

5. *Rejecti et relegati*, &c. "As if forced away and banished by you to a distance from their countrymen." By *cæteris* are meant the Romans in the other winter quarters, while by *rejecti* and *relegati* is figuratively expressed the forced separation, by the command of their officers, of the troops of Cotta from those in the neighbouring provinces. Compare the Greek : ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς σὺ κελεύεις, ἀποχωρισθέντες, ἢ μαχαίρᾳ, ἢ λιμῷ, αἰσχρῶς ἀποθανοῦσι.

6. *Consurgitur ex concilio*, &c. "The members rise from the council, they embrace and beseech both Cotta and Sabinus."

7. *Rem.* "Affairs."—*Facile esse rem.* "That it was an easy matter."—*Res disputatione perducitur.* "The debate is protracted."

8. *Dat manus.* "Yields." Literally, "gives his hands." A figurative expression, borrowed from the form of making a surrender, by stretching forth, or holding up, hands.

9. *Pronunciatur*, &c. "Orders are issued for the troops to march at daybreak." Literally, "it is announced that they will depart," &c.

10. *Consumitur vigiliis*, &c. "Is spent without sleep, each soldier looking about among his effects, to see what he might be able to carry with him, what part of his winter stores he would be compelled to leave behind." The expression *ex instrumento hibernorum* is rendered by the Greek paraphrast ἐκ τῶν σκευῶν.

11. *Omnia excogitantur*, &c. "Every reason is suggested, to show why they could not stay without danger, and why that danger would be now increased by the languor of the soldiers, and their want of sleep." The meaning of this passage has given rise to much controversy. Its import appears to us to be as follows: The Roman soldiers felt the disgrace of the step which they were about to take, and kept suggesting, therefore, in conversation with one another, various plausible arguments, to show that it was the only plan they could safely pursue in the present crisis.

12. *Posteaquam ex nocturno fremitu*, &c. "After they got intimation of their intended departure, by the noise which prevailed during the night, and their not retiring to repose."

13. *A millibus*, &c. "At the distance of about two miles." An idiom analogous to our own mode of expression, "about two miles off."

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14. *Convallem.* The term *convallis*, though generally rendered "valley," yet conveys in strictness the idea of a long and extended one. Compare *Festus*, s. v.—*Demisisset se.* "Had descended." 102

15. *Ut qui nihil ante*, &c. "Since he had not at all foreseen the danger, was thrown into the greatest alarm, ran up and down," &c.—*Atque ut.* "And in such a way that." Supply *ita* before *ut*

1. *Qui in ipso negotio*, &c. "Who are compelled to deliberate in the very moment of action," i. e., when they ought to act. 103

2. *Auctor.* "An adviser."—*In appellandis.* "In addressing."

3. *Minus facile per se*, &c. "They could less easily perform everything themselves," i. e., every part of their duty could not be readily performed by them in person; or, they could not easily visit every part. The reference is to Titurius and Cotta.

4. *Jusserunt pronunciare.* "They ordered the officers to announce to their men." Supply *duces* before *pronunciare.* We have here adopted the reading of the earliest MSS. The common text has *pronunciari.*

5. *Incommode accidit.* "It turned out untowardly on the present occasion," i. e., proved unfortunate.

6. *Spem minuit.* This was produced by the abandonment of their baggage, since the soldiers easily perceived from this step that affairs were considered to be at the last extremity.—*Quod videbatur* "Because it was apparent."

7. *Vulgo.* "Everywhere." Compare the Greek paraphrase, πάντοθεν.—*Abripere.* "Tear away." A much more forcible reading than *arripere.*

8. *Barbaris consilium non defuit.* "Judgment was not wanting to the barbarians," i. e., the barbarians were not deficient in judgment on this occasion.

9. *Pronunciare jusserunt.* "Ordered the different chieftains to announce," i. e., to give orders to their respective followers.

10. *Illorum.* Referring to the Gauls.

11. *Erant et virtute*, &c. "Our men, by both their value and numbers, were a match for the enemy in fighting." The meaning is, not that the numbers of the Romans were equal to those of the Gauls, but that the former had troops enough, considering their bravery and discipline, to keep the latter in check.

12. *Procurreret.* "Made a charge," i. e., rushed forth from the orb.

13. *Cedant.* "To give way before them."—*Levitate armorum*,

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103 &c. "That, from the lightness of their armour and daily practice, they could receive no harm," i. e., the agility which daily practice gave, and the light weight of their armour, would enable them to make a rapid and safe retreat whenever the Romans charged upon them.

14. *Rursus se ad signa*, &c. "To pursue them in turn when retreating to their standards," i. e., when returning to their former station in the orb.

15. *Excesserat.* "Had issued forth."—*Interim eam partem*, &c. "In the mean time, it was necessary for that part to be exposed, and for a shower of darts to be received by our men on their naked flanks."

104 1. *Locum tenere.* "To retain their place in the orb," and not sally forth.—*Virtuti locus.* "Room for displaying valour."—*Nec conferti vitare poterant.* "Nor could they, being crowded together into a small compass, avoid," &c.

2. *Tot incommodis conflictati.* "Although harassed by so many disadvantages." More freely, "although having to struggle with so many," &c.

3. *Ad horam octavam.* This would answer to two o'clock in the afternoon; the first hour, according to the Roman computation, being from six to seven in the morning, or, more strictly, from sunrise to the beginning of the second hour.

4. *Primum pilum duxerat.* "Had been chief centurion." Consult Archæological Index, and compare note 11, page 46.

5. *Ejusdem ordinis.* "Of the same rank," i. e., a *primipilus*, or centurion of the first rank.—*Subvenit.* "Is striving to aid."

6. *In adversum os.* "Full in the mouth." Compare *B. C.* 3 99, "*Gladio in os adversum conjecto.*"

7. *Ille.* Referring to Ambiorix.—*Ipsi vero*, &c. "That no harm, however, should be done to himself," i. e., he himself should be uninjured, whatever might be determined upon in relation to the lives of the soldiers.

8. *Ille.* Referring to Titurius.—*Cum Cotta saucio*, &c. "Communicates the answer of Ambiorix to the wounded Cotta, requesting him, if the step appear to him a proper one, to leave the battle," &c.

9. *Atque in eo constitit.* "And persisted in this resolve," i. e., of not going to Ambiorix.

10. *In præsentia.* "At the time." In the Greek paraphrase, τότε.—*Imperatum facit.* "Does what is commanded."

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11. *Longiorque consulto*, &c. "And a discourse longer than ordinary is designedly begun by Ambiorix," i. e., and the conference is designedly protracted by Ambiorix. 104

12. *Victoriam conclamant*. "Shout out 'Victory.'"—*Ululatum*. "A yell."—*Cotta interficitur*. Suetonius (*Vit. Cæs*. c. 25) says that this disaster took place in the country of the Germans, "*in Germanorum finibus*." The mistake arose from the Eburones being near neighbours to the Germans.

1. *Illi*. Referring to those who had retreated to the camp.—*Ad unum*. "To a man."—*Incertis itineribus*. "By uncertain routes," i. e., wandering at hazard. 105

2. *Sublatus*. "Being elated."

3. *Re demonstrata*. "The whole affair being laid before them," i. e., having acquainted them with his success, and having explained to them the design which he had in view.

4. *Nihil esse negotii*. "That it was an easy matter."—*Se profitetur*. "He offers himself."

5. *Huic*. "To this officer." Referring to Cicero. Hotomann and Davies give *hic*, on conjecture, which agrees with the ἐνταῦθα of the paraphrase, but some good MSS. sanction *huic*, which is certainly the more spirited reading.

6. *Lignationis munitionisque causa*. "To procure wood, and materials for the fortifications," i. e., stakes for the ramparts, &c.

7. *Sustentatur*. "They hold out." Supply *a nostris*.

1. *Magnis propositis præmiis*, &c. "Great rewards being offered to the messengers, if they should convey them to their destination." Literally, "if they should carry them through," i. e., in safety through the intervening dangers. 106

2. *Turres admodum*, &c. "One hundred and twenty towers in all." More literally, "up to a hundred and twenty towers." Hotomann thinks this number incredible, and it certainly appears a very large one if we take the term *turris* in its literal sense. Perhaps, however, nothing more is meant than a species of bastion, of which 120 might very easily have been raised during the period specified in the text.

3. *Præustæ sudes*. "Stakes burnt at the end." These were used in defending the rampart.—*Muralium pilorum*. "Of mural javelins." These were thrown from the walls against those who were endeavouring to scale them. They were larger and heavier than those used in the field. Lipsius is silent respecting them.

4. *Turres contabulantur*. "Towers of several stories are raised."

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106 This language would seem to sanction the conjecture given under note 2.—*Pinnæ loricæque*, &c. "Battlements and parapets are constructed of interwoven hurdles."

5. *Cum tenuissima*, &c. "Although he was in a very feeble state of health."

6. *Ut ultro militum concursu*, &c. "So that he was compelled at length, as their spontaneous act, by the flocking together and the entreaties of the soldiers, to show himself some indulgence."

7. *Qui aliquem sermonis aditum*, &c. "Who had any intimacy and grounds of friendship with Cicero." By *sermonis aditum habebant* is meant, literally, the having been accustomed to have interviews from time to time with the Roman officer.

8. *Ambiorigem ostentant*, &c. "In order to gain credit for what they said, they inform him with a boastful air of the arrival of Ambiorix." Compare the explanation of Morus: "*Ambiorigem adesse jactabundi dicunt.*" They thought that Cicero would believe what they asserted, when he saw that so humble a state as the Eburones had actually commenced hostilities against the Roman power, and that Ambiorix himself was in arms against Cæsar, from whom he had heretofore received so many favours.

9. *Eos.* Referring to Cicero and the forces under him.—*His* Alluding to the Romans in other winter quarters.

10. *Hoc esse in animo.* "Were so favourably disposed." Had such a regard.—*Hanc inveterascere consuetudinem.* "That this custom should grow into a precedent," i. e., should gather strength by long continuance.

11. *Illis.* The Romans.—*Per se.* "As far as depended upon them."

12. *Cicero ad hæc*, &c. This officer had already been apprized of the defeat and death of Sabinus by one of the fugitives.

13. *Adjutore.* "As an intercessor," or advocate. The Greek paraphrase gives συνέργῳ, "a co-operator."

14. *Pro ejus justitia.* "Through his wonted clemency." *Justitia* loses here a portion of its strict meaning, and denotes, not so much the desire to render to every one his due, as clemency or compassion. Compare Terence, *Heaut.*, 1, 1, 33, "*Meæ stultitiæ in justitia tua sit aliquod præsidii.*"

107 1. *Vallo pedum undecim*, &c "With a rampart eleven feet high, and a ditch fifteen feet wide." Some commentators suppose that the ditch was also fifteen feet deep, but this is unnecessary.

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The Greek paraphrase, however, translates merely with reference to depth: καὶ τάφρῳ πεντεκαίδεκα τὸ βάθος.

2. *Hæc.* Referring to their knowledge of fortification.—*Consuetudine.* "By the experience."—*Cognoverant.* "They had learned."

3. *Sed nulla ferramentorum copia.* "But having no supply of iron tools." The ablative absolute. Supply *existente.*—*Ad hunc usum.* "For this purpose."

4. *Sagulisque.* "And short cloaks." The term *sagum* (of which *sagulum* is a diminutive) is said to be of Gallic origin. Its shape was square, and hence *Isidorus* (*Orig.* c. 24) remarks, "Sagum *Gallicum nomen est: dictum autem sagum quadrum, eo quod apud eos primum quadratum vel quadruplex erat.*" It was fastened by a clasp around the neck. The old French word *saie* points to the Celtic root. The Tartan plaid of modern times may be traced to the same costume. Consult *Adelung*, *Gloss.* vol. vi., p. 26.

5. *Terram exhaurire.* "To remove the earth." A very poetical form of expression for so plain a writer as Cæsar. The Greek paraphrast imitates it very neatly by ἐξαντλεῖν.

6. *Millium decem.* Supply *passuum.* The MSS. and editions vary here, many having *millium passuum XV.* (i. e., *quindecim*). We have adopted the smallest number, although even this appears incredible.

7. *Ad altitudinem valli.* "Equalling the height of the rampart." Literally, "to the height."—*Falces.* "Grappling hooks." These were the *falces murales*, or what the Greeks called δορυδρέπανα. The hooks were bent into the shape of a pruning hook, and were fastened to long poles. They were employed for tearing down walls.

8. *Testudinesque.* "And mantlets." These were different from the testudos hitherto described in the notes to the previous books. They were a kind of mantlet or shed, very similar to the *vineæ*, which were moved up to the ramparts by means of wheels, and under which the assailants worked the battering-ram, or undermined the walls.

9. *Ferventes fusili*, &c. "Red hot balls of cast clay." As regards the epithet *fusilis* here applied to *argilla*, compare the remark of Forcellini, "*qualis est, ex qua statuæ fictiles fiunt.*"

10. *Fervefacta jacula.* "Fiery javelins," i. e., javelins, or darts, with ignited combustibles attached to the head.—*In casas quæ*, &c. Against the huts, which were covered with thatch after the Gallic

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107 fashion." By *casæ* here are meant the winter huts of the soldiers. The Antonine column offers representations of similar ones.

11. *Distulerunt.* "Spread the flames."

12. *Agere.* "To advance." Compare, as regards the *testudines*, what has been remarked under note 8.

13. *Demigrandi.* "Of retiring from the fight." Equivalent to *loco cedendi.* Compare the Greek paraphrase, οὐχ ὅπως φυγῆς ἐμεμνῆντο.—*Respiceret.* "Looked behind him," i. e., at his effects falling a prey to the flames. Compare the language of Celsus: "*Cum fortunæ eorum incendio omnes absumerentur, nunquam aliquis ad illas oculum reflecteret.*

14. *Hunc habuit exitum.* "It had this issue," i. e., was attended with this good consequence.

15. *Ut se sub ipso vallo,* &c. "As they had crowded themselves together beneath the very rampart, and those farthest off gave no means of retreat to the foremost," i. e., prevented the foremost from retreating.

16. *Et quodam loco,* &c. "And a tower of the enemy's having been moved up in one quarter to our rampart, and touching it." The reference is to a moveable tower, of course.

17. *Deturbati.* "The enemy were dislodged."—*Turrisque succensa est.* "And the tower was set fire to from below."

08 1. *Qui jam primis,* &c. "Who were now approaching the first ranks," i. e., were rising fast to the rank of *primipilus,* or chief centurion.

2. *De loco.* "For precedence."—*Summis simultatibus.* "With the greatest secret enmity."

3. *Spectas.* "Do you look for." Equivalent to *circumspicis* or *quæris.* The common text has *exspectas.*—*Hic, hic dies.* We have adopted the reading of Oberlin, as more spirited than the common lection, *hic dies, hic dies.* Compare Sallust, *Cat.* 20, "*En illa, illa libertas.*"

4. *Quaque pars,* &c. "And where appeared to be the thickest part of the enemy."—*Omnium veritus existimationem.* "Having feared the opinion of all," i. e., anxious to preserve his reputation among all.

5. *Procurrentem.* "Running forward to engage him."—*Exanimato.* "Deprived of life."

6. *Verutum.* "A javelin." By *verutum* is meant a light, slender javelin, shaped somewhat like a spit, or else as tapering as a

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spit.—*Hic casus.* "This accident."—*Impeditum.* "Thus embarrassed." 108

7. *Hunc.* Referring to Varenus.—*Illum veruto,* &c. "They suppose that the other was transfixed by the javelin."

8. *In locum dejectus,* &c. "He stumbled and fell into a hollow."

9. *In contentione,* &c. "In this honourable striving and contest." *Contentione* refers to the spirit of emulation by which they were both actuated, *certamine* to their collision with the foe.

10. *Utrumque versavit.* "Directed alternately the movements of each." Compare the explanation of Morus: "*Modo hac, modo illa sorte, per vices, uti voluit.*"—*Ut alter alteri,* &c. "That the one rival brought assistance and security to the other," i. e., the one rival assisted and protected the other.

11. *Gravior atque asperior.* "More severe and difficult to endure." Compare the Greek paraphrase, βαρυτέρα τε καὶ χαλεπωτέρα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

12. *Res ad paucitatem,* &c. "Matters had come to a small number of defenders."

1. *Unus Nervius.* "A certain Nervian." *Unus* is here put 109
for *quidam.* Compare the Greek paraphrase, τις Νερούϊος, and *B. G.* 2, 25, *B. C.* 2, 27.

2. *Suamque in fidem præstiterat.* "And had given him proofs of his attachment."—*Servo.* "A slave of his." Supply *suo.*

3. *Periculis.* "The imminent danger." What grammarians call the plural of excellence.

4. *Hora undecima.* Corresponding to our five o'clock in the afternoon.

5. *Legionem.* Cæsar had placed three legions in Belgium, the one here referred to under the command of Crassus, and two others, one under Lucius Munatius Plancus, and the other under Caius Trebonius. Compare chapter 24.

6. *Qua sibi iter faciendum sciebat.* "Where he knew he would have to pass."—*Reipublicæ commodo.* "With advantage to the state," i. e., to what the public interests required.

7. *Hora tertia.* "Nine o'clock in the morning."

8. *Legionem.* "A legion." Not the one which Crassus had brought, but one which Cæsar had with him probably at the time.

9. *Literas publicas.* 'The public documents."—*Quod eo,* &c. "Which he had brought thither for the sake of enduring the winter" i. e., which he had stored there for the winter supply.

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109 10. *Rem gestam*, &c. "He writes him a full account of what had taken place among the Eburones."—*Peditatus equitatusque copias.* A fuller form of expression than what other writers employ. Compare *B. G.* 6, 6, "*Magnis coactis peditatus equitatusque copiis.*"

110 1. *Consilio ejus probato.* "His conduct being approved of."—*Etsi, opinione trium*, &c. "Although, being disappointed in his expectation of three legions, he had been reduced to two." Literally, "had returned to two."—*Unum communis salutis*, &c. "The only means of subserving the common safety."

2. *Græcis conscriptam literis.* "Written throughout in Greek characters," i. e., Latin words in Greek characters. Polyænus (8, 23, 6) alludes to this circumstance.

3. *Si adire non possit, monet.* "He cautions the messenger, if he cannot gain access to the camp."—*Ad amentum deligata.* "Fastened to the strap." By *amentum* is meant the strap used for hurling the javelin. Compare Festus: "Amenta, *quibus ut emitti possint, vinciuntur jacula.*" The strap appears to have been fastened to the middle of the spear.

4. *Casu.* Dio Cassius (40, 9) says, that this was done purposely by the messenger, but the account of Cæsar is, of course, to be preferred.

5. *Ille perlectam*, &c. "He read it over, and then recited it aloud in an assembly of the soldiers." The student will mark the distinction between *lego*, "to read to one's self," and *recito*, "to read aloud," in order that others may hear.

6. *Fumi incendiorum.* It was the constant custom of Cæsar to burn the buildings of an enemy.—*Expulit.* "Dispelled."

7. *Armatorum.* "Men in arms." Put for *militum.* Compare Livy, 1, 29, "*Cursus armatorum;*" and Nepos, *Dion.* 9, "*Navem armatis ornat.*"

8. *Data facultate.* "An opportunity being thus afforded," i. e., by the departure of the enemy.—*Gallum repetit.* "Begs the Gaul again."—*Qui literas*, &c. "To carry back an answer to Cæsar."

9. *Cæsar.* The position of this word between *quibus literis* and *allatis*, is intended to indicate to whom the letter was brought, and is regarded as a great elegance. Compare Hunter, *ad Liv.* 1, 7, p. 302, and Crombie, *Gymnas.* vol. ii., p. 389.

10. *Trans vallem magnam.* Some editors object to the presence of *magnam* in the text, and it does not, in reality, appear to be

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very correct. The Greek paraphrase, however, has μεγάλης φαράγγος. Cæsar refers to a large valley, traversed by a stream, and on the opposite slope of which, across the stream, the army of the enemy was stationed. 110

11. *Tum.* "For the present, therefore." We have adopted here the meaning recommended by *Flade* (*Obs.* 1), who makes *tum* equivalent in this passage to "*für die Gegenwart,*" or "*für den Zeitpunkt.*" With this the Greek paraphrase agrees, τότε μὲν οὖν. Morus thinks the connexion obscure, and that Cæsar ought to have written *ergo tum quidem.* This would have been too languid and spiritless.

1. *Tamen angustiis,* &c. "Yet he contracts it as much as he can by making the streets between the tents narrow." By *viæ* are here meant the streets or lanes separating the tents of the different divisions of troops from each other. Of these avenues there were generally five running in the length of the camp, that is, from the *porta prætoria* to the *porta decumana*, and three across. Consult Archæological Index, s. v. *Castra.* 11

2. *Ut in summam contemtionem,* &c. This stratagem is mentioned by Frontinus, 3, 17, 6. Compare Stewecchius and Oudendorp, *ad loc.*—*Quo commodissimo itinere.* "By what most convenient route."

3. *Citra vallem.* His object was to entice them across the stream; or, if he could not effect this, to cross the stream himself at that point where he might do it with least danger.

4. *Portasque obstrui.* "And the gates blocked up." The mode of doing this is explained in the next chapter. It was meant, of course, as a feint.—*Atque in his administrandis,* &c. "And he directs them, in executing these orders, to run to and fro as much as possible, and act with the greatest degree of feigned alarm."

5. *Etiam de vallo.* In order to give rise still more strongly to an appearance of alarm on their part.

6. *Ac sic nostros contemserunt,* &c. "And to such a degree did they carry their contempt for our men, that the gate, being apparently blocked up, though, in fact, only by a single row of sods"—*Ea.* "That way," i. e., by the gates. Used adverbially.

7. *Manu.* The reference, of course, is to suitable instruments wielded by the hand. Compare the Greek paraphrase, τὸ ἔρυμα τῇ χειρὶ περιτέμνειν.

8. *Neque etiam,* &c. "And because he saw, that their position was abandoned by the enemy with no small loss on their part."

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111 The enemy lost great numbers amid the marshes and forests, on abandoning the position which they had previously occupied, and Cæsar was afraid of encountering a similar loss, in case he pursued them too far. The reading and interpretation of this passage have been very much disputed. We have followed in both the authority of Oberlinus.

112 1. *Producta legione.* "The legion being drawn out from the camp."—*Non decimum quemque*, &c. "That every tenth man was not left unwounded," i. e., that less than every tenth man, &c

2. *Pro ejus merito.* "As he deserved," i. e., in handsome terms. Literally, "according to his merit."—*Appellat.* "He addresses by name," i. e., he calls unto him and compliments by name. Compare the Greek paraphrase, ὀνομαστὶ παρεκάλεσεν.

3. *Rem gestam proponit.* "He informs them of what had been done," i. e., of what had happened to Cotta and Sabinus.

4. *Quod.* "Inasmuch as."—*Hoc.* "On this account."

5. *Expiato incommodo.* "The disaster having been remedied." Compare the Greek paraphrase, τούτου ἐπανορθωθέντος.—*Lætatio.* A word not occurring elsewhere in any classical author, though sanctioned here by good MSS.

6. *Eo.* "To the latter place," i. e., the winter quarters of Cicero.—*Horam nonam.* "Three o'clock in the afternoon.—*Significatio.* "An intimation."

7. *Trinis hibernis.* "In three different quarters." Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἀνὰ τρία χειμάδια.

8. *Perlato.* "Being brought unto them," i. e., being circulated among them.—*Consultabant.* "Were consulting." The use of the imperfect in this and the succeeding clauses is very graphic.

9. *Quin acciperet.* "Or without his receiving."

113 1. *Armoricæ.* Corresponding to the modern Bretagne. The name *Armorica* is said to be derived from *ar*, "upon," and *moir*, "the sea," and refers to a country lying along the ocean. Consult Geographical Index.

2. *Tantum apud homines*, &c. "So powerful an influence did it exercise among barbarous men, that some were found," &c., i. e., such was the force of example among a savage people.

3. *Præcipuo honore habuit.* "Treated with peculiar honour," i. e., on whom he had always bestowed distinguished marks of honour. —*Alteros.* "The former."—*Alteros.* "The latter."—*Officiis.* "Services," i. e., good offices.

4. *Idque adeo*, &c. "And I do not know indeed whether this

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is to be wondered at." A remarkable deviation from Cæsar's usual mode of speaking in the third person. He alludes to the sudden change of sentiment on the part of the Gauls. 113

5. *Quod, qui*, &c. "Because they, who were accustomed to be ranked before all nations in martial valour, had lost so much of that reputation, as to have endured the command of the Roman people." The reference in *qui virtute belli*, &c., is to the Gauls in general. The expression *a Populo Romano imperia* is the same in effect as *Populi Romani imperia.* So "*legiones a Deiotaro*," *B. Alex.* 3; and "*literæ a Cæsare*," *B. C.* 1, 1.

1. *Hac spe lapsus.* "Disappointed in this hope." Literally, 114
"having fallen from this hope."—*Exercere.* The common text has *exigere a finitimis*. But *exercere* is sanctioned by the best MSS., and also by the term δοκεῖν employed in the Greek paraphrase.

2. *Ultro ad se veniri.* "That men were coming in unto him of their own accord."—*Conscientia facinoris.* The Senones on account of the expulsion of their king Cavarinus (chap. 54), the Carnutes on account of the assassination of Tasgetius (chap. 25).

3. *Armatum concilium.* Tacitus refers to the same custom as existing among the Germans. (*M. G.* 11.) Compare, as regards the Gallic custom, the remark of Stobæus (l. 13), Κελτοὶ σιδηροφοροῦντες τὰ κατὰ πόλιν πάντα πράττουσι; and Livy (21, 20), "*In his nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati (ita mos gentis erat) in concilium venerunt.*" The early Franks only quitted their arms when going to church. Consult the Capitularies of Charlemagne, l. 7, p. 202.

4. *Omnibus cruciatibus*, &c. "Is subjected to, and put to death by, the cruellest tortures." More literally, "by every species of torture."

5. *Alterius principem factionis.* "The leader of the opposite party."—*Supra demonstravimus.* Consult chapter 3.—*Cæsaris secutum fidem.* "Had put himself under the protection of Cæsar."

6. *Huc.* "To them." In the Greek paraphrase πρὸς αὐτούς.

7. *Sub castris ejus.* "Close to his camp."—*Cognosceret.* "He might reconnoitre."

1. *Timorisque opinionem.* Compare chapter 49, where Cæsar 115
had recourse to the same stratagem against the Nervii.

2. *Intromissis.* "Being received within" the Roman works.—*Nulla ratione.* "In no way."

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115 3. *Magna cum contumelia verborum.* "In very insulting language."

4. *Dispersi ac dissipati.* "In a scattered and disorderly manner."

5. *Præcipit atque interdicit,* &c. "He commands them, that when the enemy should be terrified and put to flight (which he foresaw would happen, as it did), they all aim at Indutiomarus alone, and he forbids any one wounding a man before he sees that chieftain slain." We have separated *præcipit* and *interdicit* in translating, in order to convey Cæsar's meaning more clearly.

6. *Mora reliquorum,* &c. "Having gained time by the delay occasioned in pursuing the rest."

7. *Hominis.* Referring to Labienus.—*Fluminis.* The river Mosa is meant, which separated the territory of the Remi from that of the Treveri. Compare Cluverius, 2, 14.

8. *Caputque ejus.* Florus (3, 10), by an error of memory, makes Dolabella, not Labienus, the Roman commander on this occasion.

BOOK VI.

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1. *Per Marcum Silanum*, &c. Persons so appointed to levy forces were called *conquisitores*, from their seeking after those who endeavoured to avoid military duty. Sometimes senators, and, as in the present instance, *legati* were appointed to this duty. Compare Lipsius, *Mil. Rom.* 1, dial. 9, "*Vides, honestiores quosdam, atque e senatu conquisitores : imo ipsos legatos.*" 117

2. *Dilectum habere.* "To hold a levy," i. e., to raise forces. The common text has *delectum*, but *dilectum* is the more accurate form. Compare *Gothofred, ad Fest.* s. v. (*Lindemann, Corp. Gramm. Lat.* vol. ii., p. 405.)

3. *Proconsule.* Pompey had been consul the year previous, and was now proconsul, having had the province of Spain assigned him for the space of five years.

4. *Quoniam ipse ad urbem*, &c. "Since he himself (i. e., Pompey) was remaining near the city with military command, on account of the affairs of the republic, that he would order the troops which he (Pompey) had raised from Cisalpine Gaul, and which had taken the oath of fidelity to the consul, to repair to their standards and come to him (Cæsar)." Pompey, as has already been remarked in the previous note, had decreed unto him, while still in his consulship, the province of Spain, with proconsular powers, for the space of five years to come, and was allowed permission to levy as many troops as, and from whatever quarter, he pleased. (*Dio Cass.* 39, 33.) He levied, therefore, a part of his forces in Cisalpine Gaul, who took the military oath to him as consul. When he was preparing, however, to set out for his province, he was opposed by certain of the tribunes of the commons, and the result was that Afranius and Petreius, his lieutenants, were sent into Spain, while Pompey himself was compelled to remain in Italy. Being invested with military command (*cum imperio*), he could not by law enter the city, but was forced to stay in its vicinity, or, in other words,

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117 without the walls (*ad urbem*). To avoid, however, the appearance of compulsory detention, Pompey pretended, that he remained for the purpose of superintending the supplies of corn for the capital, which Cæsar here calls "*reipublicæ causa.*" (Compare *Dio Cassius*, 39, 39.) This duty had been assigned to Pompey, two years previous, by a law of which Cicero was the proposer. (*Cic. pro Dom.* c. 4, *seq.*—*Dio Cass.* l. c.) Now, while Pompey was thus remaining near the city, Cæsar requested him to send into Gaul the troops which the former had levied in Gallia Cisalpina, or Northern Italy. Pompey assented to the request, and the forces in question, amounting to one legion, were accordingly sent. It is worthy of remark, that this same legion was very artfully obtained back by Pompey, near the commencement of the contest between him and Cæsar; a step which gave great offence to the latter (*Hirtius, B. G.* 8, 54.—*Appian, B. C.* p. 446, *ed. Steph.*), and which, according to Plutarch (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 25), was one of the immediate causes of the outbreaking of the civil conflict.

5. *Sacramento.* Consult Archæological Index. — *Rogavisset.* The subjunctive here, and also in *remaneret* which precedes, refers to what Cæsar had heard from others. The verb *rogare* has in this clause its secondary or derivative meaning. It signifies, properly, "to ask;" then "to elect to any office," the people being asked their opinion relative to the merits of the candidate, and in the present instance it means "to select" or "choose soldiers in a levy," they being interrogated as to their willingness to bind themselves by the military oath and act the part of good soldiers. Hence we have in Festus (p. 264, *ed. Lind.*), "*Sacramento interrogari.*"

6. *Magni interesse*, &c. "Thinking it of great importance even for the time to come, as regarded the opinions which might be formed by the Gauls, that the resources of Italy should appear so great," &c., i. e., thinking it of great importance towards forming the future opinions of the Gauls.

7. *Sarciri.* "Be repaired." *Sarcire* properly means "to repair a garment, or article of clothing generally." Here, however, it is employed in a sense which is very common among legal writers, viz., "to repair damage," "to make whole." Thus we have in the laws of the twelve tables, "*Si quadrupes pauperiem faxit, dominus sarcito.*" On which Festus remarks: "Sarcito, *in XII., Ser. Sulpicius ait significare* damnum solvito, præstato."

8. *Majoribus adaugeri copiis.* "Be more than compensated by an increase of forces," i. e., by a more powerful army than before

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9. *Quod cum Pompeius*, &c. "Pompey having granted this to both the interests of the republic and the claims of private friendship," i. e., both through regard for the republic and private friendship. Literally, "to both the republic and friendship." 117

10. *Per suos.* "By his officers," i. e., the *legati* already mentioned.—*Et constitutis et adductis.* "Being both formed and brought to him."

11. *Populi Romani disciplina.* Compare the spirited eulogium of Valerius Maximus on the discipline of the Roman armies (2, 8): "*Disciplina militaris, acriter retenta, principatum Italiæ Romano imperio peperit; multarum urbium, magnorum regum, et validissimarum gentium regimen largita est; fauces Pontici sinus patefecit; Alpium Taurique montis convulsa claustra tradidit, ortumque e parvula Romuli casa, totius terrarum orbis fecit columen.*"

12. *Ut docuimus.* Consult chapter 58, book 5.—*Non desistunt.* Consult chapter 55, book 5.

13. *Jurejurando inter se*, &c. "The two parties bind themselves to one another by an oath, and secure the payment of the money by means of hostages," i. e., the Treviri give hostages to the Germans as a security for the money. The verb *caveo* is used here in its legal sense. Compare the explanation of Forcellini: "Cavere re aliqua *est re aliqua, veluti pignore, securum facere.*" So *cavere ab aliquo* is "to obtain security from one."

14. *Cisrhenanis omnibus Germanis.* The reference is to that part of the Belgæ who dwelt near the Rhine, namely, the Condrusi, Eburones, Ceræsi, and Pæmani. Compare Davies, *ad loc.*

15. *Ad imperatum.* "To perform what had been commanded them." Equivalent to, "*ad id præstandum quod imperatum erat.*"

1. *Nondum hieme confecta.* "Winter being not yet ended," 118
i. e., before the end of winter.

2. *Uti instituerat.* "As he had been accustomed to do." He was accustomed to hold a council of the states of Gaul every year. Compare chapter 44.

3. *Omnia.* "Everything else."—*Lutetiam Parisiorum.* The modern Paris.—*Hi.* Referring to the Parisii.

4. *Sed ab hoc consilio*, &c. "But were supposed not to be concerned in this plot." More literally, "to have been away from this design." Compare the Greek paraphrase, τῆς τῶν Σενόνων βουλῆς οὐ μετασχεῖν.

5. *Hac re*, &c. "This adjournment having been announced from the tribunal." The *suggestus* (called also *suggestum*) was

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118 an elevated place formed of turf, stone, or wood, according to circumstances. From this speeches were delivered, and the presiding officer of a public assembly pronounced his opinion or judgment. Representations of it frequently occur upon Roman coins.

6. *Conantibus*, &c. "To them attempting to do so, before it could be accomplished, word is brought," &c.—*Deprecandi.* "Of excusing their acts." Compare the explanation of Davies: "*Coepta sua excusandi.*"

7. *Adeunt per Aeduos*, &c. "They make their application through the Aedui, under whose protection their state was in former days." *Quorum* depends in construction on *fide*, not on *civitas*. The Senones had been clients and allies of the Aedui. Compare the explanation of Morus: "*Senones erant clientes et socii Aeduorum;*" and the language of the Greek paraphrase, Τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τῶν Ἐδουέων, ὧν ἐκ τοῦ πάλαι ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν, διεπράξαντο.

8. *Dat veniam.* "Grants them pardon."—*Quod æstivum tempus*, &c. "Because he thought, that the summer season was the time for prosecuting war, not for legal investigations." More literally, "belonged to war pressing on," or "at hand."

9. *Deprecatoribus.* "As intercessors."—*Ferunt.* "They bear away," i. e., receive from Cæsar.—*Peragit.* "Breaks up." Literally, "finishes."

10. *Totus et mente*, &c. "He applies himself with his whole heart and thoughts." We have altered, in translating, the order of *mente* and *animo*, in order to adapt the phraseology more to the English idiom.

11. *Cavarinum.* Compare chapter 54, book 5.—*Ex hujus iracundia.* "From this man's violent temper," i. e., his desire of revenge acting upon a disposition naturally irascible.—*Ex eo quod meruerat*, &c. "From that hatred on the part of the state, which he had incurred." He had become odious to the state, because Cæsar had made him king over it.

119 1. *Pro explorato.* "For certain."—*Reliqua ejus consilia*, &c. "He watched his other plans attentively," i. e., narrowly observed all his movements. *Ejus* refers to Ambiorix.

2. *Perpetuis paludibus*, &c. "Protected by one continued extent of marshes and woods." Compare the Greek paraphrase, συνεχέσι λίμναις τε καὶ ὕλαις πάντοθεν περιεχόμενοι.

3. *Hospitium.* "A friendship founded upon the ties of hospitality."—*Amicitiam.* "An alliance."

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4. *Illi.* Referring to Ambiorix.—*Ipsum.* Alluding to the same, and put in opposition to *auxilia.* 119

5. *In Menapios se abderet.* "Might take refuge among the Menapii," i. e., "might go among the Menapii and hide himself there," as the accusative plainly indicates. *In Menapiis se abderet* would imply that he had been for some time among the Menapii before he concealed himself.

6. *Congredi.* "To connect himself with," i. e., to go and unite with. Compare the Greek paraphrase, *συμμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι.*

7. *Loci præsidio.* "On the strength of their situation." More literally, "on the aid which their situation afforded."

8. *Adit tripartito.* "Marches against them in three divisions." *Tripartito* is equivalent here to *per tres partes simul.* The Greek paraphrase, in like manner, has *τριχῇ*.

9. *Hiemabat.* Some read *hiemaverat;* but *hiemabat* is the true lection, for the winter was not yet over. Oudendorp restored *hiemabat* to the text from good MSS., and the authority of the Greek paraphrase, which has *χειμάζοντι τῷ Λαβιήνῳ*.

10. *A millibus,* &c. Compare chapter 22, book 4, and consult note 13, page 102.

11. *Cum viginti quinque cohortibus.* Five-and-twenty cohorts were the same as two legions and a half, ten cohorts making a legion. Cæsar adopts here the former phraseology, as the cohorts probably belonged to several different legions.

1. *Flumen.* Rhellicanus and Manutius make this river to have 120 been the Mosella, but on this point there is no certainty whatever.

2. *Augebatur auxiliorum,* &c. Referring to the enemy.—*Loquitur.* Referring to Labienus.

3. *In dubium non devocaturum.* "Will not involve in danger." Some read *revocaturum,* which is altogether incorrect, for he had not before exposed them to risk.

4. *Ut ex magno,* &c. "Since, out of a large number of Gallic cavalry, nature compelled some to favour the Gallic interests," i. e., since it was very natural, that, out of so large a number of Gallic horse as were then in the Roman camp, some should be found to favour the interests of their countrymen, and convey to them intelligence of the Roman movements.

5. *Primisque ordinibus.* "And chief centurions." Compare chapter 30, book 5.

6. *Quid sui sit consilii proponit.* "Lays before them his real design."

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120 7. *Fugæ similem profectionem.* Frontinus (2, 5, 20) makes mention of this stratagem of Labienus.

8. *Speratam prædam.* Ciacconius suggests *paratam* for *speratam*, contrary to all the MSS. The Greek paraphrase has correctly, ἐλπισθεῖσαν λείαν.

9. *Longum esse.* "That it was too long," i. e., that it would be folly.

10. *Impeditam.* "Encumbered with baggage."

11. *Eadem usus*, &c. "Practising the same deception as regarded his march," i. e., keeping up the appearance of a retreat.

12. *Facultatem.* "The opportunity."—*Impedito atque iniquo loco.* "In an embarrassed and disadvantageous situation."

13. *Præstate.* "Display."—*Adesse eum*, &c. "Imagine that he is present, and sees these things with his own eyes," i. e., and is an eyewitness of your actions.

14. *Ad impedimenta dimissis.* "Being detached to guard the baggage."—*Ad latera.* "On the flanks."

121 1. *Infestis signis ad se venire.* "Coming towards them with hostile standards," i. e., marching to attack them.—*Impetum modo.* "Our charge merely," i. e., even our charge.

2. *Propinqui Indutiomari.* Consult chapter 2.—*Cingetorigi.* Consult chapter 3 and 56, book 5.

3. *Ex Menapiis.* The narrative now goes back to the close of chapter 6.—*Quarum erat altera.* "The one of which was." Some editions have *una*, which is far inferior.

4. *Ne communi odio*, &c. "Lest in his common hatred of the Germans."—*Poenas pendant.* "Suffer."

5. *Cognita causa.* "On an investigation of the case."

122 1. *Barbaros atque imperitos homines.* "That a barbarous and ignorant people." The reference is to the Suevi.

2. *Infinita magnitudine.* "Of prodigious extent."—*Bacenis* A part, very probably, of the Hercynian forest.

3. *Ab Suevis.* "On the side of the Suevi."—*Ab Cheruscis.* "On the side of the Cherusci."

4. *Non alienum.* "No way foreign to our purpose."—*Proponere.* "To treat." More literally, "to lay before" (the reader an account).

5. *In omnibus pagis*, &c. "In all the cantons and parts of cantons."—*In singulis domibus.* "In each family."

6. *Earumque factionum*, &c. "And the heads of these parties are persons, who, in their opinion, are supposed to possess the

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greatest influence: to whose will and decision the direction of all affairs and counsels is referred," i. e., on whose will and decision all their most important affairs and resolutions depend. 122

7. *Idque ejus rei causa*, &c. "And this custom seems to have been instituted from early times, for the following reason."

8. *Ne quis ex plebe*, &c. The reason here assigned was in like manner the basis of the Roman institution of patrons and clients.

9. *Quisque*. "Each leader," i. e., each patron.—*Neque, aliter si faciant*. We have here what grammarians call a syllepsis of number, or change from the singular to the plural. Compare *Sanct Min.* 4, 10 (vol. ii., p. 365, *ed. Bauer*).

10. *Hæc eadem ratio est*, &c. "This same principle prevails in the general administration of all Gaul." Compare the explanation of Morus: "*In summa rerum publicarum, sive in administratione et forma universæ civitatis Gallicæ.*"

11. *Alterius factionis*, &c. "The Aedui were at the head of one party."—*Hi*. "The latter." Referring to the Sequani.—*Summa auctoritas*. "The chief influence."

12. *Jacturis*. "Sacrifices," i. e., expenses or gifts. *Jactura* properly denotes what is thrown overboard in a storm in order to save the rest of the cargo. (Compare *Cic. Off.* 3, 23.) Here, however, it is employed in the sense of pecuniary sacrifices or expenditures, or, in other words, of a present loss, in expectation of future benefit. Compare *B. C.* 3, 112, and *Cic. ad Att.* 6, 1. Consult also Gronovius, *de Pec. Vet.* 4, 4, p. 285.

1. *Tantum potentia antecesserant*. "The Sequani had so far surpassed the latter in power."—*Iis*. Referring to the Aedui. 123

2. *Romam ad Senatum*, &c. Compare note 13, page 18.—*Infecta re*. "His object being unaccomplished," i. e., without success.

3. *Commutatione*. "A change." This change was brought about by Cæsar's defeat of Ariovistus.—*Obsidibus Aeduis redditis*. "Their hostages being given back to the Aedui."

4. *Eorum*. Referring to the Aedui.—*Aggregaverant*. "Had attached."—*Æquiore imperio*. "A more equitable government."

5. *Reliquis rebus eorum*, &c. "The rest of their affairs, their influence, their dignity being augmented." In order to avoid ambiguity, *amplificata* is here made to agree with *dignitate* instead of *rebus*.

6. *Dimiserant*. Used here for *amiserant*, but more graphic.

7 *Quos quod adæquare*, &c. As *quos* begins the clause, it is to

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123 be regarded as equivalent to *et eos*. "And that, since it was known that they equalled the Aedui in Cæsar's favour," &c. *Quos* refers to the Remi, and after *adæquare* we must supply *eos*, i. e., *Aeduos*.

8. *Se Remis*, &c. "Put themselves under the protection of the Remi." More literally, "consigned themselves to clientship under the Remi."—*Illi*. Referring to the Remi.—*Collectam*. "Acquired."

9. *Qui aliquo sunt in numero*, &c. "Who are of any note and are held in any estimation." Compare the explanation of Lemaire: "*Digni habiti qui recenseantur et numerentur, quasi spectati homines.*"

10. *Genera*. "Classes." Literally, "kinds," or "orders."

11. *Aere alieno*. "By debt." *Aes alienum* means literally, "the money of another," i. e., due or owing to another. The first money coined by the Romans was of brass, and hence the use of *æs* in this sense.

12. *Magnitudine tributorum*. "The weight of taxes."—*Injuria* "The oppression." More literally, "the injurious," or "insolent treatment."—*Sese dicant*. "Give themselves up."

13. *In hos*. "Over these."—*Quæ dominis*, &c. "As masters possess over their slaves." Equivalent to *quæ jura sunt dominis*, &c.

14. *Alterum est Druidum*. "The one is that of the Druids." As regards this priesthood, consult Historical Index, *s. v. Druides*.

15. *Illi rebus divinis intersunt*. "The former take part in sacred matters," i. e., officiate in them. This is explained immediately after. The people are said *adesse*, "to be present" at sacrifices; the Druids *interesse*, "to be present and take a part."

16. *Procurant*. "They have charge of." Compare Strabo (4, p. 198, *Cas.*): ἔθυον δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ Δρυΐδῶν.—*Religiones interpretantur*. "They expound the principles of religion." Compare the Greek paraphrase, τὴν θρησκείαν ἑρμηνεύουσι.

17. *Disciplinæ causa*. "For instruction." The Druids were also a class of public instructers, and taught the doctrines of natural and moral philosophy to he young. Compare Strabo, 4, p. 197: Δρυΐδαι δὲ πρὸς τῇ φυσιολογίᾳ, καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκοῦσι.

18. *Ii*. Referring to the Druids.—*Eos*. Their pupils.

19. *Si cædes facta*. "If murder has been committed." Supply *sit*.—*Proemia poenasque*. "The sum to be paid, and the punishment to be endured."

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1. *Non stetit.* "Has not abided by."—*Sacrificiis interdicunt.* "They interdict from the sacred rites," i. e., they excommunicate him. 124

2. *Aditum eorum*, &c. "All shun their company and converse." —*Ex contagione.* "By their contact," i. e., by coming in contact with them.

3. *Jus redditur.* "Is justice dispensed."—*Neque honos ullus communicatur.* "Nor do they share any of the honours of the state."

4. *De principatu.* "For the office of presiding Druid."

5. *Totius Galliæ media*, &c. This remark must not be taken in a very strict sense. Compare Cellarius, *Geogr. Ant.* vol. ii., p. 163.

6. *Disciplina.* "This institution." Referring to the Druidical system.—*Reperta.* "To have originated."

7. *Diligentius eam rem cognoscere.* "To become more accurately acquainted with it."—*Illo.* "To that island."

8. *Militiæ vacationem*, &c. "They enjoy an exemption from military service, and immunities of every kind."

9. *Excitati.* "Urged on." Encouraged.—*Præmiis.* "Privileges," or advantages.—*In disciplinam conveniunt.* "Embrace this profession."

10. *Ediscere.* "To learn by heart."—*In disciplina.* "Under instruction."

11. *Ea literis mandare.* "To commit these things to writing." —*Cum.* "Whereas."—*Rationibus.* "Transactions."

12. *Id instituisse.* "To have established this custom."—*Quod neque in vulgum*, &c. "Because they wish neither the doctrines of their order to be published to the common people, nor those who learn, to rely on books and exercise their memory less."

13. *In primis hoc volunt persuadere.* "The Druids wish in particular to inculcate this idea," i. e., it is a favourite doctrine with the Druids.

14. *Non interire animas*, &c. "That the souls of men do not perish, but pass, after dissolution, from one body to another." This is the famous doctrine of the transmigration of souls, or metempsychosis. Compare Strabo (4, p. 196), ἀφθάρτους τὰς ψύχας λέγουσι Γαλάται. Consult also *Lucan, Pharsal.* 1, 450 ; *Mela*, 3, 2 ; *Amm. Marcell.* 15, 9, &c.

1. *Disputant.* "They reason."—*Et juventuti transdunt.* "And impart their reflections to the young." 125

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125 2. *Cum est usus.* "Whenever there is need."

3. *Omnes in bello versantur.* "Are all engaged in war."

4. *Plurimos ambactos clientesque.* "The greatest number of retainers and clients." *Ambactus* is a Gallic term, and signifies a retainer, a person attached to a household, who receives a certain hire for his services, &c. Hence in the old glossaries it is explained by δοῦλος μισθωτὸς, although δοῦλος here comes nearer, in meaning, to the feudal term "vassal," than to the Roman word "*servus.*" The Latin "*minister*" would explain its meaning better than *servus.* In the Gothic version of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, we have "*Waldufni ist andbahts goths,*" i. e., *potestas est ministra dei* (13, 3, 4); and again, διάκονος (i. e., *minister*) is rendered by *andbahts.* It is easy to see, therefore, that Dacier is quite wrong, when he seeks to make *ambactus* a word of Latin origin, and to derive it from *Ambigere.*

5. *Hanc unam gratiam,* &c. "This is the only kind of influence and authority with which they are acquainted." Compare, as regards the force of *gratiam* here, the remark of Morus: "Gratiam, *Benevolentiam, non quam quis aliis ipse gratificando exhibet, sed in qua ipse est apud alios, quam init ab aliis, et per quam sibi conciliat potestatem.*"

6. *Admodum dedita religionibus.* "Exceedingly addicted to superstitious rites and observances," i. e., is exceedingly superstitious. *Religionibus* is here equivalent, as Morus remarks, to "*ritibus sacris, iisque superstitiosis.*"

7. *Pro victimis homines immolant.* This cruel and barbarous custom on the part of the Gauls is alluded to by many ancient writers. Consult *Strabo*, 4, p. 198, and *Diod. Sic.* 5, 31. They had a custom, also, of divining from such sacrifices the events of the future, deriving their omens from the palpitations of the limbs and fibres, the flowing of the blood, &c.

8. *Publiceque ejusdem generis,* &c. Compare the language of Placidus Lactantius (*in Stat. Theb.* 10, p. 368), "*Lustrare civitatem humana hostia Gallicus mos est. Nam aliquis de egentissimis pelliciebatur præmiis, ut se ad hoc venderet: qui anno toto publicis sumtibus alebatur purioribus cibis, denique certo et solemni die, per totam civitatem ductus, ex urbe extra pomæria saxis occidebatur a populo.*"

9. *Contexta viminibus.* "Formed of interwoven osiers" Strabo l. c.) calls it a colossus of hay, κατασκευάσαντες κολοσσὸν χόρτου.

10. *Supplicia.* "That the immolation." Literally, "the pun

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ishment," i. e., by the species of immolation just described, 125
namely, burning. Diodorus Siculus (5, 32) informs us, that they kept their criminals for five years, and then burnt them all together.

11. *Ejus generis.* "Of this class of offenders." Supply *nocentium.*—*Etiam ad innocentium supplicia.* "Even to the offering up of the innocent."

12. *Deum maxime,* &c. "They chiefly worship the god Mercury," i. e., Mercury is the principal or favourite deity of the Gauls. By Mercury, Cæsar here means a Gallic deity whose attributes in some degree resemble those of Mercury. This deity is thought by some to have been the same with *Woden,* whence *Wodensdach,* or *wonstag,* i. e., Wednesday, or *dies Mercurii.* Others, however, are in favour of *Teutates* (compare the *Mercurius-Teutates* of Livy, 26, 44, according to the old reading), and this name Teutates recalls the Phœnician *Theut.* Now, as commerce came into Gaul from Phœnicia, it is more than probable that this latter opinion is the correct one.

13. *Hunc ferunt.* "They regard this deity as." Literally, "they report that he is."—*Viarum atque itinerum ducem.* "Their guide in travelling and on journeys."

14. *Ad quæstus pecuniæ,* &c. "Exercises a very powerful influence over the acquisition of gain and over traffic."

15. *Appollinem.* Supply *colunt,* "they worship." According to Ausonius (*Prof.* 2), the god here styled Apollo was called in the Gallic tongue *Belenus.* Herodian, however (8, 3), gives the Celtic appellation as *Belis,* which approximates more closely to the name of the oriental sun-god *Baal,* to the early Greek form ἀβέλιος (i. e., ἥλιος with the Doric α and the digamma), and the old Latin *Apello* (i. e., *A-bell-o* or Apollo).

16. *Martem.* By Mars is here thought to be meant a Gallic deity named *Esus, Hesus,* or *Heusus.* (*Lactant. de F. S.* 1, 21. —*Lucan,* 1, 445.) Others, however, make *Hesus* to have been the same with Jove. Compare the *Hu-Gadarn* ("Hu the powerful") of Welsh tradition.

17. *Jovem.* The Gallic name of the deity here meant was *Taran,* from which Lucan (1, 446) forms *Taranis.* The root of *Taran* appears to be the same with *Thor,* the German Jupiter. In Gaelic, *Tarann* or *Torann* means "thunder."—*Minervam.* We have no Celtic name for the deity here meant.

18. *De his eandem fere,* &c. In Cæsar's time the resemblance here spoken of was comparatively slight. At a later day, during

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125 the time of the Roman emperors, the religious systems of Italy and Greece were ingrafted on the Gallic creed, and the points of similarity became, of course, more manifest. The race of the Druids also passed away with the ancient faith.

19. *Minervam*, &c. "That Minerva imparted to mankind the first knowledge of manufactures and arts," i. e., first taught the principles of arts and trades. Minerva, in the Greek and Roman creed, was the parent of all the liberal as well as domestic arts.

126 1. *Quæ superaverint*, &c. "They sacrifice whatever captured animals may have remained after the conflict." Supply *ex clade* or *prælio*. By *animalia capta* is here meant live booty in general, under which head captives are also included. Hence Athenæus (4, 51, p. 160) remarks, that it was customary with the Gauls to sacrifice their prisoners taken in battle, *θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους.*

2. *Neglecta religione.* "Through disregard of religion."—*Posita tollere.* "To remove those things that have been deposited," i. e., in sacred places.—*Ei rei.* "For such an offence as this."

3. *Ab Dite patre.* "From Dis as their progenitor," i. e., from *Pluto.* Who is actually meant here by *Dis*, is very hard to say. The idea, however, intended to be conveyed would appear to be, that the Gauls were an aboriginal race, and sprung from the earth.

4. *Spatia omnis temporis*, &c. "They compute all their divisions of time, not by the number of days, but by that of nights." This mode of computation was not confined to the Celtic race. We have traces of it even in Scripture, "and the evening and the morning were the first day." The Gauls, according to this account of Cæsar's, would not say, for example, *after seven days*, but *after seven nights.* Compare the English forms of expression, "*sevennight*," and "*fortnight*."

5. *Ut noctem dies subsequatur.* The meaning is, that they counted their days from sunset to sunset, not from sunrise to sunrise.

6. *In reliquis vitæ institutis.* "In the other regulations of life."—*Fere.* "Chiefly."—*Ut possint.* "So as to be able."—*Palam ad se adire.* "To appear publicly before them."

7. *Viri, quantas*, &c. "Whatever sum of money the husbands receive from their wives, under the name of a dowry, so much of their own property, a valuation having been made, do they add to these dowries."

8. *Conjunctim ratio habetur.* "A joint account is kept."—*Fructusque servantur.* "And the interest is laid by."

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9. *Vita superarit.* "Shall survive the other."—*Pars utriusque,* &c. "The portion of both, together with the interest of the previous period," i. e., the joint sum, with all the profits till then arising from it. 126

10. *In servilem modum,* &c. "They examine the wives by torture, after the manner of slaves," i. e., just as slaves are treated among us. Among the Romans, citizens gave their evidence upon oath, but could not be put to the rack. Slaves only could be examined by torture.

11. *Si compertum est.* "If any discovery is made," i. e., if it be discovered that the husband was destroyed by poison, assassination, &c.

12. *Pro cultu Gallorum.* "For the Gallic mode of life," i. e., considering the little progress which they have made in refinement and elegances of life.

13. *Vivis cordi fuisse.* "To have been pleasing to the living.' The custom here alluded to was common to many of the barbarous nations of antiquity. Articles of clothing, drinking vessels, favourite slaves, horses, &c., were consumed together with the deceased.

14. *Ac paulo supra hanc memoriam.* "And not long before our own time."—*Justis funeribus confectis.* "After the regular ceremonies had been performed." Great difference of opinion exists about the reading as well as sense of this passage. One source of difficulty arises from the circumstance of *justa* being often used by the Latin writers as equivalent to *funera*, which has made some commentators regard *funeribus* as a gloss. We have retained, however, the common reading, and have given *justis* the force of *legitimis.*

15. *Commodius.* "To greater advantage than others," i. e. more judiciously, with greater judgment.—*Habent legibus sanctum.* 'Have it enacted by law." *Sanctum* is contracted for *sancitum.*

1. *Imperitos.* "Inexperienced in public affairs." Compare the Greek paraphrase, *ἀπείρους πραγμάτων.* 127

2. *Quæ visa sunt.* "What they think proper." More literally, "what appears proper to be concealed."—*Ex usu.* "Of advantage."

3. *Per concilium.* "In council." More literally, "while the council is sitting."

4. *Germani multum,* &c. "The Germans, on the other hand, differ widely from these customs," i. e., differ widely in custom from all this.

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127 5. *Nam neque Druides habent.* Cæsar means merely that the Druidical system did not extend into Germany, not that the Germans were without priests and priestesses of any kind. Compare *Tacitus*, *Hist.* 4, 61, 65.—*Id. de Mor. Germ.* c. 8.

6. *Neque sacrificiis student.* "Nor do they pay much attention to sacrifices," i. e., they have sacrifices among them, but do not pay by any means so much attention to them as the Gauls.

7. *Vulcanum.* "Fire." The Germans worshipped the sun on account of its genial influence; fire, from its aiding them as a protection against cold, and also in the preparation of their food; and the moon, from its assisting them with its rays during the long nights.

8. *Acceperunt.* Cæsar's statement is contradicted by that of Tacitus (*de Mor. Germ.* 9), who expressly informs us, that the Germans worshipped Mercury, Hercules, and Mars; and that a part of the Suevi sacrificed to Isis. Cæsar might easily have been deceived, as he passed only a few days within the limits of Germany.

9. *In studiis rei militaris.* "In military pursuits."—*Ab parvulis*, &c. "From their very infancy they inure themselves to toil and hardship."

10. *Impuberes.* "Chaste."—*Maximam inter suos*, &c. Compare Tacitus (*M. G.* 20), "*Sera juvenum venus*," and Pomponius Mela, 3, 3, "*Longissima apud eos pueritia est.*"

11. *Cujus rei nulla est occultatio.* Compare the explanation of Lemaire: "*Incognita est apud eos occultatio partium virilium. Non occultant sexum; ideo facile dignoscuntur ii qui commercium aliquod habuerunt cum feminis.*"

12. *Aut parvis rhenorum*, &c. "Or small coverings of deer-hides." By *rheno* is here meant a covering of the skin of the reindeer. The name is supposed to come from *rhen* (rane or rein), a species of animal which we term reindeer. Compare Isidorus (19, 23), "*Rhenones sunt velamina humerorum et pectoris usque ad umbilicum.*"

13. *Agriculturæ non student.* "They do not pay much attenion to agriculture." The expression *non studere rei* is equivalent to *non magnopere operam dare.* Cæsar does not mean, that the Germans neglected agriculture entirely, but merely that it did not occupy any large share of their attention. Compare note 6.—*Consistit.* "Is spent."

14. *Agri modum certum*, &c. "Any fixed portion of land, or

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limits which he can call his own," i. e., or ground especially appropriated to him in ownership. 127

15. *Gentibus cognationibusque*, &c. "To the tribes and families," &c. The term *gentibus* is here equivalent to the Greek φυλαῖς.

16. *Quantum*, &c. "As much land as, and where, they see fit."—*Alio*. "To a different quarter."

17. *Ejus rei*, &c. "They advance many reasons for this practice."—*Assidua consuetudine*. "By long continued custom," the custom of residing in, and cultivating, the same places.—*Studium belli gerendi*, &c. "They may exchange their attention to war for agriculture."

18. *Latos fines*. "Extensive possessions," i. e., extensive landed property.

19. *Humiliores*. "The weaker." Equivalent to *tenuiores* or *infirmiores*. Compare Seneca (*de Ira*, 1, 3), "*Nemo tam humilis est, qui poenam vel summi hominis sperare non possit.*"

20. *Accuratius*. "With greater care."—*Qua cupiditas*. *Qua* for *aliqua*.

21. *Animi æquitate*. "In evenness of temper," i. e., in a contented frame of mind.

1. *Vastatis finibus*. "By the desolation of their frontiers," i. 128
e., by laying waste the country that lies on their borders, and driving out the nations by whom it had been inhabited.

2. *Proprium virtutis*. "A peculiar proof of their valour." More literally, "peculiar to their valour."

3. *Defendit*. "Repels." Equivalent to *propulsat*. Compare Ennius: "*Serva cives, defende hostes, cum potes defendere*;" and Quintus Claudigarius: "*Defendebat hostes a pinnis facillime.*" (*Enn. Fragm. ed. Hessel.* p. 219.)

4. *Sed principes*, &c. "But the chiefs of the provinces and cantons administer justice, and decide controversies among their respective followers."

5. *Desidiæ minuendæ*. "Of removing sloth." *Minuendæ* is here equivalent to *tollendæ*, a meaning which this verb not unfrequently has among the best writers. Compare the expression "*controversias minuunt*," just preceding, and also *B. G.* 5, 26. The Lacedæmonians permitted predatory excursions, for a reason exactly similar to the one here assigned. (*Davies, ad loc.*—*Cragius, de Rep. Laced.* 3, p. 181.)

6 *Profiteantur*. "May give in their names."—*Causam*. "The

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128 enterprise."—*Ex iis.* "Of these," i. e., of the individuals who have given in their names, and expressed their readiness to follow him as a leader.

7. *Omniumque rerum*, &c. "And all credit in everything is after this withheld from them."

8. *Hospites violare.* "To offer violence to strangers."—*Qui.* "All persons who." Supply *omnes* before *qui.*

9. *Trans Rhenum colonias*, &c. Cæsar refers probably to the same period that Livy mentions, 5, 34. The latter speaks of a Gallic colony having migrated, when Tarquinius Priscus was king at Rome, from their own country, towards the Hercynian forest.

10. *Eratostheni.* Consult Historical Index.—*Orcyniam.* The true root of the name is the German *Hartz*, i. e., *Hartzwald.* Consult Geographical Index.

11. *Summamque habet*, &c. "And enjoy a very high reputation for justice and military prowess." *Laus* is here employed to signify, not praise itself, but what calls for praise. Compare Forcellini: "Laus *metonymice dicitur de recte factis, et virtute, quia his laudem meremur.*"

12. *In eadem inopia*, &c. "In the same scarcity, want, and hardiness as the Germans."—*Eodem victu*, &c. "The same sort of diet and clothing."

13. *Gallis.* Referring to those of the Volcæ Tectosages who had not migrated with the rest of that nation into Germany, but had remained in Gaul.—*Et transmarinarum*, &c. "And their acquaintance with foreign commodities." More literally, "things that have crossed the sea."

14. *Multa ad copiam*, &c. "Supplies many articles of luxury as well as convenience."

129 1. *Expedito.* "To an expeditious traveller."—*Finiri.* "Be computed." Put here for *dimetiri*, i. e., to ascertain a space from limit to limit.

2. *Oritur ab Helvetiorum*, &c. "It begins at the confines of the Helvetii," &c.—*Rectaque fluminis*, &c. "And stretches directly along the river Danube." More literally, "in a direct line (*recta regione*) as regards the river Danube." The direction here mean is an eastern one.

3. *Sinistrorsus, diversis ab flumine regionibus.* "To the left hand, in a different direction from the river," i. e., it turns off from the left bank of the Danube, and stretches to the north.

4. *Hujus Germaniæ.* "In this part of Germany."—*Cum* "Although."

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5. *Memoriæ prodenda.* "Worthy of being handed down to remembrance." Compare the Greek paraphrase: *τοῦ ἀπομνημονεύεσθαι ἄξια.* 129

6. *Est bos cervi figura.* The animal here described is, according to Cuvier, the reindeer. To the same effect are Buffon (*Hist. Nat.* vol. xii., p. 82, *ed.* 1764, 4to) and Beckmann (*Buschings Abhandlungen*). The term *bos* employed by Cæsar has misled many, and induced them to imagine that the bison was meant, than which nothing can be more erroneous. The Romans were accustomed to use the term *bos* when speaking of any large-sized animal before unseen Compare the expression *Lucas boves* applied to elephants (*Varro, L. L.* 6, 3.—*Plin, H. N.* 8, 6.)

7. *Unum cornu existit.* "There grows a single horn."

8 *Sicut palmæ.* "Like palms." The reference is to the leaves not to the tree itself. Beckmann, however, understands by *palmæ* here the blades of oars.

9. *Alces.* According to Cuvier, the animal here meant is the "elk," or "*elendthier*" of the Germans, and *elan* of the French Cæsar's description, however, he very justly regards as altogether false, but remarks, that the very same disadvantages under which the *alces* labour according to Cæsar, are ascribed in popular belief to the elk, whence its German name "elend," which means "miserable." Compare Buffon, *Hist. Nat.* vol. xii., p. 83.

10. *Varietas pellium.* "The varied colour of their skins," i. e their dappled or spotted skins.

11. *Mutilæque sunt cornibus.* This account does not, of course, suit the elk, unless Cæsar saw merely the female animal. Perhaps however, he merely describes the elk from the account of others and in this way has fallen into error. Compare note 9.

12. *Sine nodis articulisque.* "Without ligatures and joints." This, of course, is incorrect. A stiff appearance of the limbs may have given rise to the opinion.

13. *Quo afflictæ casu.* "Having been thrown down by any accident," i. e., having accidentally fallen.—*Erigere sese*, &c. "To raise or help themselves."

14. *Se applicant.* "They lean."—*Paulum modo reclinatæ* "Reclining only a little."

15. *A radicibus subruunt.* "Loosen at the roots."—*Accidunt tantum.* "Cut in so far."—*Summa species.* "The full appearance."

16. *Infirmas arbores*, &c. "They throw down by their weight the weakened trees"

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129 17. *Tertium est genus eorum*, &c. "The third kind of these animals consists of those which are called Uri." According to Cuvier, a species of mountain bull is here meant. The same distinguished naturalist thinks, that the bison and *urus* mark two distinct species, and that those writers, therefore, are in error who make the *urus* and bison the same animal. The German term for the *urus* is *auer-ochs*, contracted into *wrochs* (whence the Latin *urus*), and meaning "bull," or "ox, of the mountain," i. e., wild bull, or wild ox.

18. *Paulo infra elephantos.* "A little less than elephants." Here again Cæsar speaks from hearsay, as the exaggeration respecting the size of the urus plainly indicates.

130 1. *Hos studiose foveis*, &c. "These they take pains to catch in pits, and so kill them."

2. *Adolescentes.* In the common text *homines adolescentes*, but *homines* is not found in several MSS., and is quite unnecessary.—*Exercent.* Supply *se.*

3. *Quæ sint testimonio.* "To serve as a proof." Equivalent to *ut ea sint testimonio.*

4. *Sed assuescere ad homines*, &c. "These animals, however cannot, even though taken quite young, become accustomed to man and tamed," i. e., become domesticated and tamed. Compare, as regards the expression *parvuli excepti*, the language of the Greek paraphrase: νεογνοὺς λαβόντες.

5. *Amplitudo cornuum*, &c. "The size, shape, and species of their horns."—*Hæc studiose conquisita*, &c. "These horns they carefully seek after, encompass them with silver around the rims, and use them for drinking cups at their most splendid feasts." This custom appears to have been very common among all the northern nations of Europe. Drinking vessels entirely of gold and silver, and fashioned like horns, have been dug up in Denmark. In the Runic calendars, moreover, festal days are marked by horns. Consult also Athenæus, 2, 51.

6. *Cæsar postquam*, &c. Having finished his digression respecting the manners, &c., of the Gauls and Germans, Cæsar here resumes his narrative, from which he had broken off at chapter 11.

7. *Inopiam frumenti veritus.* Dio Cassius says (40, 32), that Cæsar was in fact afraid of the Suevi; but this is not probable.—*Supra demonstravimus.* Consult chapter 22.

8. *Bellum Ambiorigis.* Compare chapter 5.—*Per Arduennam silvam*, &c. These words and all that follow, as far as *patet*, in-

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clusive, are strongly suspected of being an interpolation, for they 130
are absent from the Greek paraphrase, and appear, moreover, to clash with what has been stated in the third chapter of the 5th book. The number, too, of miles in length (five hundred), is altogether too great. D'Anville thinks that the true reading was *CL.* (i. e., *centum et quinquaginta*), from which, by an easy error on the part of the copyist, arose the other lection *D.* (i. e., *quingentis*).

9. *Si quid celeritate*, &c. "To see if he may be able to gain any advantage by rapidity of march and favourable opportunity."

10. *Subsequi.* According to the grammarians, the present is here employed for the future, *subsecuturum esse.* (*Perizon. ad Sanct. Min.* 1, 13.) In truth, however, Cæsar here uses the present purposely, instead of the future, to give the narrative a more animated air, and bring the actions more directly before the eyes of reader. Translate, therefore, "that he follows."

11. *Basilus.* He was afterward one of the conspirators who assassinated Cæsar."—*Ut imperatum est.* "As was ordered."

12. *Multum potest.* "Exercises a powerful influence."—*Magno casu.* "By a singular accident."—*Ipsum.* "Ambiorix himself."

1. *Priusque ejus adventus*, &c. "And his arrival itself was ob- 131
served by the people, before any rumour or intelligence of that arrival was brought." All this is wanting in the Greek paraphrase. The true reading, moreover, is rendered very uncertain by the variations of the MSS.

2. *Magnæ fuit fortunæ*, &c. "It was a piece of great good fortune on his part, that, after every implement of war, which he had around him, was taken away," &c.

3. *Hoc eo factum est.* "It happened in this way." More literally, "on this account."

4. *Angusto in loco.* "In a narrow pass."—*Illum in equum*, &c. "One of his friends mounted him on horseback."

5. *Ambiorix copias suas*, &c. "It is a matter of doubt whether Ambiorix did not draw together his forces through choice," i. e., purposely avoided assembling his forces.—*An tempore exclusus*, &c. "Or whether he was excluded from this step by the shortness of the time, and prevented from so doing by the sudden arrival of our horse, believing, at the same time, that the rest of our army was coming after."

6. *Sed certe*, &c. "But one thing is certain, that he ordered," &c.

7. *In continentes paludes.* The Greek paraphrast errs in render-

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131 ing this εἰς τὰ πλησίον ὕλη. The term *continentes* is here equivalent to *continuas*. Compare *B. G.* 3, 28.

8. *Alienissimis.* "To total strangers." — *Cativolcus.* The Greek paraphrast calls him Κατίβουλκος.

9. *Omnibus precibus*, &c. "Having, with every kind of execration, devoted Ambiorix to the gods below, for having been the author of that design, killed himself with yew, of which tree there is an abundance in Gaul and Germany." The expression *precibus detestari* is equivalent here to *diris devovere*, i. e., to devote a person to destruction with bitter imprecations. Compare the Greek paraphrase, πάσαις κατηράσατο κατάραις.

10. *Taxo.* With the juice of the berry, or a decoction of the leaves, both of which are regarded as extremely poisonous to men and animals. (Compare *Plin. H. N.* 16, 10.) A modern writer, however, cited by Fée (*Flore de Virgile*, p. 159), maintains, that the yew is harmless and may be used with advantage in medicine.

11. *Omnium Germanorum*, &c. "That there was one common cause for all the Germans," &c., i. e., that they were all joined in one common cause.

12. *Quæstione captivorum.* "From an examination of the prisoners."

132 1. *Aduatucam.* All the MSS. and early editions had *ad Vatucam*, which Ursinus first, and after him Valesius (*Notit. Gall.* p 566), joined into one word *Aduatucam.* A town of the Eburones is meant, as appears from what is immediately after added, and not the city of the Aduatici.

2. *Quintum Tullium Ciceronem.* The brother of the orator, and already mentioned in the fifth book, chapters 38, 39, &c.

3. *Sabim.* The editions have *Scaldem*, which creates very great difficulty, since the *Scheldt* does not flow into the *Meuse*, and the "Sylva Arduenna" did not extend to the confines of the Menapii and the junction of the Scaldis and Mosa, if such junction ever existed. The Greek paraphrase, moreover, has Σάβιν. They who defend the reading *Scaldem*, suppose that the Scheldt and Meuse formed a junction in Cæsar's time, and that the aspect of the country has become subsequently altered.

4 *Post diem septimum.* Supply *inchoatum.* The phrase is equivalent to *ante diem septimum finitum.* Consult *Clericus, Art Crit.* 2, 1, c. 10, 5.

5. *Ut supra demonstravimus.* Compare chapter 31.—*Manus*

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certa nulla. "No regular force." Because Ambiorix had not 132
drawn together his forces, but had ordered them to lie concealed.

6. *Vicinitatibus.* "To those who dwelt in the neighbourhood." Compare Nepos, *Alcib.* 3, "*Vicinitati negotium dant;*" and Suetonius, *Vit. Aug.* 6, "*Tenetque vicinitatem opinio.*" We have here, to adopt the language of grammarians, the abstract for the concrete.

7. *Magnamque diligentiam,* &c. "And it required great vigilance, on the part of Cæsar, not indeed to secure the safety of the whole army (for no danger could happen to them in a body, from a terrified and scattered foe), but to save the soldiers individually."—*Ex parte.* "In some measure."

1. *Confertos* "In large parties." 133

2. *Vellet.* Supply *Cæsar.*—*Diducendi.* Equivalent to *dividendi.* Compare the Greek paraphrase, *καὶ εἰς πολλὰ διαμεριστέον ἦν τὸ στράτευμα.*

3. *Instituta ratio.* "The established discipline." Compare the Greek paraphrase, *ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διδαχή.*

4. *In nocendo aliquid omitteretur.* Cæsar means, that he rather omitted an opportunity of injuring the enemy, than injured them to the detriment of his own soldiers.

5. *Legionarius miles.* "The soldiery of the legions," i. e., the Roman soldiers, who composed the regular legions.

6. *Pro tali facinore.* "As a punishment for such an offence," i. e., as was that which they had committed.—*Stirps.* "The race."—*Tollatur.* "May be annihilated." Those of the Eburones who survived on this occasion became merged in the name and nation of the Tungri. Compare *Ritter, Hist. Gall.* p. 107.

7. *Magnus undique,* &c. There is nothing corresponding to this in the Greek paraphrase.

8. *Appetebat.* "Was drawing near."—*Reverti constituerat.* Compare chapter 33.

9. *Et quantos afferat casus.* "And what changes she brings about." Literally, "how great accidents she brings with her" Compare the Greek paraphrase, *καὶ πόσας ἀπεργάζεται συντυχίας.*

10. *Manus erat nulla.* "There was no collected body."

11. *Ultro.* "Freely."

12. *Supra docuimus.* Compare book 4, chapter 16.

13. *Erat perfectus.* "Had been constructed." *Perfectus* is here equivalent to *confectus,* or the simple *factus.* Many read *imperfectus,* and translate the clause, "where the bridge was incomplete," i. e., partially destroyed, or broken off, by Cæsar. This

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133 usage of *imperfectus*, however, is extremely harsh, and hardly in accordance with the idiom of the language. The term would rather carry with it the idea of something that had never been completed. If any change be allowed in the text, it would be perhaps the conjecture of Achaintre, who suggests *persectus* for *perfectus*.

14. *Multos ex fuga*, &c. "They intercept many stragglers attempting to escape."

15. *Non hos palus*, &c. "No marsh, no woods retard these men, bred up amid war and depredations."

134 1. *Fortunatissimis*. A Græcism for *fortunatissimos*. This construction is classed by grammarians under the head of attraction. Compare *Zumpt*, *L. G.* p. 366.

2. *Præsidii tantum est*. "There is so little of a garrison." *Tantum* is equivalent here to *tam parum*. Compare *B. C.* 3, 2, "*Tantum navium*."—*Ut ne murus*, &c. "That the walls cannot even be manned." Compare the Greek paraphrase, *ὥστε καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι ἂν τὸ τοῦ ἐρύματος τεῖχος αναπληροῦν*.

3. *Usi eodem duce*. "Having taken the same individual for a guide."

4. *De numero dierum*, &c. "That Cæsar would keep his promise respecting the number of days," i. e., during which he intended to be absent. Compare chapter 33.

5. *Qui illius patientiam*, &c. "Who called his forbearance almost a siege," i. e., complained that he kept them within the camp, with almost the same strictness as if an enemy were besieging the place.

6. *Nullum ejusmodi casum*, &c. "Expecting no event of such a nature, as that by means of it any harm could be received within three miles of his camp, while there were nine legions, and a very large body of cavalry opposed to the foe, and the enemy themselves were dispersed and almost annihilated." The nine legions, here referred to, were stationed in various quarters against the enemy. Cicero had with him the thirteenth legion and two hundred horse.

7. *Qui hoc spatio*, &c. "As many as had recovered in those few days," i. e., the days which had elapsed since Cæsar's departure.—*Sub vexillo una mittuntur*. "Are sent out along with the detachment, under a standard of their own," i. e., in a separate body By *vexillum* is commonly meant the standard or banner of the cavalry ; here, however, it denotes one under which the veteran foot who belonged to no particular legion, or the soldiers who were detached from their legion, were accustomed to fight. Compare Lipsius, *Mil. Rom.* p. 48.

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8. *Subsederat.* "Remained." 134

9. *Casu.* The common text has *et casu*, but we have rejected the copulative as Clarke and Oudendorp recommend. Compare the Greek paraphrase: *ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κατὰ συντυχίαν.*

10. *Ab decumana porta.* "By the decuman gate." This was the gate in the rear of the camp. Consult Archæological Index.

11. *Qui sub vallo,* &c. "The sutlers, who had their tents pitched close to the ramparts." *Tenderent* is equivalent here to *tentoria haberent.* Compare Virgil, *Æn.* 2, 29: "*Hic Dolopum manus, hic sævus tendebat Achilles.*" On the other hand *detendere* is to break up an encampment. Compare *B. C.* 3, 85: "*Tabernaculisque detensis.*"

12. *Mercatores.* The sutlers were not allowed to reside within the camp, but pitched their tents without. They were so near, however, as easily to take refuge within the encampment, in case of any alarm. On the present occasion, the German horse came too suddenly upon them to allow of any escape.

1. *Portas nostri tuentur.* The German horse came directly 135 up to the gates, as there were no ditches in front of these.—*Reliquos aditus.* "The other avenues of entrance."

2. *Neque quam in partem,* &c. "Nor to what quarter each one is to betake himself."

3. *Plerique novas,* &c. "Most of them form unto themselves strange superstitious notions, from the place where they were." The encampment wore an ill-omened appearance in their eyes, as connected with the overthrow of Sabinus and Cotta.

4. *Captivo.* The prisoner mentioned in chapter 35, and whom they had taken as a guide.

5. *Qui primum pilum,* &c. "Who had been chief centurion with Cæsar." Compare note 11, page 46.

6. *Superioribus præliis.* Consult book 2, chapter 25, and book 3, chapter 5.

7. *In statione.* "On guard." The term *statio* gets the meaning here given it from its referring to a body "*standing*" at their post on guard.

8. *Relinquit animum Sextius.* "Sextius faints." Davies is wrong in translating this, "Sextius dies." The Greek paraphrast gives the true meaning, *ἐλιποψύχησε.* From what follows, it will be perceived that Sextius was still alive, for how can one be said to be dead who is immediately after said to have been saved? The error arose from confounding the phrase *relinquere animum*, "to faint," with *relinquere animam*, "to die."

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135 9. *Modo conscripti*, &c. "Those who had been only lately enlisted, and were, consequently, not familiar with the usages of war."

136 1. *Calones.* "The servants." Compare book 2, chapter 24, and consult Archæological Index.—*In signa manipulosque.* "Among the standards and maniples," i. e., among the very ranks of the soldiers. Compare the Greek paraphrase, εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τάξεις.

2. *Cuneo facto.* "Having formed a wedge." Soldiers were drawn up in the form of a wedge, in order to cut through the enemy's lines. According to Vegetius (3, 19), the Roman soldiers call this arrangement *caput porcinum.* It seldom failed of proving successful, since the missiles of those who composed it were all aimed at one point.

3. *Si.* "Even if."—*At.* "Yet."

4. *Nullo etiam nunc*, &c. "Having as yet acquired no military experience." Compare the explanation of Achaintre, "*Qui nondum rei militaris experientiam habebant.*"

5. *Ex inferioribus ordinibus.* "From the lower ranks."—*Erant transducti.* "Had been promoted." More literally, "had been transferred."

6. *Fidem non faceret.* "He could not induce them to believe." Literally, "he could not gain credit," i. e., for himself.—*Adesse Cæsarem.* Hotomannus thinks that the following passage of Suetonius has reference to the events mentioned in this chapter. "*Cæsar obsessione castrorum in Germania nunciata, per stationes hostium, Gallico habitu penetravit ad suos.*" The opinion is a very probable one; but for *in Germania*, we must read *in Gallia a Germanis.*

7. *Pæne alienata mente.* "As if almost divested of reason." Literally, "with an almost alienated mind."

37 1. *Unum questus.* "Having found fault with only one thing." Literally, "having complained of," &c.

2. *Ex statione et præsidio essent emissæ.* "Had been sent off from guard and garrison."—*Casu.* Old form of the dative for *casui.*

3. *Maxime mirandum videbatur.* "It appeared the most surprising."

4. *Optatissimum Ambiorigi*, &c. "Had incidentally rendered a most acceptable service to Ambiorix."

5. *Omnes vici*, &c. A dreadful picture. Compare the remark of Barron: "*Horrenda malorum et ærumnarum quæ bellum secum affert imago hic nobis repræsentatur.*"

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6. *Ac sæpe in eum locum*, &c. "And matters often came to such a pass (i. e., it often happened) from the number of horse that were scattered in all directions, that the captives declared Ambiorix had just been seen by them in his flight, and was not even yet gone entirely out of sight; insomuch that some, who thought to stand high in the favour of Cæsar, being inspired with the hope of overtaking him, and having assumed a task of infinite labour, almost overpowered nature by their zeal." 137

7. *Ad summam felicitatem.* "To complete success."—*Atque ille*, &c. "While he kept snatching himself from their hands by the aid of lurking-places or forests."

8. *Duarum cohortium damno.* Referring to the two cohorts cut to pieces by the Sicambri.

9. *De Accone.* Consult chapter 4.

10. *More majorum supplicium sumsit.* "He inflicted punishment according to the custom of our ancestors," i. e., he punished according to ancient Roman usage. What this punishment was we learn from Suetonius (*Ner.* 49): "*Nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcæ, corpus virgis ad necem cædi.*"

1. *Quibus cum aqua*, &c. "After he had interdicted these from fire and water," i. e., had banished them. The expression *aquæ et ignis interdictio*, or the forbidding one the use of fire and water, was the Roman judicial form of inflicting the sentence of banishment. By the operation of this formula the individual was banished from Italy, but might go to any other place he chose. In the present case, it means banishment from the land of Gaul. 138

2. *Exercitu.* Old dative for *exercitui*

BOOK VII.

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140 1. *Cognoscit de Clodii cæde.* "He receives intelligence of the death of Clodius." A turbulent and licentious Roman, slain in an encounter by Milo, or rather by the retinue of the latter at the command of their master.

2. *Senatus consulto.* In consequence of the troubles attendant upon the death of Clodius, the senate passed a decree that the Interrex for the time being, the tribunes of the commons, and Pompey, who was outside the city, and proconsul, should see that the republic suffered no injury, and that the last-mentioned individual should hold a general levy throughout all Italy.

3. *Ut omnes,* &c. "That all the youth of Italy should take up arms." In dangerous wars, or on sudden emergencies, the regular mode of raising soldiers was dispensed with. Two flags were displayed from the capitol, one red for the infantry, and the other of a green colour for the cavalry. On such occasions, as there was no time for taking the military oath in due form, the consul or commander merely said, "*Qui rempublicam salvam esse vult, me sequatur.*" This was called *conjuratio*, or *evocatio*, and men thus raised were styled *conjurati*, as being bound all at once by a military oath or engagement, i. e., *quia simul jurabant.* On the contrary, when the regular oath was taken, one soldier was chosen to repeat over the words, and the rest swore after him, every one as he passed along, saying, "*idem in me.*" Consult *Lipsius, Mil. Rom* 1, dial. 6, p. 42, and *Stewecchius, ad Veget.* c. 6, p. 20.

4. *Retineri urbano motu Cæsarem.* Plutarch well remarks, that had Vercingetorix waited a little longer, until Cæsar was actually engaged in the civil war, the rising of the Gauls would have appeared not less formidable to the Romans than the inroad of the Cimbri and Teutones. (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 27.)

141 1. *De Acconis morte.* Consult the last chapter of the previous book.—*Hunc casum,* &c. "That this fate may fall in turn on them."

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2. *Deposcunt, qui belli*, &c. "They call on some to begin the war, and assert the freedom of Gaul at the hazard of their own lives." 141

3. *Ejus in primis rationem habendam.* "That care should be taken in particular of this," i. e., that this point ought particularly to be attended to.

4. *In acie præstare interfici.* "That it was better to be slain in battle." Compare the Greek paraphrase, κάλλιον εἶναι ἔλεγον μαχομένους σφᾶς ἐν παρατάξει ἀποθνήσκειν.

5. *Et quoniam*, &c. "And since they cannot, at present, give hostages among themselves, as a security that the affair shall not be divulged, they require that an assurance be given them, by oath and on honour, the military standards being brought together for this purpose, by which custom their most sacred ceremonies are guarded." *Continere* is here employed in the sense of *custodire.* Compare *Cic. in Vatin.* c. 5, "*Non custodem ad continendas, sed portitorem ad partiendas merces missum putatis*;" and Terence, *Eun.* 1, 2, 23, "*Quæ vera audivi taceo, et contineo optime.*"

6. *Ibi constiterant.* "Had established themselves there." Supply *sese.*—*Honestum equitem Romanum.* The term *honestus* was specially applied to the knights, as *illustris* was to the senators. The Greek paraphrast well expresses *honestum* here by καλὸν κἀγαθὸν.

7. *Illustrior.* "More remarkable than ordinary."

8. *Centum et sexaginta.* Supply *passuum*, which appears in the common text, though omitted in many MSS.

1. *Simili ratione.* "In like manner."—*Vercingetorix.* The name *Cingetorix* is equivalent, according to Celtic scholars, to *Cim-cédo-righ*, i. e., "chieftain of a hundred heads," or, in other words, "a captain," or "leader." *Vercingetorix* is the same appellation strengthened by a prefix, *Ver-cim-cedo-righ*, and means "great captain," or "generalissimo." These are evidently two titles of office, and the personal or proper names of the two individuals have perished. (*Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. iii., p. 97, *not.*) 142

2. *Galliæ totius.* The reference is to Celtic Gaul, not to the whole country. Compare *B. G.* 1, 1.

3. *Quoscunque adit*, &c. "As many of his countrymen as he has access to." *Civitate* is here equivalent in effect to *tota regione*

4. *Ex civitate.* "From the state," i. e., from the country of the Arverni at large. Compare note 6, page 175, and the usage of the

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142 Greek language in the case of the substantive πόλις.—*Appellatur* "He is saluted."

5. *Qui oceanum attingunt.* The Armoric states are meant. Compare book 2, chapter 34, and book 5, chapter 53.

6. *Efficiat.* "Is to prepare."—*Quodque ante tempus.* "And before what time."—*In primis equitatui studet.* "He turns his attention in particular to cavalry."

7. *Summam imperii severitatem.* "The utmost rigour of authority."—*Magnitudine supplicii*, &c. "He brings over the wavering by the severity of his punishments."

8. *Aut singulis effossis oculis.* "Or having put out one of their eyes." Some give a different turn to the clause, "having put out their eyes for each," making *singulis* the dative. The former, however, is preferable.

9. *Cadurcum.* "The Cadurcan," i. e., one of the Cadurci. So the Greek paraphrase has τὸν Καδοῦρκον.

0. *De consilio legatorum.* "By the advice of the lieutenants." —*Ad exercitum.* "With the army."

11. *Qui.* An instance of what grammarians call synesis, where the relative agrees in gender, not with the antecedent, but with the person or thing to which that antecedent refers.

13 1. *Ipsi.* Referring to the Bituriges.

2. *Id eane de causa*, &c. "Whether they acted thus for the reason which they mentioned to the lieutenants," &c.

3. *Quod nihil nobis constat.* "Inasmuch as we have no proof on the subject."

4. *His rebus in Italiam*, &c. "Intelligence of these things being brought into Italy to Cæsar." The student will mark the force of the construction *in Italiam.*

5. *Urbanas res*, &c. Alluding to the agency of Pompey in quieting the disturbances that ensued after the death of Clodius.—*Commodiorem in statum.* "Into a more settled state."

6. *Qui eo tempore pacati viderentur.* For they might still entertain hostile feelings towards him, and would, therefore, gladly seize this opportunity of gratifying those feelings.

7. *Omnibus consiliis*, &c. "That he ought to prefer a setting out for Narbo, to all other plans," i. e. ought to go to Narbo before he did anything else.

8. *Rutenis provincialibus.* "The Ruteni of the Roman province." The allusion is to those of the Ruteni whose towns were incorporated in the province, for there were others without its

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limits. Compare the Greek paraphrase, *τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ Ῥουτηνῶν οἰκούντων.* 143

9. *In Helvios convenire.* "To rendezvous among the Helvii," i. e., to go unto the Helvii and assemble there.

10. *Represso jam,* &c. "Lucterius being now checked and obliged to retire."—*Intra præsidia.* "Within the line of Roman garrisons."

11. *Durissimo,* &c. "It being the most inclement season of the year."—*Discussa.* "Being cleared away." Oudendorp prefers *discisa,* "being cut away," i. e., with axes, &c., as referring to the frozen snow.

1. *Singulari quidem homini.* "Even to a single person." 144
Much less, therefore, to an army. The passage of Mount Cebenna is to be ranked among the most memorable achievements of Cæsar.

2. *Quod hæc de Vercingetorige,* &c. "Because he had already conceived in mind, that these things would happen in the case of Vercingetorix," i. e., that Vercingetorix would act in this way In Latin, *usu venire* is equivalent to *accidere* or *evenire.* Compare *Cic. in Verr.* 4, "*Quod ego in paucis tamen usu venisse eo mo leste fero.*"

3. *Per causam.* "Under pretence."

4. *Recentem equitatum.* "A fresh body of cavalry," i. e., a fresh escort.

5. *Aeduisque attribuerat.* "And had made tributary to the Aedui." Compare the explanation of Morus: "*Ut iis stipendia et tributa solverent.*"

6. *Oppugnare instituit.* The boldness and despatch of Vercingetorix place him here in a very favourable light.

7. *Ad consilium capiendum.* "As to what measures he should pursue." More literally, "with regard to the forming of a plan."

8. *Stipendiariis.* "The tributaries." Compare note 13, page 17.—*Expugnatis.* Equivalent here to *oppugnatis.*

1. *Ne ab re frumentaria,* &c. "Lest he might suffer incon- 145
venience from the want of provisions, the conveyance being difficult."

2. *Quam, tanta contumelia,* &c. "Than by submitting to so great an affront, to alienate from him the affections of all his friends."

3. *De supportando commeatu.* "To supply him with provisions" Literally, "respecting the supplying of provisions."

4. *Altero die.* "On the second day."

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145 5. *Arma conferri.* The common text has *proferri*, which we have changed to *conferri*, on the authority of some of the MSS. The latter is more in accordance with the manner of Cæsar, and prevents the awkward similarity of sound between *proferri* and *produci*.

6. *Ipse ut quam primum*, &c. "He himself sets out, in order to arrive as soon as possible at Genabum, a town of the Carnutes," i. e., with the intention of reaching Genabum as quickly as possible. We have retained the common reading *faceret*, instead of *conficeret*, which latter does not sound well after *conficeret* in the previous clause. The meaning and reading of the passage have both been much disputed, but the punctuation of Oberlin, namely, a comma after *Carnutum*, removes all the difficulty.

7. *Cum longius*, &c. "Thinking that it could be protracted to a still longer period," i. e., thinking that the place could hold out for some time longer.

8. *Et, quod oppidum Genabum*, &c. "And because a bridge over the Liger afforded the only means of egress from the town of Genabum." *Continebat* is well explained by Daehne, "*ita coercebat, ut alius non esset exitus.*" Oudendorp and most other editors make *continebat* equivalent here to "was adjacent" or "contiguous to," but the propriety of such an explanation is more than questionable.

9. *Excubare.* "To keep watch there," i. e., at the bridge. Compare the Greek paraphrase, προφυλακεῖν.

146 1. *Oppugnatione destitit.* "Desisted from the siege of Gergovia." Supply *Gergoviæ*.

2. *Ille oppidum*, &c. After *oppidum* there follows in the common text *Biturigum, positum in via*, but as these words are wanting in most of the MSS. and earlier editions, and are included in brackets by many editors, we have rejected them at once from the text. The Noviodunum here meant was not the town of the Aedui, known by that name, but another place, between Genabum and Avaricum, now *Neuvi-sur-Baranjon.*

3. *Conferri.* The common text has *proferri.* Compare note 5, page 145.

4. *Cum reliqua administrarentur.* "While the other things were getting performed."

5. *Ex significatione Gallorum.* "From the signs made to one another by the Gauls." Compare the explanation of Achaintre "*ex signis vel nutibus quibus inter se Galli utebantur.*"

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6. *Committit.* Hotomann suggests *committi*, because Cæsar did not, as appears from what follows, engage personally in the fight. The objection is quite unnecessary, since *committit* and other verbs of the kind do not always imply personal agency or participation. 146

7. *Anni tempore.* The winter season, when the fodder was stored away within doors.—*Ex ædificiis petere.* "Seek it from the houses."—*Deleri posse.* "Can be cut off."

1. *Hoc spatio, a Boia,* &c. "At such a distance from Boia, 147
in every direction, as it appeared possible for the Romans to go in order to obtain forage." Great difference of opinion exists as to the true reading of this passage, some editors suggesting *a Boiis*, others in place of *a Boia* giving *ab hoste.* We have retained the common lection, though labouring under strong suspicions of being corrupt. *Boia*, according to Davies, refers to the territory of the Boii, just as *Venetia* is used for the country of the Veneti. *B. G.* 3, 9. We would rather regard it as an appellation, on the part of the Boii, for the city of Gergovia. Thus Gergovia Boia, i. e., *Gergovia Boiorum.*

2. *Neque interesse,* &c. "And that it makes no difference whether they cut to pieces the latter themselves, or strip them of their baggage, since if this be lost, the war cannot be carried on by them." *Quibus* refers to *impedimentis.*

3. *Neu suis sint,* &c. "That they may neither be places of retreat for such of their countrymen as wished to avoid the war" Literally, "to their own countrymen, for avoiding the war."

4. *Romanis proposita.* "Placed as so many invitations to the Romans." Literally, "placed before their view unto the Romans."—*Tollendam.* Hotomann thinks this word superfluous here, but it is found in all the MSS , and, as Oudendorp remarks, its presence suits the plain and unelliptical style of Cæsar.

5. *Quæ sit necesse,* &c. There is a striking resemblance between the advice here offered by Vercingetorix, and that on which he Russians acted in the memorable campaign of 1812. Vercingetorix would have done better, however, had he not spared Avaricum.

6. *Proponebant.* After this word there follows in the common text, *quod se, prope*, and the sentence is made to close with *confidebant* after *recuperaturos.* We have thrown out the words in question as manifest interpolations, in accordance with the opinions of Oudendorp, Morus, and many other editors. Some MSS. omit

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147 *quod se, prope*, others want *se prope*, while others again for *confidebant* have *ponebant*. As Morus well remarks, "*Hæc sunt certa indicia verborum assutorum.*"

7. *Flumine*. The river here meant is the Avera, now *Euvre*, from which the city derived its name. Compare *Mannert, Geogr.* vol ii., p. 129.

148 1. *Per certos exploratores*. "By trusty scouts." The Greek paraphrast errs in rendering this διὰ κατασκόπων τινῶν.—*In singula diei tempora*. "Every hour." Equivalent to "*per singulas horas*." So the Greek paraphrase has correctly, καθ' ἑκάστην ὥραν.

2. *Incertis temporibus*. "At irregular times." Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἐν ἀορίστοις καιροῖς.

3. *Cæsar*. As regards the position of this word in the sentence, compare note 9, page 110. In constructing take it first in order.—*Quæ intermissa*, &c. "Which, not being surrounded by the river and marsh, had, as we have before said, a narrow approach," i. e., where the intermission of the river and marsh left a narrow passage.

4. *Alteri*. Referring to the Aedui.—*Nullo studio*. "Without any zeal."—*Alteri non magnis facultatibus*. "The others, having no great resources." Referring to the Boii.

5. *Affecto*. "Being straitened."—*Tenuitate Boiorum*, &c. "Through the poverty of the Boii, the negligence of the Aedui."

6. *Et pecore*, &c. "And were forced to satisfy their extreme hunger by cattle driven to the camp from the more distant villages." Ciacconius and Ursinus suggest *abacto*, but *adacto* is far preferable, and has all the MSS. in its favour.

7. *Cæsar cum*, &c. "When Cæsar addressed himself to the legions one by one, while at work."—*Si acerbius inopiam ferrent*. "If they felt the scarcity too severe for them." Literally, "if they bore the scarcity too severely."

8. *Universi*. "They all with one accord."—*Sic se complures*, &c. "That they had, for several years, so conducted themselves under his command, as to have incurred," &c.

9. *Quam non parentarent*. "Than not avenge." The primitive meaning of *parentare* is "to perform the funeral rites of parents," or "near relations," i. e., to appease by such rites the shades of the departed. Its secondary meaning, as in the present case, is "to avenge," i. e., to appease the shade of a deceased friend, or countryman, by the death of the one who had deprived him of life.

10. *Genabi*. Compare chapter third of this book.

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1. *In arctiores silvas.* "In the thicker part of the woods," i e., where the crowded state of the trees prevented access. The explanation of Davies is to the point: "*Ita vocat densiores, quia crebris arboribus* arcebatur *hominum aditus.*" 149

2. *Generatimque*, &c. "And being arranged tribe by tribe, according to their respective states." We must either adopt this mode of translating the clause, or else agree with Morus, that *in civitates* is superfluous, for it would be a manifest pleonasm to say, as some do, "being arranged by nations and states."

3. *Omnia vada ac saltus*, &c. "They held all the fords and passages of this morass with strong guards." More literally, with guards on which reliance could be placed. Compare the version of De Crissé, "*ils occupoient par de fortes gardes les gués et les passages etroits qui se trouvoient dans le marais.*"

4. *Hæsitantes premerent*, &c. "They would overpower them, while sticking in the mire, from the higher grounds."

5. *Ut qui propinquitatem*, &c. "So that whoever saw the near position of the two armies, would imagine that they were prepared to fight on almost equal terms; while whoever regarded the inequality of situation would discover, that the Gauls displayed themselves to the view with only an empty assumption of courage," i. e., made only an empty show of courage. Cæsar means, that, if any one observed how very favourably the Gauls were posted, he would perceive, in a moment, that they derived all their courage from their situation, and, throwing this advantage aside, were mere empty boasters.

6. *Quanto detrimento*, &c. "With how great loss, and with the lives of how many men, even victory must necessarily be purchased." More literally, "how great loss, &c., victory must necessarily cost."

7. *Quod castra*, &c. "That, as to his having moved his camp, this was done," &c.

1. *Munitione.* "By a natural fortification," i. e., by its own strength. Supply *naturali*. 150

2. *Cui rei*, &c. "To which step he saw them inclined through the effeminacy of their minds."

3. *Romani si casu*, &c. "That, if the Romans came up by chance, they should thank fortune; if invited by the information of any person, they should thank the informer, that they were enabled," &c.

4. *Eorum.* Referring to the Romans.—*Virtutem.* Ironical. *Qui.* Referring still to the Romans.

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50 5. *Quin etiam ipsis*, &c. "Nay, that he even gave back the command unto them, if they appear to bestow more honour upon him, than receive safety at his hands."

6. *Servos.* "Some soldiers' servants." Called on other occasions *calones.*

7. *Operis laborem.* "The fatigue of the work," i. e., the labour of pushing the siege, &c. Compare chapter 28.

8. *Armis concrepat.* "Clash their arms."—*In eo.* "In the case of him."

51 1. *Majore ratione.* "With greater prudence."

2. *Quod penes eos*, &c. The common text has *pæne in eo*, which is inferior to the reading here given.—*Summam victoriæ.* "The glory of the victory." Compare the explanation of Cellarius: "*ne servati oppidi gloria solorum esset Biturigum, sed Gallorum omnium.*"

3. *Singulari militum nostrorum*, &c. "Devices of every kind, on the part of the Gauls, opposed the uncommon bravery of our soldiers," i. e., the Gauls opposed, by devices of every kind, the valour of our soldiers, though displayed in a remarkable degree.

4. *Ut est summæ*, &c. "Since they are a race of consummate ingenuity."—*Quæ ab quoque tradantur.* "That are imparted by any one," i. e., which they see done by others.

5. *Laqueis falces avertebant.* "They turned aside the hooks with nooses." The *falces*, referred to here, are different from the mural hooks mentioned in the previous part of this work. (*B. G.* 3, 14, and 5, 42.) They appear to have been a species of ram, differing from the ordinary kind in having a curved, or hooklike, instead of a round iron, head. (Compare *Vegetius*, 4, 23.) The process, alluded to in the text, consisted in catching the head of this species of ram with a noose, and either drawing it within by means of engines, or else raising the head on high, and thus overturning the vineæ under which the hook or ram was worked. (*Vegetius*, l. c.—*Appian, B. M.* 74.)

6. *Quas cum destinaverant*, &c. "And when they had caught hold of them firmly, they drew them in by means of engines." *Destinare* is here equivalent to "*laqueo prehensas falces figere.*" The term *tormentum* was applied by the Romans to any species of military engine or machine. Compare *Cic. Ep. ad Fam.* 15, 4, "*Aggere, vineis, turribus, oppugnavi, ususque tormentis multis.*" The reference in our text appears to be to a species of crane.

7. *Aggerem cuniculis*, &c. "They removed the earth of the

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mound by mines," i. e., they undermine the mound. Wooden props were erected until the excavation was completed, and then, fire being communicated and the props thus consumed, the mound fell in. Compare *Vegetius*, 4, 23, and *Stewecchius*, *ad loc.* 151

8. *Magnæ ferrariæ.* "Large iron mines."—*Omne genus cuniculorum.* "Every species of mining."

9. *Totum autem murum*, &c. "They had covered, moreover, the whole wall, on every side with towers of several stories." The expression *murum turribus contabulaverant* is equivalent in effect to *murum turribus contabulatis instruxerant.* The ordinary meaning of *contabulare* is "to cover over with boards or planks," "to plank or floor with boards," "to raise or frame a building of timber, and of several stories," &c.

10. *Coriis.* Towers of the kind mentioned in the text were usually covered with raw hides, as a protection against fire.

11. *Aggeri.* The mound was fenced or kept in by stakes, and to these the besiegers applied fire. The reference, however, is not merely to the mound itself, but to the wooden works and engines both upon and before it.

12. *Et nostrarum turrium*, &c. "Moreover, by splicing the upright timbers of their own towers, they kept equalling the height of ours as fast as the mound had daily raised them; and, having countermined them, they impeded the working of our mines by means of stakes burnt and sharpened at the end, and by throwing upon our men boiling pitch and stones of very great weight, and did not suffer them to get near the walls."

13. *Quotidianus agger.* As the mound kept increasing in size, by the addition of fresh earth, the towers erected on it were likewise increased in the number of their stories. These the enemy, on their side, kept equalling.—*Expresserat.* Cæsar has here employed a technical term. *Deprimere* is "to let down," and *exprimere,* "to raise," or "elevate."

14. *Apertos cuniculos*, &c. The term *apertos* has given rise to much discussion, and great diversity of opinion. We have adopted the explanation of De Crissé. According to a well-known rule, *apertos morabantur* is equivalent to *aperuerunt et morabantur.* Compare the version of De Crissé, "*Si nous ouvrions une mine,* ils l'éventaient, *et la remplissaient de pieux pointus,*" &c.

15. *Trabes directæ*, &c. "Straight beams, connected together in long rows," i. e., long rows of straight beams, formed by connecting them at their extremities, and each row lying parallel to the

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151 other. The expression *perpetuæ in longitudinem* is equivalent to *continuata serie nexæ*. The corresponding Greek form would be διηνεκεῖς or προσεχεῖς, as is shown by Bos, *Animadv. in Cæs.* p. 21, from Josephus, *B. I.* 7, 33.

16. *Paribus intervallis distantes*, &c. These long parallel rows of beams were each two feet apart.

17. *Hæ revinciuntur*, &c. "These are mortised together on the inside, and then covered with a large quantity of earth," i. e., one row is mortised to another. *Introrsus* is here the same as *in latitudinem*.

18. *Intervalla.* The space of two feet between the rows.—*In fronte saxis*, &c. "Are stopped closely in front with large stones." The interior of the wall is filled up with earth, the facing is of stone.

19. *Idem illud intervallum.* Alluding to the distance of two feet between each row.—*Neque inter se contingant*, &c. Excepting, of course, where they are mortised.

20. *Sed, paribus*, &c. "But, equal spaces intervening, each row of beams is kept firmly in its place, by a row of stones." We have changed *intermissæ* of the common text into *intermissis*, as more in accordance with the manner of Cæsar, and as sanctioned by *B. C.* 1, 20, "*Nam certis spatiis intermissis*," &c.

21. *Hoc cum in speciem*, &c. "This work, both as regards appearance and variety, is not unpleasing to the eye, beams and stones being placed alternately, which keep their own places in straight lines; and, besides, it possesses very great advantage, as regards actual utility and the defence of cities."

153 1. *Quod et ab incendio*, &c. "For the stone facing defends it from fire, and the timber from the battering-ram," i. e., and the well-compacted timber forms a security against the blows of the ram.

2. *Perpetuis trabibus*, &c. "Long rows of beams, each beam for the most part forty feet in length, being mortised on the inside." Compare the explanation of Achaintre, "*Trabes erant perpetuæ in longitudine, quadragenis pedibus constantes.*"

3. *Picem.* Hotomann inserts *alii* here, and is followed by Scaliger. The emendation is unnecessary.

4. *Ut, quo primum*, &c. "So that a plan could hardly be formed at the moment, as to where we should first make opposition," &c., i. e., so that it could hardly be determined at the moment, &c.

5. *Instituto Cæsaris.* "By an established rule of Cæsar's."—*Partitis temporibus.* "At stated times." Literally, "at times parcelled out between them."

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6. *Turres reducerent.* "Drew back the towers." These were 153
the moveable towers, and were placed on wheels.—*Aggeremque interscinderent.* "And made a cut across the mound," i. e., severed the communication between the part on fire and the rest of the mound.

7. *Quod deustos pluteos,* &c. "Because they saw the coverings of our towers burnt away." The *plutei* here meant, were coverings or defences erected on the tops of the towers, like a kind of roof, in order to protect the men while fighting. Hence the Greek paraphrast correctly calls them *στέγη*. Another species of *plutei* were in the form of moveable sheds, under which the soldiers worked. In either case, the *plutei* appear to have been formed of a framework covered with hides. Compare *Vegetius*, 4, 15. At first they were made of beams and planks, as the name *pluteus* literally denotes; afterward lighter materials, such as osiers, were employed. (*Lips Poliorc.* 1, dial. 7, p. 492, seq.)

8. *Nec facile,* &c. "And perceived that we could not easily go exposed to give assistance."—*In illo vestigio temporis positam.* "Depended on that very juncture."

9. *Dignum memoria visum.* "Having appeared to us worthy of recording."

10. *Per manus transditas.* "Handed from one to another."—*Scorpione ab latere dextro,* &c. "Wounded in the right side, and deprived of life, by a crossbow." As regards the term *scorpio*, consult Archæological Index.

1. *Transgressus.* "Striding across."—*Eodem illo munere,* 154
&c. "Performed the same office," i. e., of casting balls at our works.—*Altero.* "The second."

2. *Propugnatoribus.* "Defenders." *Propugnator* properly means one, who, being besieged, defends the ramparts of a fortified position; or, in nautical operations, one who fights from the deck of a vessel.

3. *Restincto aggere.* "The fire of the mound being extinguished." Compare Achaintre, "*restincto igne qui aggerem comprehenderat.*"

4. *Profugere.* A Hellenism for *profugiendi.* The infinitive for the gerund is more frequent, however, in poetry than in prose. Compare *Vechner, Hellenolex.* p. 265.

5. *Naturæ et virium infirmitas.* "The weakness of their nature and strength," i. e., the natural weakness of their bodily powers

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14 An hendiadys for "*naturalis virium infirmitas.*" So in Justin, 2, 2: "*lanæ usus ac vestium,*" for "*lanearum usus vestium.*"

6. *Misericordiam non recipit.* "Admits not pity," i. e., turns a deaf ear to every feeling of pity.—*Significare.* "To give notice."

7. *Directisque operibus.* "And the works being now completely arranged," i. e., completed and arranged preparatory to the assault. Compare the explanation of Oudendorp: "*ita dispositis, ut operibus illis jam factis noceri et appropinquari posset urbi.* The reading of the MSS. varies here, several of them having *perfectis* instead of *directis*; but the former is evidently a mere gloss or interpretation of the latter. The idea of completion is implied in *directis.* Some editions have *derelictis,* which is altogether wrong.

8. *Non inutilem,* &c. "Thinking this no bad time for forming a plan," i. e., for making some attempt on the town.

9. *Intra vineas in occulto.* Oberlin thinks that *in occulto* ought to be rejected, as being a mere explanation of *intra vineas.* Not so. The expression *intra vineas* does not mean "under the vineæ," but "within" (i. e., behind) "the vineæ." If the troops then were stationed behind the vineæ, they must, of course, be concealed some way, in order to escape the observation of the foe. Compare Barton, *ad loc.*

10. *Expeditas.* "Ready for battle," i. e., without any personal encumbrance except their mere armour.

11. *Præmia.* Pecuniary rewards are meant. Compare *B. H.* 26, "*Cæsar, ob virtutem turmæ Cassianæ donavit millia tredecim, et præfecto torques aureos quinque, et levi armaturæ millia decem.*"

150 1. *Obviam veniretur.* "An attack should be made." The common text has *obviam contra veniretur,* but *contra* after *obviam* is an awkward pleonasm, or, at best, a mere interpretation of *obviam.* We have therefore rejected it in accordance with the opinion of Morus, Hotomann, Ursinus, Faernus, and others.

2. *Acie instructa.* "With their force drawn up to receive it," i. e., the attack.

3. *Continenti impetu.* "Without stopping," i. e., in the greatest haste. *Continenti* is here equivalent to *continuo.*

4. *Cum se ipsi premerent.* "Crowding upon each other."—*Nec fuit quisquam,* &c. "Nor was there any one of our men who seemed anxious for plunder."

5. *Genabensi cæde.* "By the massacre at Genabum." Compare chapter 3.—*Labore operis.* Compare note 7, page 150. The reference is to the fatigues of the siege.

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6. *Ex eorum concursu.* "From their coming in a body." 155

7. *Disparandos.* "That they should be separated." Two MSS. have *dispertiendos*, which is certainly the more usual form. *Disparare*, however, though of rare occurrence, is found in Plautus, *Prol. Rud.* 6, and in Cicero, *de Inv.* 1, 28 : "*Disparatum autem est id, quod ab aliqua re per oppositionem negationis separatur.*"

8. *Quæ cuique civitati*, &c. "Whatever part of the camp had fallen to each state originally," i. e., according as a particular part of the camp had originally been assigned to each state.

9. *Artificio quodam*, &c. "By a sort of art and knowledge in assault."—*Errare, si qui*, &c. "That they were mistaken, who think that all the issues of affairs, in war, are going to prove successful," i. e., who expect the issues of war to prove constantly successful.

10. *Nimia obsequentia.* "The too ready compliance." Compare chapter 15, and the explanation of Achaintre : "*Nimia facilitate, qua duces Gallorum atque ipse Vercingetorix precibus Biturigum cesserant.*"

11. *Consensu.* Old form for *consensui.*

12. *Ut castra munire instituerent.* "That they would set about fortifying their camp."

1. *Plusque animo*, &c. "And he was thought to possess 156 greater forecast and sounder judgment than the rest."

2. *Insueti laboris.* "Unused to labour."—*Patienda et perferenda.* "Must be patiently endured." Cæsar here employs two terms nearly synonymous, in order to strengthen the signification.

3. *Qui Avarico expugnato refugerant.* "Who had escaped from Avaricum, after it was taken."

4. *Certum numerum.* "A definite number," i. e., a fixed quota.

5. *Avarici.* Several MSS. have *Avarico*, but this is later Latinity. Compare *Julius Obsequens*, c. 114, "*Asculo per ludos Romani trucidati;*" and *Justin.* 2, 13, "*Consilium ineunt pontis interrumpendi, quem ille Abydo veluti victor maris fecerat.*"

6. *Teutomarus.* The MSS. vary surprisingly as regards this proper name. The common text has *Teutomatus*, but the Greek paraphrast gives Τουτομάνος. We have adopted the form suggested by Oberlin. The Celtic termination in *mar* (i. e., illustrious, or celebrated) is of very frequent occurrence, as in *Viridomarus*, &c.

7. *Exercitum ex labore*, &c. "Refreshed his army after their fatigue and scarcity."

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157 1. *Cum.* "Whereas."—*Singuli magistratus.* "A single magistrate."—*Annum.* "For a single year." Some editions have *annuam*, but this savours of a gloss.

2. *Duo magistratum gerant.* "Two persons now exercise this office."—*Eorum.* Referring to the nation of the Aedui.

3. *Suas cujusque eorum clientelas.* "That each of them has his own adherents," i. e., his own clients or dependants. *Clientela* is here used for *clientes*, as elsewhere *servitia* for *servi.*

4. *Detrimentosum.* Two MSS. have *detrimento suo*, one *detrimentum summum.* Bentley suspects that we ought to read *detrimento sibi fore.* The objection to *detrimentosum* is, that it does not occur in any other writer, but still it is formed according to analogy, from *detrimentum*, just as *portentosus* from *portentum.*

5. *Ea pars, quæ minus sibi*, &c. Alluding to the defeated, or weaker faction.

6. *Ne quid de jure*, &c. "That he might not appear in any degree to infringe upon their privileges and laws."

7. *Doceretur que*, &c. "And he was informed, that, only a few persons having been privately assembled for the purpose, one brother had been declared magistrate by the other, at a different place and different time from what he ought to have been." Cotus had been declared magistrate by his brother Valetiacus, before only a few, and at an unusual time and place.

8. *Renuntiatum.* Equivalent here to *declaratum.* The formal word, in such cases, is *renuntiare.* Thus, *renuntiatur consul, tribunus*, &c., i. e., *declaratur factus.*

9. *Qui per sacerdotes*, &c. "Who had been elected by the priests, after the usual manner of the state, the inferior magistrates being present." Oberlin gives *intermissis magistratibus*, but acknowledges *intromissis* to be the preferable reading. This last is also in accordance with the Greek paraphrase, παρόντων τῶν ἀρχόντων. The grounds of Cæsar's selection of Convictolitanis were, his having been created magistrate by the priests, the regular authority in such cases, and, secondly, this having been done in the presence of the magistrates, not of a small and secret number of partisans.

158 1. *Quæ in præsidiis*, &c. "Which he might place in different garrisons, to protect his convoys of provisions."

2. *Illi.* "To that officer." Referring to Labienus.

3. *Ab altera parte*, &c. "Began to march on the opposite side of the Elaver." The two armies were now pursuing a parallel route, along the banks of the Elaver, with the river between them.

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4. *Cum uterque utrique*, &c. "As each army was in sight of the other."—*E regione.* "Opposite." 158

5. *Quod non fere ante autumnum*, &c. The Elaver was greater in the summer, in consequence of the melting of the snow on the mountains. By the time autumn arrived this increase of waters would have passed away.

6. *E regione*, &c. "Opposite one of those bridges."

7. *Captis quibusdam*, &c. "Certain cohorts being selected, that the number of the legions might appear complete," i. e., in order to deceive the enemy, Cæsar selected certain cohorts from the four legions which were ordered to march on, and arranged these cohorts in such a way as to give them the appearance of two additional legions, making up, together with the other, the whole number, as the enemy would suppose, of six legions, which they knew to be the strength of Cæsar's army. Meanwhile he himself lay concealed near the ruins of the bridge with the two legions which he had kept back. The verb *capere* is here used in the sense of *eligere*. Compare Terence, *Hec.* 4, 1, 22, and the remark of Donatus, *ad Terent. Phorm.* 2, 3, 23: "Capere *dicimus, quum id, quod in nobis est, adsumimus, unde* capere *pro* eligendo *ponitur.*" The reading of the passage we have just been considering is involved in much uncertainty. We have followed that of the best editors. The common text has *captis quartis quibusque cohortibus.* "Having selected every fourth cohort."

8. *Iisdem sublicis.* "On the same piles."

9. *Quintis castris.* "In five days' march." Literally, "by five encampments," an encampment being made at the end of each day's march, according to Roman military usage. *Castra* is here equivalent to the Greek σταθμός, or the *mansio* of later Latinity. Compare *Xen. Anab.* 1, 2, 5, and *Zeune, Ind. Græc.*, s. v.

10. *Perspecto urbis situ.* "The situation of the place being carefully reconnoitered."

11. *De expugnatione*, &c. The meaning is, that Cæsar saw it was impossible to take the place by any sudden assault or storm (ἀνὰ κράτος, as the paraphrase has it), and he must, therefore, seek to reduce it by a siege. Before, however, he entered upon the latter course, he would be compelled to make proper arrangements for a supply of provisions. Some MSS. omit the words *desperavit; de obsidione*, and they are not followed also by Julius Celsus; while, on the other hand, some give *oppugnatione* in place of *expugnatione.* Hence Oudendorp is led to suspect, that Cæsar merely wrote, "*de oppugnatione non prius agendum constituit.*"

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159 1. *Qua despici poterat.* "Where there was a view down into the Roman encampment." Supply *in castra Romana,* and compare chapter 45.

2. *Horribilem speciem.* "A formidable appearance," i. e., in consequence of the immense multitude he had in arms.

3. *Quid in quoque,* &c. "What spirit and valour there was in each one of his own men."

4. *Prohibituri.* "Likely to prevent."—*Non nimis firmo.* Some recommend *non minus firmo,* on account of *tamen,* which follows; but the pointing which we have adopted for the whole sentence, from *erat a regione,* &c., makes the meaning clearly apparent. Cæsar is speaking of a particular post, the possession of which would enable his men to cut off the enemy from water and forage. This post, it is true, was remarkably well fortified, and steep on every side; Cæsar, *however,* marched against it by night, &c., because it was only defended by a weak garrison. *Tamen* refers back, therefore, to the clause ending with *circumcisus,* and the parenthesis is merely explanatory.

5. *Ut tuto,* &c. "So that his soldiers could even singly pass secure from any sudden attack on the part of the enemy."

6. *Ad Gergoviam.* "In the neighbourhood of Gergovia," i. e., under the walls of the city.—*Assignatum.* We have adopted this reading, as given in Oudendorp's smaller edition, from five of the best MSS. The common text has *adjudicatum,* which is a mere gloss. *Assignare* is often used in the sense here given to it, by Cicero, Tacitus, Suetonius, &c.

7. *Colloquitur.* "Holds a conference."

8. *Præmium communicat.* "He divides the bribe." Some MSS. and early editions have *primum communicat,* which appears to have been the reading of the Greek paraphrast, and also of Julius Celsus. Scaliger, however, correctly defends the common reading, as more in accordance with the context. Compare what follows a little after, "*celeriter adolescentibus et oratione magistratus et* præmio *deductis,*" &c.

9. *Ejus.* Referring to the state of the Aedui.—*Qua transducta.* "And that if it were brought over," i. e., to the common Gallic cause.

10. *Esse nonnullo,* &c. "That he had, it was true, received some marks of friendship from Cæsar, yet only so far as to have btained at his hands a decision that was perfectly just in itself.

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That he owed more, however, to the cause of their common free- 159
dom," i. e., than to the claims of private friendship.

11. *Disceptatorem.* "As an arbitrator." Compare, in defence of this reading, the remarks of *Gronovius, ad Liv.* 38, 35.

1. *Decem illis millibus.* Compare chapter 34. 160

2. *Quum, nefario,* &c. "But that, after having committed so nefarious a deed, the Romans are now hurrying hither to put us to death."

3. *Ostendit cives Romanos,* &c. "He points, with these words, at some Roman citizens, who were proceeding in company with them, relying upon his protection."—*Magnum numerum frumenti,* &c. The persons plundered were Roman traders, who were conveying provisions to the army.

4. *Suas injurias.* "The wrongs they had received." *Suas* is here equivalent to *sibi illatas,* and is taken, as the grammarians term it, passively.

1. *Genere dispari.* "Of inferior descent."—*Transditum.* 16
"Recommended."—*In equitum numero convenerant.* "Had come in the number of the horse."—*Ab eo.* Referring to Cæsar.

2. *Quorum salutem,* &c. "Since their relations could neither neglect their safety, nor the state regard it as a matter of small amount," i. e., the Aedui would not abandon so many thousand of their countrymen, nor unite with Cæsar against them.

3. *Nulla interposita dubitatione.* "Without a moment's hesitation."—*Nec fuit spatium,* &c. This remark is made to show the urgency of the crisis, since the Roman camp occupied a wide space of ground, and ought, as a matter of common prudence, to have been contracted in its limits on the departure of so large a force.

4. *Immisso equitatu.* "The horse being sent on."—*Interdicitque.* "But charges."—*Inter equites versari.* "To move about among the horse."

5. *Deditionem significare.* "To make signs of submission."

6. *Cum suis clientibus.* "With his followers." These were the same with the *Soldurii,* mentioned in the 22d chapter of the third book.—*Gergoviam profugit.* Cæsar would appear to have allowed Litavicus and his followers to escape for the following reasons: 1st. These turbulent men would be less formidable among the enemy, than in the bosom of the Aeduan state; and, 2d. He wished to conciliate the favour of the Aedui, whom he might have offended by any severity towards Litavicus Had it

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161 not been for these or similar motives, he might easily have stopped the fugitives with his cavalry.

7. *Qui suo beneficio*, &c. "To inform them that they had been spared through his kindness, when he might have put them to the sword by the right of war."

162 1. *Ad Gergoviam.* "To the vicinity of Gergovia." More literally, "to before Gergovia." Compare *Zumpt, L. G.* p. 265.

2. *Equites.* "A party of horse."—*Fuerit.* Clarke suggests *esset*, because the horsemen announced, according to him, in how great danger affairs *then were* (*tunc temporis esset*). In this he is wrong. The horsemen announced, on the contrary, in how great danger affairs were when they left the camp, i. e., *quanto in periculo res fuerit, quum equites missi sunt.*

3. *Eisdem in vallo*, &c. Because they were too few in number to allow of some succeeding to others. Hence there is no necessity for our reading *eodem* in place of *eisdem*, as some suggest.

4. *Pluteosque vallo addere.* "And was adding parapets to the rampart." By *plutei* are here meant a kind of breastwork. Compare note 7, page 153, where the same term is employed to denote a species of roof for a tower.

5. *Ad cognoscendum.* "To become fully informed." Compare the Greek paraphrase: τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀλήθειαν γινώσκειν.

6. *Adjuvat rem*, &c. "Convictolitanis helps forward the sinking posture of affairs," i. e., he fomented the disturbance, brought about and carried thus far through his own and the schemes of Litavicus.—*Ad furorem.* "To open outrage." More literally, "to some mad act."

7. *Data fide*, &c. "They entice from the town Cabillonum, on a promise of safety," i. e., of being allowed to proceed safely to his place of destination.—*Idem facere.* To follow him out of the town, and take their departure.

8. *Quæstionem de bonis*, &c. "Order an inquiry to be made concerning the plundered property," i. e., the property of which the Roman traders had just been pillaged. By *quæstio* is here meant a judicial investigation.

9. *Recuperandorum suorum causa.* Alluding to those of their countrymen at present in the hands of Cæsar.—*Sed contaminati facinore*, &c. "But being tainted with guilt, and charmed with the gain arising from the plundered goods, because many persons had a share in this," &c. The term *compendium* is well rendered in the paraphrase by ὠφέλημα, and denotes, in general, any benefit or

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advantage (*lucrum temporis, pecuniæ vel operæ*), though here referring specially to a share of the plunder. 162

1. *Nihil se propter inscientiam*, &c. "That he did not conceive a worse opinion of the state, for the ignorance and fickleness of the lower orders, nor lessened in aught his regard for the Aedui." Compare the Greek paraphrase, *οὐκ ἐχθρῶς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν διακεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον διὰ ταῦτα αὐτῇ εὔνους εἶναι λέγων.* 163

2. *Omnem exercitum.* Referring to his own and the forces of Labienus.—*Ne profectio*, &c. "Lest a departure, proceeding from a fear of revolt, might wear the appearance of a flight."

3. *Accidere visa est facultas.* "An opportunity appeared to offer."—*Minora castra.* Compare chapter 36.—*Operis.* Referring to the fortifications of the enemy.

4. *Dorsum esse ejus jugi*, &c. "That the top of this hill was almost level, but that it was likewise covered with woods and narrow, and that by it there was a passage to the other part of the town." The reading here given is that of almost all the MSS Davies, however, suggests *hac* (*scil.* parte) *silvestre et angustum, qua*, &c.; and Oudendorp, on the other hand, gives, on conjecture, *hinc silvestrem*, &c. We have preferred retaining the common lection with Barron, Achaintre, and others. The opponents of this reading consider *hunc silvestrem* a violation of the grammatical rule of gender; but the truth is, that Cæsar here employs, for the sake of perspicuity, the old Latin form *dorsus*, of the masculine gender. Thus, in Plautus (*Mil. Glor.* 2, 4, 44), we have, "*Timeo quid rerum gesserim: ita* dorsus totus *prurit.*"

5. *Uno colle ab Romanis*, &c. Compare chapter 36.

6. *Prima luce*, &c. The common text has, after *castris*, the following, *mulorumque produci, eque iis stramenta.* We have rejected all this with some of the best editors. Nothing analogous in meaning is found either in Celsus or the Greek paraphrase; and, besides, the words in question are omitted in several MSS., as also in the Basle edition. The idea implied in *mulorum* is already expressed by *impedimentorum*, while the words *eque iis stramenta* appear to have crept into the text from the margin, where they were originally inserted as an interpretation of the erroneous reading *mulorum.* The Greek paraphrase is as follows: *Πάμπολυ δὲ καὶ σκευοφόρων πλῆθος, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐξαγαγὼν, τοῖς ἱπποκόμοις κράνη ἐνδύντας, ὥστε ἱππέων δόξαν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχειν, κ. τ. λ.*

7. *Mulionesque cum cassidibus.* "And the muleteers, with helmets on them." By *muliones* are meant the drivers of the baggage.

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163 8. *Ostentationis causa.* "To make a show."—*Easdem regiones.* "One and the same quarter."

9. *Tanto spatio.* "At so great a distance."—*Explorati.* Supply *a Gallis.* Referring to the Gauls in Gergovia.

10. *Eodem jugo.* "Towards the same hill." On the occasional use of the dative, to mark motion towards a place, instead of the accusative, consult the remarks of Perizonius, *ad Sanct. Min.* 3, 14 (vol. i., p. 749, *ed Bauer*), and compare the Latin forms, *quo, eo, huc,* &c.

64 1. *Illo ad munitionem.* "To that quarter, for the purpose of defending it." We have adopted the emendation of Vossius, which rests on the authority of one of his MSS. The expression *ad munitionem* is equivalent to *ad locum defendendum,* and derives additional confirmation from the words *munitionis causa,* which occur near the commencement of chapter 48. The common text has *illo munitionum copiæ,* &c., and they who adopt it make *munitionum* depend in construction upon *copiæ,* i. e., "the forces throughout the fortifications." It would be better to make *illo* govern *munitionum,* i. e., "to that quarter of the fortifications."

2. *Insignibus.* "The military insignia." These were of various kinds, according to the rank of the wearer. The standard-bearers, for example, had helmets covered with bearskin, the *pilani* wore on theirs the skins of wolves, &c. Compare Lipsius, *Mil Rom. Analect.* ad dial. 2, p. 436.

3. *Raros.* "In small parties." Compare the Greek paraphrase . ὀλίγους κατ' ὀλίγους.

4. *Occasionis esse rem,* &c. "That the affair depended upon opportunity, not upon valour," i. e., upon the sudden seizing of an opportunity, &c.

5. *Recta regione,* &c. "In a straight line, if no winding intervened." Morus regards *recta regione* as a mere marginal gloss. It is found, however, in all the MSS. Besides, if there be a gloss anywhere, it is rather in what follows, viz., "*si nullus anfractus intercederet.*"

6. *Quicquid huic,* &c. "Whatever of circuit was added to this ascent, in order to render the declivity less difficult, this served to increase the length of the route," i. e., whatever circuit they were obliged to take in order to lessen the steepness of the hill, only increased the length of the journey.—*Huic.* Supply *ascensui* The reference is to the ascent in a straight line.

7. *Præduxerant.* The emendation of Scaliger, in place of

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the common reading *produxerant.* It is supported by good MSS. 164

8. *Trinis castris.* "Of three separate camps," i. e., the camps of three separate Gallic nations. Cæsar purposely uses the distributive here, as denoting that the different Gallic states, in the combined army, had separate encampments, according to what has been said in the 36th chapter. Of these camps he here takes three, in one and the same onset.

9. *Superiore corporis parte,* &c. He appears to have laid aside, as Hotomann remarks, his *thorax,* or piece of armour that covered the breast.

10. *Consecutus id,* &c. Achaintre does not exactly see what object Cæsar had in view by this movement. The answer to this may be given in the words of the Roman commander himself (chap. 53), "*ad Gallicam ostentationem minuendam militumque animos confirmandos.*"

11. *Retinebantur.* "Were sought to be kept back." The imperfect here denotes the efforts of the officers to restrain their troops from advancing too far. With what success this was done is stated immediately after, *sed, elati,* &c. "But our men, notwithstanding their efforts (i. e., the efforts of their officers to restrain them), flushed with the hope of a speedy victory," &c.

1. *Vestem.* This term may be rendered here by "vestments," 165 but it refers, in fact, to various other articles besides mere clothing, such as coverings for couches, hangings, &c.

2. *Pectoris fine prominentes.* "Bending forward over the walls as far as the lower part of the bosom." Some MSS. have *pectore nudo,* and with this the Greek paraphrase agrees, *γυμνῷ τῷ στήθει προνευόμεναι.* The reading we have adopted, however, is far more elegant. Compare *B. A.* 85, "*Umbilici fine;*" Apuleius, *Flor. N.* 15, "*Scapularum finibus,*" &c.

3. *Avaricensibus præmiis.* "By the rewards obtained in the storming of Avaricum," i. e., by the plunder obtained on that occasion.—*Neque commissurum,* &c. "And would not allow any one to scale the city wall before him."

4. *Tres suos manipulares.* "Three men of his own company."

5. *Exceptans.* "Taking hold of."—*Extulit.* "Drew them up."

6. *Munitionis causa.* "To defend that quarter." This expression appears to confirm the emendation of Vossius, mentioned in note 1, p. 164.

7 *Nec loco nec numero.* "Neither as regarded situation nor

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165 numbers." Well expressed by the Greek paraphrase, *κατὰ τὸν τόπον καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμόν.*

8. *Spatio pugnæ.* "The long continuance of the fight." *Spatium* is here equivalent to *longinquitas* or *diuturnitas*

9. *Præmetuens.* "Being apprehensive." A very elegant term. Compare Lucretius, 3, 1031:

> "*At mens sibi conscia facti,*
> *Præmetuens adhibet stimulos, torretque flagellis.*"

166 1. *Ab latere nostris aperto.* "On our exposed flank."

2. *Similitudine armorum.* The Aedui were armed after the general Gallic manner, and hence were mistaken for enemies by the Roman soldiers.

3. *Exsertis.* "Bare," i. e., left bare and unencumbered of dress. The custom here alluded to by Cæsar has given rise to much discussion. Among the Romans, the bare shoulder was a sign of war or of the hunt; but among the Gauls, as he himself informs us, one of peace. It is most probable that there was some regulation between the Roman and those of the Gallic states that were subdued, by virtue of which, the forces of the latter, when engaging in battle with the Romans against their countrymen, wore one shoulder bare in order to be more easily distinguished from the rest of the Gauls

4. *Excidere.* We have here given the reading of the best MSS. The common text has *exscindere.* Consult *Duker, ad Flor.* 2, 2, 37.

5. *Ac suis saluti fuit.* "And preserved his own men by his death." Clarke gives *vitæ* in place of *saluti*, from some MSS. But *saluti* is the preferable reading, as *vitæ* is used only a short distance before.

6. *Intolerantius.* "Too eagerly." A much more expressive term, in Latin, than *cupidius.*

7. *Exceperunt.* "Supported."

167 1. *Quo procedendum.* "How far they ought to proceed."—*Neque constitissent.* "And because they had not halted."—*Neque a tribunis.* Compare note 5, page 23.

2. *Exposito, quid,* &c. "Having set before them what disadvantageousness of situation could effect," i. e., the evil which might accrue from a disadvantageous situation.

3. *Dimisisset.* "He had given up."—*Parvum modo detrimentum.* "Only a trifling loss."

4. *Quanto opere.* "By how much," i. e., as greatly as.

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5. *Plus se sentire.* "That they knew better."—*Desiderare.* "Wished to see." 167

6. *Ad extremum.* "At the conclusion."—*Ne animo permoverentur.* "Not to be dispirited."

7. *Eadem de profectione*, &c. "Entertaining the same views as regarded his leaving the place, that he previously had." Cæsar alludes here to his original intention of going to the Aedui, who were on the eve of revolt, and whom he was desirous of retaining in their allegiance to Rome. Compare chapter 43.

8. *Reduxit.* Referring to Cæsar.

9. *Appellatus.* "Having been applied to," i. e., having been waited upon —*Et ipsos antecedere.* "For themselves also to go before him. Some editions have *præcedere*, which amounts to the same thing.

10. *Horum discessu admaturari.* "Would only be hastened by the departure of these."—*Eos retinendos non censuit.* De Crissé indulges in some very able remarks, condemnatory of Cæsar's con duct upon this occasion, as being deficient in military foresight and prudence.

1. *Multatos agris.* "Deprived of their lands." *Multare aliqua re* is to deprive one of anything, as a mulct, or fine, in punishment for some offence that has been committed. Cæsar refers here to what has been stated in the thirty-first chapter of the first book. 168

2. *Quamque in amplitudinem.* "And to what political consequence." The Aedui, at this time, numbered among their clients the Segusiani, Ambivareti, Brannovii, Aulerci Brannovices, Boii, and Mandubii.

3. *Omnium temporum*, &c. "The dignity and influence of all the previous periods of their state."—*His datis mandatis.* "Having charged them to bear these things in mind."

4. *Huc Cæsar*, &c. Cæsar, in military language, had made Noviodunum his centre of operations, what the Greeks call ὁρμητήριον.

5. *Bibracte ab Aeduis receptum.* "Had been received by the Aedui into Bibracte."

6. *Tantum commodum.* "So advantageous an occasion."

7. *Si re frumentaria*, &c. We have adopted the reading recommended by Morus, excluding as a mere interpolation the words *aut adductos inopia ex Provincia excludere*, which are made to follow after *Romanos excludere.* The reasons for this lection are ably given by Morus.

8 *Ex nivibus.* "By the melting of the snows."

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168 9. *Si esset in perficiendis*, &c. "Even if some risk was to be run in completing the bridges." Compare the explanation of Baron, "*Etiamsi aliquid periculi in perficiendis pontibus subeundum fuisset.*"

169 1. *Id nemo*, &c. We have given the reading of Morus, which has been adopted also by Oberlin and Daehne. The ordinary lection is (*ut nemo non tunc quidem necessario faciendum existimabat*), *cum infamia*, &c.

2. *Quod abjuncto Labieno*, &c. "Because he feared greatly for Labienus, separated from him, and for the legions which he had sent along with that officer." We have given *abjuncto* on the authority of several MSS., with Oberlinus, Le Maire, and Daehne. This same reading meets with the approbation also of Davies and Morus, and is in accordance, too, with the language of the paraphrase, ἀπόντι Λαβιηνῷ. Oudendorp, following the conjectural emendation of Ciacconius, gives *Agendico* in place of *abjuncto*, but the former is a far inferior reading.

3. *Pro rei necessitate opportuno.* "Sufficiently suitable, considering the urgency of the case."

4. *Perpetuam paludem.* This, according to Achaintre, is the part of Paris now known by the name of *le Marais.*

5. *Difficilius.* "With more difficulty than he imagined."—*Egressus.* Labienus having tried the city on the south, and being impeded by the marsh, determined to make an attack on the north, and marched, therefore, to Melodunum, the modern *Melun.*

70 1. *Profecti a palude.* The MSS. vary. We have given the reading which is followed by most editors, and which is in accordance with the Greek paraphrase: ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξελθόντες. Ciacconius, however, conjectures *protecti*, which Achaintre adopts and strongly advocates.

2. *Secundo Galliæ motu.* "A successful commotion in Gaul." *Secundo* is here, according to Hotomannus and Morus, equivalent to "*qui prospere successerat.*" Many, however, translate it as a mere numeral.—*Interclusum itinere et Ligeri.* "Stopped on his route by the Liger." Equivalent to *interclusum itinere Ligeris transitu.* Literally, "cut off from his route and (from crossing) the Liger."

3. *Infideles.* "Not firm in their attachment." Compare Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.* 15, 4, "*Ex alienissimis sociis amicissimos, ex infidelissimis firmissimos redderem.*"

4. *Prælioque hostes lacesseret*, &c. The fighting that took

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place, after he had formed the resolution of leading off his army safe to Agendicum, was rendered necessary by the circumstances of the case, since he could not retreat without some collision with the foe; his chief object being to avoid, if possible, a general engagement. 170

5. *Maximam opinionem.* "The highest reputation."

6. *Distinebat.* Render *interclusas distinebat* as two verbs "cut off and kept away." The river was the Sequana; the baggage was at Agendicum. Compare chapter 57.

7. *Secundo flumine.* "Down the river," i. e., *following* the current of the stream (*secundo* quasi *sequendo*). So a little farther on we have *adverso flumine*, "up the river," i. e., against the stream.

8. *Castris.* According to Achaintre, the Roman camp was pitched on the slope of what is now Mount Saint Geneviéve: "*in lejectu montis Sanctæ Genovefæ.*"

9. *Conquirit etiam lintres.* "He collects also some small boats."

1. *Eum locum petit*, &c. The Roman army was thus divided into three separate bodies, and the object of this skilful arrangement was, to leave the enemy in uncertainty as to the particular spot, where Labienus intended to convey his troops across. 17

2. *Exercitus.* "The infantry." So called here because forming the main part of the army (exercitus *maxima pars*). Compare note 4, page 92.

3. *Administrantibus.* "Superintending."

4. *Præter consuetudinem tumultuari.* "That there was an unusual tumult." *Tumultuari* being a common verb, not merely a deponent, is here employed impersonally in the passive. By a common verb is meant one which, under a passive form, has both an active (i. e., deponent) and passive meaning. The truth is, deponent verbs in Latin are regular middle verbs; and when we speak of a common verb, we refer in fact to the middle and passive voices of one and the same verb. What tends to confirm this remark is, the fact of so many old active forms of such verbs being found in the fragments, that have reached us, of the earlier Latin writers, such as *cono*, *horto*, &c.

5. *Metiosedum.* The place here meant appears to be the modern *Josay*, a name arising probably from *Josedum*, itself an abbreviation of Metiosedum. The place is a short distance above Paris. D'Anville errs in making Metiosedum the same with Melodunum. Con

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171 sult Cellarius, *Geogr. Ant.* vol ii., p. 166, and *Le Bouef*, *Recueil de divers écrits servant a l'Hist. de France*, vol. i., p 159.

6. *Nec dabat suspicionem fugæ quisquam.* "Nor did any one of them betray the slightest suspicion of an intention to flee."

7. *Eandem fortunam tulit.* "Met the same fate." Literally, "bore off the same fortune."

172 1. *Contra castra Labieni.* "Over against the camp of Labienus."

2. *Hoc negotio confecto.* Cæsar says nothing here of the five cohorts that were left as a guard for the camp. They would appear to have followed, when the battle was over, the five other cohorts that went up the river with the baggage. So, also, no mention is made of that part of the Gallic forces, which was stationed on the opposite side of the river, over against the Roman camp. It is probable, that they fled through the woods, and joined the rest of the fugitives, when they heard of the defeat of their countrymen.

3. *Horum supplicio*, &c. Hotomann thinks it incredible, that Gauls would treat their own countrymen thus, when the latter were Roman hostages. The fact, however, is expressly stated by Celsus, and is only another proof, after all, of the barbarous habits even of the more civilized part of the Gauls.

4. *Rationesque belli secum communicet.* "And communicate to them his plans for conducting the war." Compare the Greek paraphrase: ἵνα τι σφίσι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἀνακοινώσαιτο.

5. *Re impetrata*, &c. "Their request being granted, they insist that the chief command be made over to them," i. e., the supreme administration of affairs.

6. *Multitudinis suffragiis*, &c. "The decision is left to the votes of the multitude. To a man they all make choice of Vercingetorix as commander." Literally, "approve of," i. e., by their votes.

7. *Illi.* "The former two." Referring to the Remi and Lingones.

8. *Et Cæsaris in se*, &c. "And they miss Cæsar's indulgence towards them," i. e., they regret, feel the loss of, &c. The Aedui found Vercingetorix far different from Cæsar, and felt the loss of that importance which they had enjoyed as a people through the favour of Cæsar. Compare the explanation given to *requirunt* by Clarke, "*desiderunt, amissam sentiunt.*"

9. *Suum consilium*, &c. "They dare not pursue their own

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measures separately from the rest," i. e., pursue a separate inter- 172
est from the rest.

10. *Denique.* Hotomannus suspects an error of the text here, and proposes *Diemque ei rei constituit.* But *denique* here denotes, "in a word," and must not be changed.

11. *Quindecim millia.* Some read *millium*, but *millia* is by epexegesis, or opposition with *equites*.

1. *Provinciæ.* In many MSS., and in some editions, *ei* is in- 173
serted before *provinciæ*, and by *ei provinciæ* the Aedui are thought to be meant. This is altogether erroneous. The Roman province is referred to.

2. *Quorum mentes*, &c. "Whose minds, he hoped, had not settled down into a calm state from the former war," i. e., were not yet reconciled to the losses they had sustained in their former war with the Romans. The war, here alluded to, is that in which the Allobroges lost their independence, and were brought under the Roman yoke. Nine years had now elapsed since that period.

3. *Ad hos omnes casus.* "Against all these contingences."

4. *Suos fines.* We have recalled *fines* into the text, with Achaintre, on MSS. authority. Compare the Greek paraphrase: *τὴν σφῶν χώραν διαφυλάττουσι.*

5. *Sed et equitibus Romanis.* "Nay, even from the Roman knights." By *equitibus Romanis* are here meant, not the Roman cavalry, but persons of the equestrian order, who were at that time with Cæsar. The expression *sed et* has given rise to some discussion, as it almost always does when it occurs by itself, as in the present instance, in a Latin text. The reason is, that, since *non modo*, or some equivalent form, does not precede, it is a matter of uncertainty whether the conjunction *sed* has proceeded from the writer himself, or has been inserted by some copyist. (Compare *Crusius*, *Ind. Lat. ad Sueton.* vol. iii., p. 337.) In the present case it must certainly be retained. As regards the peculiar nature of this form of expression, consult *Bauer*, *ad Sanct. Min.* 4, 7, vol. ii., p. 305, and compare the remarks of *Hoogeveen* on ἀλλὰ καί, p. 20, *Glasg. ed.*

6. *Evocatis.* Consult Archæological Index.

7. *Toti Galliæ.* The whole of Gaul, and not merely *Celtica* is meant. So a little farther on, "*Galliaque excedere.*" Some editions have *tota Gallia*, which will be equivalent to *per totam Galliam.*

1. *Atque in eo morentur.* "And delay for this purpose," i. e., 174
stop marching and turn about for this purpose.—*Magis futurum* "Would rather be the case."

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174 2. *Et dignitate.* "And of their honour."

3. *Copias omnes*, &c. The whole army was to be drawn out under arms before the camp, both to strike terror into the foe, and to encourage also by their presence the Gallic cavalry, while engaged with the enemy's horse

4. *Duæ acies.* "Two of these divisions."—*A primo agmine.* "In front." The Roman army is called *agmen*, because on its march, while the divisions of Gallic horse, being prepared for battle and for acting on the offensive, are denominated *acies.*

5. *Una.* "At one and the same time." According to Plutarch (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 26), Cæsar lost his sword in this battle, and the Arverni suspended it in one of their temples. His friends having pointed it out to him on a subsequent occasion, and urging him to have it taken down, he smiled, and declined granting their request, regarding the sword as a thing consecrated to the gods. If the story be true, Cæsar must, as Plutarch remarks, have received some check in the commencement of the action.

6. *Eo signa inferri*, &c. "Cæsar ordered the standards to be advanced and the army to face about towards that quarter," i. e the army to face to that part and charge the foe.

7. *Spe auxilii.* Because they knew from this, that if they were pressed too heavily Cæsar would come to their aid.

8. *Germani.* We learn two things very clearly from these commentaries, that the Gallic cavalry was superior to the Roman, and the German to the Gallic.

9. *Flumen.* Rhellicanus thinks the Arar (*Saone*) is here meant; but Achaintre, with more propriety, declares in favour of the Sequana.

10. *Cotus.* Compare chapter 33.—*Proximis comitiis.* "At the last election." Cæsar speaks here *more Romano.*

175 1. *Ut.* "In the same order as."

2. *Alesiam.* This is the true form of the name. (Consult *Vossius, ad Vell. Paterc.* 2, 47, and *Ursinus, in loc.*) Paterculus has *Alexia*, and the Greek paraphrast the same, Ἀλεξία, together with some early editions. For the derivation of the name, according to the Greek writers, consult Geographical Index.

3. *Tribus millibus.* Julius Celsus says ten thousand: "*Intereundum decem millibus hostium obtruncatis.*"

4. *Quo maxime confidebant.* We have followed here the reading of Achaintre, from one of his best MSS. It is far simpler and more elegant than the common lection, *qua maxime parte exercitus*

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confidebant. The words *parte exercitus* are evidently a mere interpolation. 175

5. *Duo flumina.* The Lutosa and Osera, now the *Loze* and *Lozerain.*

6. *Colles.* Seven or eight in number, according to Achaintre.

7. *Maceriam.* "A stone wall." By *maceria* is here meant a wall of stones, piled one upon the other without cement, or, as the Romans expressed it, made *sicco lapide.*

8. *Ejus munitionis.* Referring to the Roman lines of circumvallation, consisting of a rampart and ditch.

9. *Castella.* "Redoubts." Compare *Guischard, Memoires,* &c., vol. iv., p. 137.—*Quibus in castellis.* A phraseology of no unfrequent occurrence in Cæsar. Compare note 7, page 5.—*Stationes disponebantur.* "Guards were placed."

10. *Excubitoribus.* "By watches."

11. *Opere instituto.* "The work having been begun," i. e., while the work of circumvallation was in hands.—*Intermissam collibus.* "Being free from hills." Equivalent to *colle non tectam.* The plain lay between hills on every side.

1. *Atque angustioribus,* &c. "And, only the narrower gates having been left open, are crowded together in them." Vossius recommends that *relictis* be expunged; and, if this could be done, the sentence would certainly be benefited by it; but all the MSS. have the word in question. Oudendorp therefore explains it, by supposing that the larger gates of the town had been obstructed or blocked up by the ditch and stone wall (*maceria*), and that only the narrow gates were left by which they could enter. 176

2. *Veniri ad se confestim.* "That the enemy were coming that very instant against them." This mistake arose from the legions having been ordered to advance a little, which the Gauls took for a demonstration against the works.

3. *Dimittere.* For *dimittendi.*

4. *Ratione inita,* &c. "That, having made a computation, he had a short allowance of corn for thirty days, but that, by economy, he might hold out a little longer." More literally, "that he had scantily the corn of thirty days."

5. *Intermissum.* "Were intermitted," i. e., where a space was yet free from our works, the line of circumvallation not having as yet been carried so far.

6. *Pedum viginti.* "Of twenty feet in width."—*Directis lateribus.* "With perpendicular sides."—*Ut ejus fossæ,* &c. "So that

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176 the bottom of this ditch might extend as far, as the brinks were apart at top," i. e., so that the breadth at the bottom might be equal to that at the top.

7. *Reliquas omnes*, &c. "All his other works he executed four hundred feet back from that ditch." Literally, "he drew back." We have recalled with Achaintre the reading of all the MSS. and best editions, namely, *pedes* instead of *passus*. Guischard first suggested *passus*, and this is also given by De Crissé and Oberlinus. Achaintre's argument against *passus* is conclusive. If the distance be 400 paces, and the whole circuit of the works only 11,000 paces, the ditch would have to be so near the city, as hardly to leave Vercingetorix room for his camp.

178 1. *Nec facile totum opus*, &c. "Nor could the whole work be easily manned with soldiers."

2. *Operi destinatos*. "While occupied on the works." Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἀμφὶ τὸ ἔργον ἔχοντας.

3. *Hoc intermisso spatio*. Alluding to the four hundred feet, the space between the ditch and the other works.

4. *Post eas*. Behind the two fifteen-feet-ditches just mentioned, or, including the outermost one, of twenty feet, behind the three ditches.—*Loricam pinnasque*. "A parapet and battlements."

5. *Grandibus cervis*, &c. "Large stakes, cut in the form of stags' horns, projecting out at the junction of the parapet and rampart, to retard the ascent of the enemy," i. e., to prevent the enemy from quickly scaling the works. These stakes projected horizontally.—*Pluteorum*. Referring to the *lorica* and *pinnæ* combined.

6. *Turres*. Fixed towers. They must, besides, not be confounded with the redoubts mentioned in a previous chapter.

7. *Materiari*. "To procure timber for the rampart," i. e., to fell timber in the adjacent forests, and drag it thence to the camp.

8. *Deminutis nostris copiis*. "Our troops being, in consequence of this, reduced in number."

9. *Abscisis*. Some have *abscissis*, but the most ancient MSS., as well of Cæsar as of other authors, do not double the sibilant. Compare *Vossius*, *Anal.* 3, 26, p. 97.

10. *Atque horum*, &c. "And the ends of these being stripped of their bark and sharpened into a point." The common reading is *dolabratis*, "being lopped off with axes." The Roman writers however, do not say *dolabrare*, but *dolare*; and, besides, the best MSS. give *delibratis*, which harmonizes with the ἀποξέσας of the

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Greek paraphrase. We have given the latter form, therefore, with Oudendorp and the best editors. 178

11. *Perpetuæ fossæ.* "A continued trench." The Latin expression conveys the idea of a number of trenches united together and forming one continued trench. Hence the distributive numeral *quinos* is employed, as referring separately to each of these supposed trenches, though, in fact, there is but one trench; and hence, in translating *quinos pedes altæ*, we must say, in our idiom, "everywhere five feet deep." The distinction between these *perpetuæ fossæ* and the *scrobes* mentioned a little after, is well pointed out by a modern writer, Berlinghieri, in his work on Alesia, published at Lucca, in 1812: "Scrobes *sont aussi des fossés, mais coniques ou cylindriques, au lieu que le* perpetuæ fossæ *est une fosse longitudinale ou un parallélipipède ; par exemple, supposons que, dans une ligne de vingt pieds, il y eût dix trous cylindriques, d'un pied de diamètre chaque, ils auraient entr' eux neuf intervalles d'un pied chaque. J'appellerais d'abord ces trous* scrobes, *mais si j'enlevais le terrain qui forme les neuf intervalles, en établissant une communication entre les dix trous, j'aurais fait un fosse que j'appellerais* fossa perpetua," p. 86.

12. *Huc illi stipites,* &c. "These stakes being sunk into this trench and fastened at the bottom, to prevent their being pulled out projected above the level of the ground with their branches merely." By the *stipites* are meant the trunks of trees and large branches just mentioned, and the *rami* are the smaller boughs at the extremities of these, or at the place where boughs begin to grow. Compare the explanation of Morus: "Ab ramis eminebant, *ea parte tenus, qua rami enati erant, tegebantur ; ab ea inde parte eminebant.*"

13. *Quo qui intraverant,* &c. "And they who entered within these impaled themselves on exceedingly sharp stakes." We have here an imitation of the Greek idiom. Compare Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 1, 6, 40; ἵνα ἐν τῷ σφόδρα φεύγειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐμπίπτων ἐνέδυ.

14. *Hos cippos appellabant.* "These the soldiers called cippi." *Cippus* properly means a trunk of a tree standing erect, and hence in one of the old glossaries it is explained by the Greek κορμός. It then denotes a little square pillar placed over graves, with the name &c., of the deceased engraved on it, and also a landmark, or boundary stone for fields. Achaintre, taking this last meaning for his guide, thinks that the Roman soldiers called the stakes in question *cippi*, because they served as so many limits to the enemy's progress. This is rather too fanciful. They would appear, on the

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178 contrary, to have derived their name from their general resemblance to erect trunks of trees.

15. *Quincuncem.* The form of the *quincunx* was as follows

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16. *Scrobes.* "Pits." Compare remarks under note 11.—*Paulatim angustiore*, &c. "With a depth gradually narrowing towards the bottom." *Fastigium* denotes depth as well as height. Compare Virgil (*Georg.* 2, 288), "*Forsitan et scrobibus quæ sint fastigia quæras.*" Where see Heyne, and consult Gesner's *Lexicon Rusticum*, s. v. appended to his edition of the *Script. Rei Rust.*

17. *Simul confirmandi*, &c. "At the same time, for the purpose of giving strength and stability, one foot from the bottom in each was filled with trampled clay." Compare the explanation of Lipsius (*Poliorcet.* 2, dial. 2, p. 518), "*Sententia est, e tribus illis pedibus altitudinis, tertium ab imo deperisse; terra aggesta ad stabiliendum stipitem, et circa eum stipata et exculcata.*"

18. *Id ex similitudine*, &c. "This they called a lily, from its resemblance to that flower." The pit resembled the calyx of the lily, and the inserted stake the pistil that projects from it.

179 1. *Taleæ.* "Stakes."—*Ferreis hamis infixis.* "With iron hooks fastened in them."—*Omnibus locis.* Referring to the space between the 20 feet ditch and the one 400 feet distant.

2. *Regiones secutus*, &c. "Having followed the course of the country, as evenly as the nature of the ground admitted, and having enclosed a space of fourteen miles, he constructed fortifications of the same kind in every respect, opposite to these, against an external foe." *Diversas* is well expressed by the κατ' ἐναντία of the Greek paraphrase. Oberlinus thinks that *pares ejusdem generis* savours of a pleonasm, but quite unnecessarily. It is equivalent to *similes et simili modo factas*, or, as we have rendered it, "of the same kind in every respect."

3. *Ejus discessu.* There is evidently some error of the text here, and *ejus* has arisen out of some corruption or abbreviation of *equitatus.* For the reference is undoubtedly to the departure of the Gallic horse, mentioned in chapter 71, and the consequent danger of a large army's being brought against the fortifications from without. All we can do is to translate *ejus discessu*, "in consequence of the departure of the foe," making *ejus* refer to the latter, and

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anderstanding by "the foe," the cavalry that had left Alesia. 179
Ejus cannot in any way apply to Cæsar, as some would insist.

4. *Neu egredi cogantur.* The common text has erroneously *cogerentur.—Convectum.* "Brought together," i. e., collected within the Roman works.

5. *Principum.* "Of the leading chieftains."

6. *Frumentandi rationem habere.* "To have any means for a regular supply of corn." Compare the Greek paraphrase, μήτε ἱκανὴν προνομὴν ἔχειν δύναιντο.

7. *Aulercis Brannovicibus.* The ordinary text has *Brannoviis* following after *Brannovicibus*, but it has evidently arisen from some various readings of this latter name. Oberlinus and Daehne enclose it within brackets. We have rejected it from the text.

8. *Lemovices.* This reading is extremely doubtful. Consult Geographical Index.

1. *Hujus opera,* &c. "Cæsar had, as we have before shown, 180
availed himself of the faithful and valuable co-operation of this Commius in Britain." Compare chapter 21, book 4.

2. *Civitatem ejus.* The Atrebates.—*Immunem.* "Free from taxes." The reference is to imposts of every kind.

3. *Jura legesque,* &c. "Had restored its ancient rights and privileges, and had conferred on Commius himself the country of the Morini."

4. *Hæc in Aeduorum,* &c. "These were reviewed in the country of the Aedui, and their number was taken down." Literally, "and an enumeration was entered into." The pronoun *hæc* refers to *millia* understood.

5. *Ancipiti prœlio.* "In an engagement pressing on both the front and rear." The front of the Romans would be attacked by Vercingetorix from the town, the rear by the confederate Gauls from without.

6. *Foris.* "Without," i. e., on the outside of the lines of contravallation.

7. *Præterita die.* Compare chapter 71.

1 *Nam apud me,* &c. "For honour has a powerful influence 181
over me."

2. *Millibus octoginta.* This was the amount of the force which Vercingetorix had with him in the town. Compare chapter 71.

3. *Exspoliare.* "Utterly to deprive." Equivalent to *penitus spoliare.* The common text has *spoliare*, the reading which we give is Oudendorp's

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181 4. *Nec.* We have here with the *nolite* that precedes a double negative in imitation of the Greeks, unless we prefer understanding *velitis* after *nec.* But this last is not so elegant. Compare Terence, *Andr.* 1, 2, 35, "*Neque tu haud dicas tibi non prædictum,*" and consult the other instances adduced by Vechner, *Hellenolex.* p. 381.

5. *Animi causa.* "For mere amusement." Compare the Greek paraphrase: ἢ τέρψεως σφῶν ἕνεκα

6. *Illorum.* Referring to the confederate Gauls without, who were coming to the relief of Alesia.—*Eorum.* Referring to the same.

7. *Eorum corporibus*, &c. They killed the children and those who were old and infirm, and subsisted on their flesh.

8. *Si.* "Even if."—*Institui.* "For one to be now established."

9. *Nam quid illi*, &c. "For what had that war like this which is now waged against us?" i. e., what were the miseries we then endured to these under which we are now suffering? Compare Morus, *ad loc.*

10. *Depopulata Gallia.* The verb *depopulari*, though regarded as a deponent, is, in fact, a common verb. Or rather, strictly speaking, the active, passive, and middle voices are all in use; for Valerius Flaccus, 6, 531, has "*depopulare greges,*" and the author of the Commentaries on the Spanish War (c. 42), has "*depopulavit.*" Compare note 4, page 171.

82 1. *Securibus.* Referring to the lictors and axes of the Roman magistrates. Compare *Brant. ad loc.*

2. *Prius experiantur*, &c. They resolve to have recourse to the horrid expedient recommended by Critognatus, only after having tried everything else.

3. *Recipi prohibebat.* According to Dio Cassius (40, 40), the whole of this miserable multitude perished with hunger in the space between the town and Roman camp! καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, μήδ' ἑτέρων σφᾶς δεχομένων, οἰκτρότατα ἀπώλοντο.

4. *Planitiem.* Compare chapter 69.

5. *Abductas.* One of the MSS. gives *adductas*, from which Oudendorp conjectured *abductas*, which we have received into the text. Oberlin retains *abditas*, the reading of the common editions, but explains it by *sejunctas*. The verb *abdo* certainly has on some occasions the meaning of *removeo* (compare *Tibull.* 2, 1, 82, and *Gronov. de pec. vet.* 4, 8), but always with more or less of conceal-

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ment accompanying the act. Now there was no concealment whatever in the present case, since it is stated, in the next chapter, that the infantry on the higher grounds were spectators of the battle with the cavalry, and cheered their countrymen with their cries. 182

6. *Ad utramque partem.* "On both sides," i. e., on the line of circumvallation, against the beseiged, and on that of contravallation against the foe without.

7. *Proventum.* The reading of the best MSS. The common text has *eventum*, which appears to be a mere gloss.

8. *Raros.* "Here and there."

1. *Pugnæ superiores.* The reading of the best MSS., and much more elegant than *pugna superiores*, which is given in the common text. Compare the expressions *acer animi*, *disciplinæ clarus*, &c. 183

2. *Et ii qui*, &c. Referring to the Gallic infantry, who beheld the equestrian conflict from the neighbouring heights. Compare note 5, page 182.

3. *Confertis turmis.* "In a compact body," i. e., with the several *turmæ*, or troops of horse, united into one. Compare the explanation of Achaintre: "*Sur un seul front, sans intervalle.*"

4. *Harpagonum.* "Grappling hooks." A species of mural hooks attached to long poles, and used to pull down the rampart, &c.

5. *Campestres munitiones.* Those described in chapter 74, which had been erected against the Gauls from without.

6. *Libralibus.* "Large stones." Supply *saxis.* The reference is to large stones thrown by the hand. So the Greek paraphrase has μεγάλοις τε λίθοις. This species of missile is mentioned by Vegetius (2, 3), "*Sed et manu sola omnes milites meditabantur libralia saxa jactare.*" The soldiers who threw them were called *libratores* Compare Tacitus, *Ann.* 2, 20, "*Funditores libratoresque excutere tela et proturbare hostem jubet;*" and also *Ann.* 3, 39, "*Libratoribus funditoribusque attributus locus, unde eminus glandes torquerent.*" By the Greeks they were called λιθοβόλοι. Compare *Thucyd.* 6, 69. Oudendorp and many others read *librilibus*, and refer in support of this lection to Festus, who explains *librilia* as follows: "*Librilia appellabantur instrumenta bellica, saxa scilicet ad brachii crassitudinem, in modum flagellorum loris revincta.*" From this description, the *librilia* would appear to have been large stones, attached to a thong or strap, which were drawn back after

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183 having been hurled at the foe; and so Lipsius regards them "*Videtur emissum telum fuisse, et reductum.* (*Poliorcet.* 4, dial. 3, p. 602.) Now it can hardly be supposed, that such weapons a these could have been used on the present occasion, when the Gauls were as yet at a distance; and Lipsius himself appears to favour this view of the subject: "*In Festi* librilibus *hæreo; nam in Cæsaris verbis longinquum non propinquum est telum.*" *Libralibus*, therefore, is evidently the true reading, not *librilibus*.

7. *Glandibus.* "Bullets." These were of lead, and of different shapes, some round, some trilateral, some oblong, &c. Consult Lipsius, *Poliorcet.* 4, dial. 3, p. 604, where delineations of them are given

8. *Ulterioribus castellis.* Referring to the redoubts that were more remote from the immediate points of attack.

9. *Plus proficiebant.* "They did more execution."

184 1. *Pilis muralibus.* "By the mural javelins." These were heavy iron javelins discharged from the ramparts by means of engines.

2. *Appeteret.* "Was approaching." Some editions have *appareret*, but this is a mere gloss on *appeteret.*

3. *Interiores.* "Those within," i. e., the Gauls from Alesia. Compare Morus: "Interiores, *oppido inclusi.*"—*Proferunt.* "Are bearing forth from the town."

4. *Superiorum castrorum.* "Of the upper camp." This is explained immediately after.

5. *Pæne iniquo loco*, &c. The situation was a disadvantageous one for the Romans, because the slope of the hill favoured the enemy, and the camp was commanded by the summit of the hill.

6. *Vergasillaunum.* O'Brien makes this to have been, not a proper name, but an appellation of dignity; and derives it from the Celtic, *fear-go-saighlean*, i. e., "vir ad vexillum," or "vexillarius," in English "a banneret."

7. *A castris.* The reference is to the Gallic encampment under the walls of Alesia. Compare chapter 69.—*Longurios, musculos*, &c. "Long poles, moveable pent-houses, mural hooks." For an account of the *musculus*, and the origin of its name, consult Archæological Index.

185 1. *Omnia tentantur.* "Every expedient is tried."—*Pars* "Any part of our works."

2. *Quod suum periculum*, &c. "Because they perceive, that their danger depends upon the valour of others," i. e., that it rests

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with others either to make them safe by a valiant resistance, or to 185
bring them into danger by an abandonment of their posts. In other words, their safety depended on the valour of the other legions.

3. *Utrisque ad animum occurrit.* "The same idea presents itself to the minds of either party."

4. *Si rem obtinuerint.* "If they stand their ground." More literally, "if they hold the affair as their own," i. e., if they hold their own. Compare the explanation of Baron, "*Si in munitionibus restiterint;*" and also that of Achaintre, "*In munitionibus defendendis si superiores evaserint.*"

5. *Exiguum loci,* &c. "A situation how little soever elevated, and making a descent, is of great importance to assailants." More literally, "the slightest elevation of situation, added to a declivity," &c. Compare note 5, page 183.

6. *Agger, ab universis,* &c. "The earth, heaped up by all against our fortification." The term *agger* is here employed, because the earth thus heaped up resembled a mound. Compare the Greek paraphrase: ἔπειτα δὲ πάντες γῆν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα ἐπιβάλλουσιν.

7. *Ea, quæ in terram,* &c. Referring to the *taleæ, cippi,* &c. —*Nec jam arma,* &c. Compare the Greek paraphrase: ὥστε ἤδη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἰσχὺς, καὶ ὅπλα ἐπέλιπον.

8. *Deductis cohortibus,* &c. "To draw off the cohorts from the lines, and engage the enemy in a sally." This would be, of course, a desperate expedient, and, therefore, the directions of Labienus were, not to do so unless compelled by urgent necessity; in other words, not to make a sally unless the lines were no longer tenable in that quarter.

9. *Loca prærupta ex ascensu.* "The high uneven grounds."

10. *Aggere et cratibus.* "With earth and fascines." Compare note 6.—*Aditus expediunt.* "They make a ready passage for themselves." More literally, "they clear entrances."

11. *Brutum.* Decimus Brutus, as is thought. The Greek paraphrase has Δέκιον Βροῦτον.

1. *Circumire exteriores munitiones.* Polyænus (8, 23, 11) 186
makes mention of this stratagem, but states that Cæsar sent out the troops by night, with directions to attack the rear of the enemy about the second hour of the morning. He makes, moreover, the force so sent out to have consisted of three thousand infantry and all the cavalry, ὁπλίτας τρισχιλίους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας πάντας.

2. *Aggeres.* "The ramparts," i. e., the earth heaped up for this purpose.—*Undequadraginta.* The MSS. have XXXIX. (i. e.,

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186 *undequadraginta*), but Ciacconius very justly suspects the text of being erroneous, since thirty-nine cohorts are too large a number altogether for "chance to throw in the way."

3. *Ex colore vestitus.* The Roman commanders were arrayed in a purple or crimson cloak, termed *paludamentum.* Compare Lipsius, *Mil. Rom.* 3, dial. 12, p. 107.

4. *Cognito.* After this word there follows, in the ordinary text, the words (*quo insigni in prœliis uti consueverat*) enclosed in a parenthesis. We have rejected them from the text as a mere marginal, and, at the same time, erroneous gloss. The Roman commanders always wore the *paludamentum* in battle, as a matter of course, and there would be no need whatever of stating this in the text, unless, as Davies thinks, Cæsar's differed in colour from that of other generals, which is by no means likely. The clause in question is regarded as spurious by many critics, and, among others, by Morus, Brant, Lipsius, Achaintre, &c.

5. *Ut de locis superioribus*, &c. "Since these low and stooping grounds were plainly seen from the eminences."

6. *Fit protinus*, &c. Turpin de Crissè very justly censures Commius for not having brought his main body into action, in which event there can be no doubt but that Cæsar would have been completely defeated. The force detached under Vergasillaunus was 60,000, leaving 180,000 still under the orders of Commius. Had he attacked another part of the Roman lines with those troops, and thus kept them employed in one quarter, while Vergasillaunus was pressing them hard in another, and Vercingetorix was plying the attack within, the issue of the battle would have been widely different, and the name of Cæsar would have been handed down to posterity by the side of those of Crassus and Varus. Consult *Thierry*, *Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. iii., p. 196.

7. *Crebris subsidiis.* "By reason of the frequent aid they had been compelled to render to each other."

187 1. *Vercingetorix deditur.* According to Plutarch (*Vit. Cæs.* c 27), the Gallic chieftain arrayed himself in his most splendid armour, and, having caparisoned his horse, sallied out from the gates of the town. After he had taken some circuits around Cæsar, as the latter was sitting in his tribunal, he dismounted, put off his armour, and seated himself at the feet of the Roman general. Here he remained in silence, until Cæsar ordered him to be taken away and reserved for his triumph. Dio Cassius (40, 41) states, that he relied on Cæsar's former friendship for forgiveness. This reliance,

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however, proved unavailing, since, after having been led in triumph at Rome, he was put to death in prison. (*Dio Cass.* l. c.) 187

2. *Per eos.* By keeping this part of the prisoners from slavery, and thus making them a means of gaining over the states, to which they belonged, to their former allegiance.

3. *Ex reliquis captivis.* "Of the remaining captives he distributed throughout the whole army one to each soldier as booty." Literally, "in the name of booty."

4. *Civitatem recipit.* "He recovers that state."

NOTES

ON THE

GREEK PARAPHRASE.

BOOK I.

Page.

188 1. *Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν πάντες κ. τ. λ.* The paraphrase differs here, in a slight degree, from the order of the Latin text, by placing *νόμους* before *δίαιταν*.

2. *Κεχωρίδαται.* Old poetic form, for *κεχωρισμένοι εἰσί.* Consult *Portus*, *Lex. Ion.* s. v., and compare *Thiersch's Homeric Grammar*, Sandford's transl. vol. i., p. 440, *seq.*

3. *Γαρούμνας.* The terminations *ης* and *ας* became, among the Aeolians *ᾰ*, as in Homer (*Il.* 2, 107), *Θυέστᾰ.* Hence the Latin *cometa*, *planeta*, *poeta*, from *κομήτης*, *πλανήτης*, *ποιητής*, and hence the Latins ordinarily changed the Greek names in *ας* into *ᾰ*; and the Greeks, on the other hand, turned the Roman names in *ă* into *ας*, as *Συλλάς*, *Γάλβας*, *Γαρούμνας*, *Ματρόνας*, &c. The diphthong *ου* in the Greek form *Γαρούμνας* is employed to express the peculiar sound of the Roman *u*, before the letters *mn*. Compare *Schneider*, *Lat. Gr.* vol. i., p. 37, and Hermann, *de Emendanda ratione*, *G. G.* p. 6, *seq.*

4. *Ἡμερότητος τῆς διαγωγῆς.* The Latin order is again changed. For *τῆς* we ought very probably to read *καί*.

5. *Ἐλβήτιοι.* The ancient pronunciation of the *β* approximated to a *v*, with a hissing through the teeth. Thus we have *Σέρβιος* for *Servius*, *Βάῤῥων* for *Varro*, &c. Consult *Matthiæ*, *G. G.* vol. i., p. 25, § 7, and *Liskovius*, *Aussprache des Griech.* p. 55.

189 1. *Χίλια ἐννεακόσια κ. τ. λ.* These amounts will agree with those in the Latin text, if we reckon about 124 Roman paces to the stadium.

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2. Προὐξένησε. In the MS. προὐξένισε, which we have altered with Jungermann.—Οἱ μὲν γὰρ κ. τ. λ. Cæsar's speeches are in the third person, the paraphrast's in the first, which gives a more rhetorical air to what is spoken. 189

1. Πάσας μὲν τάς πόλεις κ. τ. λ. We have nothing in the paraphrase corresponding to the *Vicos ad quadringentos* of the Latin text. So a little farther on, for *molita cibaria* we find merely ἄλφιτα. 190

2. Τουλίγγους. The Latobrigi are omitted here. They are mentioned, however, in the 28th chapter, but are there called Λακόβριγας.

3. Τοῦ Ῥήνου ποταμοῦ. A slip, on the part of the paraphrast, for τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ.

1. Εἰκοστὴ ὀγδόη. This modern phraseology shows the antiquity of the paraphrase not to be very great.—Γαβηνίου. We ought to read Γαβινίου. The form Γαβηνίου arose probably from a vicious pronunciation of the η. 191

2. Ῥηνον. A slip for Ῥοδανὸν. Compare note 3, page 190.

3. Ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα, κ. τ. λ. This number agrees pretty nearly with the Latin text, reckoning about 124 paces to the stadium.

1. Δυνατώτατοι κ. τ. λ. The Latin term *bellicosos* is here rendered by two adjectives. 192

2. Ἑδουέων. The name is written uniformly with the aspirate throughout the paraphrase. The Latin MS., very probably, from which the paraphrast translated, had *Hedui*, which occurs also in several editions.

1. Πολλὰς σχεδίας. No mention of *lintres* is made nere, probably from the difficulty of finding an exactly analogous expression in Greek. Μονόξυλά πλοῖα might, however, have answered, which occurs in Polybius, 3, 42, 2. Compare Livy, 21, 6, who, in speaking of the Gallic boats, observes, "*cavabant ex singulis arboribus.*" In the 53d chapter, however, the paraphrast renders *lintres* by πλοιάρια, which is far from accurate. 193

2. Φυλὰς. The paraphrast employs φυλὴ, "a tribe," where the Latin means *pars copiarum.*

1. Ὀκτὼ σταδίων. Eight stadia would only make about one thousand paces or a little under. We ought therefore, in all probability, to read here, ὀκτὼ καὶ τετταράκοντα σταδιων. 195

2. Συγκαλέσας αὐτῶν κ. τ. λ. We have nothing in the paraphrase for the following: "*et diem instare, quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret.*"

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196 1. Ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. The paraphrase omits an entire sentence here, from *neque dubitare debeant* down to *erepturi* inclusive.

2. Ἡμῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων. We must read here ὑμῶν for ἡμῶν, in consequence of the change to the *oratio directa*, which occurs in this and the other speeches given in the paraphrase.

197 1. Καὶ ἕκαστος κ. τ. λ. It would be more correct to say καὶ ὁ ἕκαστος.

198 1. Ὑποστρατηγῷ. The paraphrast takes no notice of *pro prætore* in the Latin text.

2. Δύο καὶ δέκα σταδίων. If the paraphrast read *mille et quingentis passibus*, he ought to have said τεσσάρων καὶ δέκα σταδίων.

3. Εἰδότων. This ought to be οὐκ εἰδότων, for Cæsar has "*neque*, &c., *cognitus esset*."

199 1. Ὡς ἰδὼν. More accurately, ὡς ἰδόντα.

2. Ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ. Cæsar says "*in Gallia citeriore.*" The paraphrast, however, means Northern Italy, which amounts to the same thing.

200 1. Ἐξαναλώσαντες τὴν πόῤῥωθεν ἀλκὴν. A strange paraphrase of "*ea disjecta.*" There is probably some error in the Greek.

2. Τεττάρων σταδίων. This number does not suit the Latin. Read ὀκτὼ σταδίων.

3. Πεντακισχίλιοι. Read πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, to agree with the *quindecim millia* of the Latin text.

4. Ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ. Cæsar has, however, *ab hora septima.* The seventh hour corresponds to the first hour after noon, according to our computation.

5. Διαλείποντες. Better, perhaps, διαλιπόντες. No mention is made, in the paraphrase, of the letters sent to the Lingones, neither is the *triduo intermisso* of the Latin text noticed.

201 1. Αὐτομολήσαντας. Cæsar merely calls them *servos.*

2. Συνηθροίζοντο. Under this verb the paraphrast means to include both *conquiruntur* and *conferuntur.* So, in the beginning of the next chapter, ἀπάγειν has the combined force of *conquirere* and *reducere.*

3. Βερβιγίνης. Read Βερβιγήνης. Another instance of the corrupt pronunciation of η.

4. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ. The Latin text has *prima nocte.*

202 1. Συναθροισθείσης. Directly opposite to the meaning of the Latin text, *eo concilio dimisso.*

204 1. Δεῖσθαι. We have nothing in the paraphrase for the following, "*Absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesset, horrerent.*"

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2. Σεκουσιανῶν. The Latin text has *Sequanos*. The paraphrast probably read *Segusianos*. 204

3. Τινα δεησόμενον. The Latin text, however, has *legatos*, not *legatum*. There is nothing, moreover, in the context for *de Republica*; nor for *neque sine exercitu*. We ought, perhaps, to insert οὔτε χωοὶς στρατίας.—For ἀσχολείας read ἀσχολίας.

1. Ἐκείνῳ Read ἐκείνῳ τὲ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. 205

2. Αὐτῶν. Read Ἑδουέων.

1. Συμβαλὼν μὴ οὐχ ἡττήθη. Read συμβαλὼν μοι, οὐκ ἡττήθη. 206

2. Πέντε σταδίων. Five stadia are here given for the sake of a round number, since they amount, in fact, to about 625 feet.

3 Τοὺς Γάλλους. Nothing in the Greek for *mercatores*.

1. Ἔλεγον. Confirming the lection of the earlier text, and disproving the emendation of Scaliger. 207

1. Λεῦκοι. No mention made of the Lingones, nor is there anything in the paraphrase for "*jamque esse in agris frumenta matura.*" 208

2. Δορυφορικὸν τάγμα. This, and δορυφόρου φάλαγγος in the 42d chapter, are interpretations rather than close renderings.

1. Οὐδέποτε φοβηθῆναί τε. Nothing in the Greek for "*se neque unquam dubitasse.*" 209

2. Ἀμφὶ τὰ χίλια κ. τ. λ. This number is altogether too large. We ought to read τριακόσια και τριάκοντα στάδια.

1. Στάδια πεντήκοντα. This does not agree with Cæsar's "*passibus ducentis.*" 210

2. Δύο ἱππεῖς. The Latin text has "*denos.*" Perhaps the paraphrast read *binos.*

3. Φίλον. Nothing in the paraphrase for "*quod munera amplissima missa.*"

1. Πραγμάτων. Nothing in the paraphrase for "*neque perfectæ essent.*" 212

2. Πρὸς τούτοις. The paraphrast has omitted from "*et eo magis*" down to "*conjicerent.*"

3. Ἄνδρα ῥωμαλεώτατον. Not a correct paraphrase for "*summa virtute et humanitate adolescentem,*" but referring to the body what Cæsar means to apply to the disposition and character.

1. Διεβίβασεν. Nothing in the paraphrase for "*et millibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit.*" 213

2. Τόπον. No Greek for "*circiter passus sexcentos.*" A little lower down, τέτταρας σταδίους is given for *passus sexcentos*, where some read *quingentos*, which would be too small for the Greek.

1. Τετταράκοντα στάδια. Rerd τετταρακόσια στάδια 215

HISTORICAL INDEX.

HISTORICAL INDEX

A.

Acco, *ōnis*, a chieftain of the Senŏnes, at the head of the confederacy, formed against the Romans, by his own nation together with the Carnūtes and Trevĭri. He was condemned in a general assembly of Gaul, which Cæsar had caused to convene for that purpose, and was punished with death. B. 6, c. 4, and 44.

Adcantuannus, a chieftain of the Sotiātes. He endeavoured, together with six hundred devoted partisans, to escape from the town of the Sotiātes, when attacked by Crassus, one of Cæsar's lieutenants His attempt, however, proved unsuccessful, and he was driven back into the place and forced to surrender. B. 3, c. 22.

Aemilĭus, L., a Roman officer, a decurio of the Gallic horse. B. 1, c. 23.

Ambiŏrix, *ĭgis*, king of one half of the Eburōnes, as Catĭvolcus was of the other. He received many favours from Cæsar, but proved unfaithful to him, and entrapped and defeated two of his officers, Titurius and Cotta. Cæsar marched against him and ravaged his country, but Ambiorix, after many very narrow escapes, finally eluded his pursuit. B. 5, c. 24, 27, 34.—B. 6, c. 2, 5, 29.

Antebrogĭus, a distinguished individual among the Remi, sent along with Iccius, as ambassador to Cæsar, in the second year of the Gallic war. B. 2, c. 3.

Antistĭus Reginus, C., a lieutenant of Cæsar's in Cisalpine Gaul, appointed by that commander, along with Silanus and Sextius, to levy troops, in the sixth year of the Gallic war. B. 6, c. 1.

Antonĭus, M., the famous triumvir. He was one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul. B. 7, c. 81.

Ariovistus, a German monarch, who, having been invited into Gaul by the Arverni and Sequăni, made himself master, eventually, of a large portion of that country, which he governed with great cruelty and oppression. He was totally defeated by Cæsar, and escaped with only a few of his followers into Germany. B. 1, c. 31, *seq.*

Aristĭus, M., a military tribune under Cæsar, during the Gallic war. The Aedui, on their first revolt, plundered him of his baggage, but steps were soon after taken to restore to him the value of his property. B. 7, c. 42, 43.

Arpinēĭus, C., a Roman knight, sent by Titurius and Cotta, along with Q. Junius, to hold a parley with Ambiŏrix, after the latter had made an attack on the Roman winter quarters. B. 5, c. 27.

Atrĭus, Q., an officer to whom Cæsar gave the charge of his fleet,

when riding at anchor on the coast of Britain, while he himself marched into the interior of the island. B. 5, c. 9, 10.

B

BACŬLUS, Sextĭus P., a centurion of the first rank in Cæsar's army, who on various occasions distinguished himself by his valour. B. 2, c. 25.—B. 3, c. 5.—B. 6, c. 38.

BALVENTĬUS, T., a centurion of the first rank, slain in the affair of Titurius and Cotta. B. 5, c. 35.

BODUOGNĀTUS, the leader of the Nervii, in the attack made by the latter on the army of Cæsar. B. 2, c. 23.

BRUTUS, Decĭmus, a young Roman officer, styled, on some occasions, by Cæsar, merely *Brutus adolescens*. He was intrusted with the command of the Roman fleet in the war with the Veneti, whom he defeated. On a subsequent occasion we find him placed over the troops sent into the country of the Arverni. In the affair of Alesia he was despatched with six cohorts, from one part of the Roman lines, to lend aid to his countrymen in another part, when hard pressed by Vergasillaunus. B 3 c. 2.—B. 3, c. 14, 15.—B. 7, c. 9, 87.

C.

CABŪRUS, Valerius C., a Gallic chieftain, holding the supreme command among the Helvii. B. 7, c. 65.

CÆSAR, Julius C. *Vid.* sketch of his life at the commencement of this volume.

CÆSAR, L., a lieutenant of Cæsar's, placed by him with twenty-two cohorts in charge of the Roman province. B. 7. c. 65.

CAMULOGĒNUS, a Gallic chieftain, of the Aulercan nation, who, though far advanced in years, was requested by the Parisii, on account of his great military talents, to take the command of their forces against Labienus. He was slain in the battle that ensued, after a brave but ineffectual resistance. B. 7, c. 57, 62.

CARVILĬUS, one of the four kings of Cantium in Britain, ordered by Cassivellaunus to make an attack, together with the other three monarchs, on the naval camp of Cæsar. The attempt failed, and the Britains were repulsed with great slaughter.

CASSIVELLAUNUS, a British king, who ruled over the country lying towards the mouth of the Tamēsis, on the northern bank of that river. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces against Cæsar, but was eventually overcome and forced to submit. B. 5, c. 11, 18, 20, 21 22.

CASSĬUS, L., a Roman consul defeated and slain by the Helvetii. His army was compelled to pass under the yoke. B. 1, c. 7, 12.

CASTĬCUS, a chieftain of the Sequani, on whom Orgetorix prevailed to seize the supreme power in his native state, which his father Catamantălis (–alĭdis) had enjoyed before him. B. 1, c. 3.

CATIVOLCUS, king of one half of the Eburones, as Ambiŏrix was of the other. He was the associate of the latter chieftain in the defeat of the Roman force under Titurius and Cotta; but, afterward, when Cæsar had completely routed the forces of his nation, he, being unable through age

to bear the fatigues of war, poisoned himself with the juice of the yew-tree. B. 5, c. 24.—B. 6, c. 31.

Cavarillus, a chieftain of high rank among the Aedui, and commander of the infantry after the revolt of Litavicus. He was taken prisoner in the battle in which Vercingetorix was defeated, a short time before the latter betook himself to Alesia. B. 7, c. 67.

Cavarīnus, appointed by Cæsar King of the Senŏnes, in opposition to the claims of Moritasgus, the reigning monarch. A plan was formed, among the Senŏnes, for his assassination; but Cavarinus, apprized of the plot, saved his life by flying to the camp of Cæsar. B. 5, c. 54.—B. 6, c. 5.

Cicĕro, Q., brother of M. Tullius Cicero, was one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul, and displayed much courage and ability on many trying occasions, especially in defending his winter quarters among the Nervii. B. 5, c. 39, 40, 43, 48.—B. 6, c. 36. During the civil war he abandoned the side of Cæsar, and espoused the party of Pompey; but, after the battle of Pharsalia, he went over again to the former and obtained a pardon. He was proscribed, at a subsequent period, by the triumvirate, and put to death together with his son. *Cic. Ep. ad Att.* 5, 3.—*Id. ibid.* 11, 8.—*Id. ibid.* 11, 9.—*Dio. Cassius*, 47, 10.—*Appian, B. C.* 4, 20.

Cimberĭus, brother of Nasŭa, who, together with the latter, commanded a large force of the Suevi that were encamped on the Rhine and endeavouring to cross and effect a junction with Ariovistus. The overthrow of the German monarch by Cæsar induced them to retire. B. 1, c. 37.

Cingetŏrix, a chieftain of the Trevĭri, who contended with Indutiomarus for the sovereignty. He favoured the cause of the Romans, was proscribed by Indutiomarus, but restored by Cæsar and made prince of his native state. B. 5, c. 3, 4, 56, 57.—B. 6, c. 8.

Clodĭus, P., a Roman of noble birth, but infamous for the corruption of his morals. He caused himself to be adopted into a plebeian family, for the purpose of being elected tribune of the commons, and, while holding this office, had a number of laws passed, favourable to the people, but contrary to the principles of the Roman constitution. He cherished also a bitter hatred against Cicero, and procured his banishment from Italy, on the ground that he had violated the law in the punishment inflicted upon the accomplices of Catiline. Clodius was eventually assassinated by the retinue of Milo, in an accidental encounter which took place between him and the latter individual, as Milo was journeying towards Lanuvium and Clodius was on his way to Rome. *Cic. Or. post red. in Sen.*—*Id. pro Dom.*—*Id. de Harusp.*—*Id. pro Milone.*—*Id. Ep. ad Att.* 1, 12.—*Id. ibid.* 1, 18.

Commĭus, a chieftain of the Atrebates, whom Cæsar, in return for some important services, made king over that people. He was sent by the Roman general into Britain, to induce the states in that island to acknowledge the Roman power and form an alliance with Cæsar. After being employed by the latter on several other occasions, he finally joined the side of the confederate Gauls, and fought against the Romans. His efforts and those of his countrymen proved unsuccessful; but he was afterward chosen by the Bellovaci to be one of their leaders, and renewed the contest. On a subsequent occasion, he was, at the instigation of Labienus, enticed into a conference by C. Volusenus Quadratus, and narrowly escaped with his life, being severely wounded on the head

Commius was at last defeated, and obliged to submit to Antonius. B. 4, c. 21, 27, 35.—B. 6, c. 6.—B. 7, c. 76.—B. 8, c. 6, 23, 48.

Conetodūnus, a leader of the Carnutes, and a man of the most resolute and daring spirit, who, together with Cotuātus, seized upon Genabum, and put to death all the Roman traders whom they found there. B. 7, c. 3.

Considĭus, P., an officer in Cæsar's army, of great experience in military affairs, and who had served under Sylla and Crassus. He was sent out by Cæsar in the war with the Helvetii, to watch and report the movements of the enemy, but he allowed his fears to get the better of his judgment, and thus prevented Cæsar from executing a movement that must have been crowned with complete success. B. 1, c. 21, 22.

Convictolitănis, a young Aeduan nobleman, the competitor of Cotus for the sovereign power. Cæsar, to whom the affair was left by the state, decided in favour of Convictolitānis. The latter, however, not long after, being gained over by Vercingetorix, induced his countrymen to revolt from the Romans. He was appointed commander of the Aeduan cavalry, but was taken prisoner in battle. B. 7, c. 32, 33, 55, 67.

Cotta, Auruncolēĭus L., one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul. When Ambiorix was seeking to entice him and his colleague Sabinus from winter quarters, Cotta was opposed to leaving the encampment, but finally yielded to the wishes of the other. This compliance cost him his life. The Roman army was drawn into an ambuscade, Cotta and Sabinus were both slain, and but few of the private soldiers escaped. B. 2, c. 11.—B. 4, c. 22, 38.—B. 5, c. 24, 28, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37.

Cotuātus. *Vid.* Conetodunus.

Cotus. *Vid.* Convictolitanis.

Crassus, P., one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul. He reduced the Veneti and other maritime states under the Roman sway; and was victorious also over the Aquitani and Sotiātes. B. 2, c. 34.—B. 3, c. 20, *seqq.*

Critognātus, a chieftain of the Arverni, remarkable for the horrid speech made by him in council at Alesia, that the garrison should subsist on the bodies of the weak and those that were useless for the war. B. 7, c. 77.

D.

Divĭco, an influential noble among the Helvetii, who had been at the head of their forces in the war with Crassus. He was the leader of the embassy sent to Cæsar by the Helvetii, after the defeat of part of their forces by that commander. B. 1, c. 13, 14.

Divitiăcus, an Aeduan noble, of high rank among his countrymen and possessing great influence with Cæsar, from his strong attachment to the Roman interests. B. 1, c. 3, 16, 18, 20, 31, 41.—B. 2, c. 5.—B. 6, c. 12.

Druĭdes, the ministers of religion among the Gauls and Britons. Britain, according to Cæsar, was the great school of the Druids, and their chief settlement was in the island called Mona by Tacitus, now *Anglesey*. The natives of Gaul, who wished to be thoroughly versed in the mysteries of Druidism, resorted to this island in order to complete their studies. Many opinions have been formed respecting the origin of their name. The common derivation is from δρῦς, "an oak," either from

their inhabiting, and teaching in, forests, or, as Pliny states, because they never sacrificed but under an oak. But it is hard to imagine how the Druids should come to speak Greek. Some deduce the name from the old British word *dru*, or *drew*, "an oak." This latter derivation receives considerable support from a passage in Diodorus Siculus (5, 31), who, speaking of the philosophers and priests of Gaul, the same with the Druids, says that they were called Σαρωνίδαι, a term which some of the commentators trace to the old Greek form σάρωνις (ιδος), "a hollow oak." Wesseling, however, it must be confessed, condemns this reading, and is in favour of receiving into the text the form Δρουΐδαι, where others again read Σαρουΐδαι. Among the many oriental derivations which have been given, the best is that from the Sanscrit term *Druwidh*, signifying "poor," "indigent." In historical conformity with this derivation, it has been urged, that, among the Hindoos, we may observe in the Sanniassi the professional mendicant, while among the Druids poverty was rather a merit than a disgrace. The arguments in favour of the oriental origin of the Druids are deserving of great attention, though too numerous to mention here. The Druids held the same doctrines in effect with Pythagoras, the worship of one Supreme Being, a future state of rewards and punishments, the immortality of the soul, and a metempsychosis. The Druids appear to have possessed considerable acquaintance with natural philosophy, astronomy, arithmetic, and botany. Their influence over the minds of the people was unbounded; and so strongly was this felt by the Romans in Britain, that they were compelled to massacre a large number of this priesthood in order to ensure their conquest of that island.

Dumnŏrix, a nobleman of the Aedui, and brother to Divitiacus. He was of an ambitious turn, and united with Orgetorix for purposes of self-aggrandizement. He afforded also to the Helvetii, by interceding for them, a passage through the territory of the Sequani. Dumnorix was accused before Cæsar by Liscus, but obtained pardon, through the entreaties of Divitiacus. He refused to accompany Cæsar into Britain, and endeavoured to escape from the Roman camp, but was overtaken and put to death on the spot. B. 1, c. 3, 9, 18, 20.—B. 5, c. 6, 7.

E.

Eporedŏrix, a chieftain of the Aedui, who, before the arrival of Cæsar in Gaul, commanded the forces of his countrymen against the Sequani. He revolted from Cæsar and joined Vercingetorix, but was taken prisoner by the Romans in a battle of the cavalry. B. 7, c. 39, 55, 63, 67.

Eporedŏrix, another Aeduan noble, chosen one of the commanders of the confederate army that marched to the relief of Vercingetorix. B. 7, c. 76.

Eratosthĕnes, a native of Cyrene, and the second who was intrusted with the care of the Alexandrian library. He was famous for his acquaintance with mathematical geography, and was the first that introduced into a map a regular parallel of latitude. *B. G.* 6, 24.

F.

Fabĭus, Maximus Q., a Roman consul, defeated the Arverni and Ruteni. B. 1, c. 45. Compare *Liv. Epit.* lib. 61

G.

I.

L.

also in Spain, and, after the death of Cæsar, had a law passed (*Lex Pedia*) which had for its object the banishment of his assassins. Augustus named him his colleague in the consulship, after the death of Hirtius and Pansa. He died B. C. 43, a few days after the proscriptions of the second triumvirate. B. 2, c. 2, 11.—*Vell. Pat.* 2, 65.—*Cic. pro Planc.* 14

Petrēius, M., a centurion in the army of Cæsar, who fell fighting bravely at the siege of Gergovia. B. 7, c. 50.

Petrosidĭus, L., a standard-bearer in the troops under Sabinus and Cotta. He was slain while bravely fighting during the affair with Ambiorix. B. 5, c. 37.

Piso, L., consul B. C. 112. Five years after he served as lieutenant under the consul Cassius, but was slain, together with him, by the Tigurini. He was an ancestor of L. Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar. B. 1, c. 12.

Plancus, L., a lieutenant of Cæsar's. *Vid.* Munatius.

Pompēius, Cn., a Roman, related probably to Pompey the Great. He was sent by Sabinus, whose interpreter he was, to confer with Ambiorix during the attack made by the latter on the Roman forces, after they had been enticed from their winter quarters among the Eburones. B. 5, c. 36.

Pulfĭo, T., a centurion in the army of Cæsar, remarkable for his valour, who had a long contest and rivalry with L. Varenus, another centurion, respecting individual prowess. When Cicero's winter quarters were attacked by the Nervii, they both sallied forth from the encampment, and displayed the greatest bravery without the fortifications. B 5, c. 44.

R.

Roscĭus, L., a lieutenant of Cæsar's, sent with the third legion among the Essui. B. 5, c. 24.

S.

Sabīnus, Titurius Q., a lieutenant of Cæsar's, mentioned in several parts of the Commentaries, and, in general, a successful officer. He was entrapped, however, at last by Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, and lost his life in an ambuscade. His conduct in this latter affair displayed very little judgment or military experience. B. 2, c. 5, 10.—B. 3, c. 11, 18, 19.—B. 4, c. 38.—B. 5, c. 24, *seq.*

Sedulius, prince and leader of the Lemovices, was slain during the siege of Alesia, in the attack made by the Gauls without on Cæsar's lines of contravallation. B. 7, c. 88.

Segŏnax, one of the four kings mentioned by Cæsar as ruling over Cantium in Britain. B. 5, c. 22.

Sextĭus. *Vid.* Baculus.

Silĭus, T., a Roman officer, sent by Crassus among the Veneti, for the purpose of procuring corn, and detained by them. B. 3, c. 7, 8.

Spartăcus, a gladiator, who escaped from his place of exercise, with several of his companions, and, taking up arms against the Romans, soon found himself at the head of many thousands. After many successes, and having proved himself an able and formidable opponent, he was defeated and slain in an action with Crassus, B. C. 71.

Sulpicĭus, P., a lieutenant of Cæsar's, intrusted by him with the charge

of the harbour of the Morini. We find him afterward stationed at Matisco, on the Arar, among the Aedui, to superintend the supplies of corn from that quarter. B. 4, c. 22.—B. 7, c. 90.

T.

Tasgetĭus, a nobleman of the Carnutes, raised to the sovereignty by Cæsar, a station which his forefathers had enjoyed before him. He was assassinated in the third year of his reign. B. 5, c. 25.

Taximagŭlus, one of the four kings of Cantium in Britain, at the time of Cæsar's arrival. B. 5, c. 22.

Terrasidĭus, T., a lieutenant of Cæsar's, sent among the Esubii, for the purpose of procuring corn, and detained by them. B. 3, c. 7, 8.

Teutomărus, king of the Nitobrĭges, joined Vercingetorix with a large body of cavalry. He was surprised by the Romans, while sleeping in his tent at midday, and narrowly escaped being taken. B. 7, c. 31 46.

Titurĭus. *Vid.* Sabinus.

Trebĭus Gallus, M., an officer sent among the Curiosolites, to procure corn, and detained by them. B. 3, c. 7, 8.

Trebonĭus, C., a lieutenant of Cæsar's. He had been previously tribune of the commons, and had caused the law to be passed which gave Gaul as a province to Cæsar, Syria to Crassus, and Spain and Africa to Pompey, for five years. During the civil war he sided with Cæsar, and A. U. C. 708 (B. C. 45) the latter, having abdicated the consulship before the end of the year, named Trebonius in his place for the three months that remained. And yet, though he owed all his preferment to Cæsar, he joined in the conspiracy against him. After the death of Cæsar, the senate conferred on Trebonius the government of Asia, but he was slain at Smyrna by Dolabella, B. C. 43. B. 5, c. 17, 24.—B. 7, c. 11, 81.—*Cic. Phil.* 11, 2.—*Liv. Epit.* lib 110.—*Suet. Cæs.* c. 24.

Trebonĭus, C., a Roman knight, in the army of Cæsar during the Gallic war. He distinguished himself by his bravery when the winter quarters of Cicero were unexpectedly assailed by the German horse which had crossed the Rhine. B. 6, c. 40.

V.

Valerĭus Cabūrus. *Vid.* Caburus.

Valerĭus Procillus, son of C. Valerius Caburus, and an individual of great distinction in the Roman province. Being well acquainted with the Gallic language, and a person besides on whom Cæsar could rely with the utmost confidence, he was sent by that commander, along with M. Mettius, to hold a conference with Ariovistus. The German king imprisoned them both, but they were rescued by the Romans during the flight of his army. B. 1, c. 47, 53.

Varēnus, L., a centurion, and the rival of Pulfio. *Vid.* Pulfio.

Vercingetŏrix, a young nobleman of the Arverni, distinguished for his abilities and for his enmity to the Romans. He was chosen commander-in-chief of the confederate army raised by the states of Gaul, and used every endeavour to free his country from the Roman yoke. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful; he was besieged in Alesia, compelled to surrender, and, after being led in triumph at Rome, was cruelly put to death. B. 7, c. 4, *seq.*

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

A.

ALDUASDŬBIS. Consult note 15, page 22.

ADUATŬCA, a fortified place nearly in the middle of the territory occupied by the Eburones. It is mentioned B. 6, c. 32, 34, and, according to Mannert, must not be confounded with Aduatucum, the modern *Tongres*, since the former place stood nearer the Rhine than Aduatucum. *Mannert, Geogr.* vol. ii., p. 200.

ADUATŬCUM, called by Ptolemy 'Ατουάκουτον, and in the *Itin. Ant.* Aduaca Tungrorum; the capital of the Aduatici, now *Tongres*. B. 2, c. 29.

ADUATŬCI, a people of Gallia Belgica, whose territory extended from the Scaldis, or *Scheldt*, eastward as far as Mosæ Pons, or *Maestricht*. They were of German origin, and originally formed part of the great invading army of the Teutones and Cimbri. Being left behind in this quarter to guard a part of the baggage, they finally settled here. Cæsar knows them merely by the name of Aduatici, but their later name appears to have been Tungri. (Compare Tacitus, *M. G.* c. 2.) Hence the modern name *Tongres* given to Aduatucum. (*Mannert, Geogr.* vol. ii., p. 198.

AEDŬI, in some MSS. and early editions Hædui, one of the most powerful nations in Gaul, dwelling between the Liger (*Loire*) and Arar (*Saône*), and extending downward to near Lugdunum (*Lyons*). Their territory corresponded, therefore, to the greater part of modern *Burgundy* and *Nivernais* (*Mannert, Geogr.* vol. ii., p. 177), or, to adopt the more recent phraseology, the departments *de la côte d'or, de la Nièvre, de Saône et Loire, du Rhône.*

AGENDĬCUM, the capital of the Senŏnes, now *Sens*, situate below the confluence of the *Vanne* and Icauna or Itumna, now the *Yonne*. This city is called by Ptolemy 'Αγέδικον, and in the *Itin. Ant.* Agedincum.

ALESĬA, a strongly-fortified town of the Mandubii, near the sources of the Sequana or *Seine*, and situate on the summit of a mountain, now Mount *Auxois*. It was washed on two sides by the small rivers Lutosa and Osera, now *Oze* and *Ozerain*. Alesia is famous for the siege it stood against Cæsar. It was taken and destroyed by him, but was afterward rebuilt, and became a place of considerable consequence under the Roman emperors. It was laid in ruins, in the ninth century, by the Normans. At the foot of Mount Auxois is a village still called *Alise*. According to tradition (*Diod. Sic.* 4, 19), Alesia was founded by Hercules, which would imply that the place had been originally a Phœnician stronghold for purposes of inland traffic. The Greek writers, however, say that it took its name from the *wanderings* of that hero on his expedition into Spain, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν στρατειαν ἄλης.

ALLOBRÓGES, a people of Gaul, between the Isăra, now *Isere*, and Rhodănus, now *Rhone*, in the country answering to *Dauphiné*, *Piedmont*, and *Savoy*. Their chief city was Vienna, now *Vienne*, on the left bank of the Rhodanus, thirteen miles below Lugdunum, or the modern *Lyons*. They were reduced beneath the Roman power by Q. Fabius Maximus, who hence obtained the surname of *Allobrogicus*. According to Celtic scholars, the name *Allobroges* means "Highlanders," being formed from *Al*, "high," and *Broga*, "land." (*Adelung*, *Mithrid.* vol. ii., p. 50.)

ALPES, a celebrated chain of mountains, separating Italy from Gaul and Germany. The name is derived from their height, *Alp* being the old Celtic appellation for a lofty mountain. (*Adelung*, *Mithrid.* vol. ii., p. 42.) They extend from the Sinus Flanaticus, now Gulf of *Quarnero*, at the top of the Gulf of Venice, and the sources of the river Colapis, now *Kulpe*, to Vada Sabatia, now *Savona*, on the Gulf of Genoa. The whole extent, which is in a crescent form, is nearly 600 British miles. They have been divided by both ancient and modern geographers into various portions, of which the principal are, 1. *Alpes Maritimæ* (Maritime Alps), beginning at the environs of Nicæa (now *Nice*), and extending to Mons Vesulus (now *Monte Viso*). 2. *Alpes Cottiæ* (Cottian Alps), reaching from the last-mentioned point to *Mont Cenis*. 3. *Alpes Graiæ* (Graian Alps), lying between Mont *Iseran* and the *Little St. Bernard*, inclusively. 4. *Alpes Penninæ* (Pennine Alps), extending from the *Great St. Bernard* to the sources of the Rhone and Rhine. 5. *Alpes Rhæticæ* (Rhætian Alps), from *St. Gothard* to Mount *Brenner* in the *Tyrol*. 6. *Alpes Noricæ* (Noric Alps), from the latter point to the head of the river Plavis (now *la Piave*). 7. *Alpes Carnicæ sive Juliæ* (Carnic or Julian Alps), terminating in the Mons Albius on the confines of Illyricum. Among the Pennine Alps is *Mont Blanc*, 14,676 feet high The principal passes at the present day are, that over the Great St. Bernard, the one over Mont Simplon, and the one over Mont St. Gothard

AMAGETOBRĬA. *Vid.* Magetobria, and consult note 6, p. 19.

AMBARRI, a Gallic tribe, dwelling between the Aedui and Allobroges, on either bank of the Arar, or *Saône*, in what is now *la Bresse* (*department de l'Ain*).

AMBIALĪTI, or Ambiliati, a Gallic nation, forming one of the Armoric states, and the same with the *Ambibari*.

AMBIĀNI, a people of Belgic Gaul, whose capital was Samarobriva, afterward called Ambianum, now *Amiens*. They occupied that part of *Picardie* which is now called *department de la Somme*.

AMBIĀNUM. *Vid.* Samarobriva.

AMBIBĀRI, a nation forming one of the Armoric states. They are supposed to have dwelt between the Curiosolitæ, Aulerci Diablintes, Essui, and Unelli, and to have occupied what is now the *diocèse d'Avranches*, or *department de la Manche*. No mention is made of them by the ancient geographical writers.

AMBILIĀTI. *Vid.* Ambialiti.

AMBIVARĔTI, or *Ambivarēti* (for we have in the Greek paraphrase, B. 7, c. 75, 'Αμβιβαρέτων, and at c. 90, 'Αμβιβαρήτων), a Gallic tribe ranked among the clients of the Aedui, whence Glareanus and Ciacconius suspect them to be the same with the Ambarri. Almost all the MSS. call them the *Ambluareti*. The ancient geographical writers are silent respecting them.

AMBIVARĪTI, a Begic tribe, a short distance beyond the Mosa, or *Meuse*. B. 4, c. 9.

ANARTES, or *Anarti*, a Dacian tribe, dwelling on the eastern bank of the Tibiscus, now *Teiss*, in what is now part of *Transylvania*. Ptolemy (3, 8) says of them, κατέχουσι δὲ τὴν Δακίαν, ἀρκτικώτατοι μὲν ἀρχομένοις ἀπὸ δυσμῶν, Ἄναρτοι.

ANCALĪTES, a British nation, neighbours to the Trimobantes. Horsely makes them correspond to the natives of *Berkshire*, but it is all uncertainty. B. 5, c. 21.

ANDES, a Gallic tribe, whose territory corresponded to part of modern *Anjou*, or what is now termed the department *de la Mayenne*. They lived along the northern bank of the Liger or *Loire*, not far from the mouth of that river. By Tacitus and Pliny they are called Andecavi and Andegavi. Cæsar says they were very near the sea, but in this there is a slight inaccuracy, as the Namnetes or Nannetes intervened. B. 2, c. 35.—B. 3, c. 7.—B. 7, c. 4.

AQUILĒĬA, a celebrated city of Italy, in the territory of Venetia, between the Alsa and Natiso, and about seven miles from the sea. It was a very important place, and regarded as the bulwark of Italy on its north-eastern frontier. Even in Cæsar's time it was a military post of great consequence; but its most flourishing period was under the empire. In Strabo's day it had become the great emporium of all the trade of Italy with Pannonia and Illyria. It was sacked and razed to the ground by Attila. Eustathius informs us, that the name of this city was derived from the Latin word *Aquila*, as denoting the legionary standard, the place having been originally a Roman encampment. B. 1, c. 10.—*Liv.* 39, 22.—*Id.* 40, 54.—*Strabo*, 5, p. 214, *Cas.*

AQUITANĬA, one of the three main divisions of Gaul, lying between the Garumna, now *Garonne*, and the Pyrenees. As it was less than either of the other two divisions of Gaul, Augustus extended it to the Liger, or *Loire*. The Aquitani, according to Strabo, resembled the Iberi more than the Gauls, and were, in fact, intermingled with numerous tribes from Spain. B. 1, c. 1.—B. 3, c. 20.—*Strab.* 4, p. 190, *Cas.*

ARAR (*-ăris*), a very slow and smooth-running river of Gaul. It rises near Mons Vogesus, now *Mont Vosge*, and, after a southern course, falls into the Rhodanus or *Rhone*. The modern name is *Saône*. The city of Lugdunum, now *Lyons*, stands near the junction of the two rivers. B. 1, c. 12.

ARDUENNA (*Silva*), a forest of Gaul, the longest in the country, now *Ardennes*. It reached, according to Cæsar, from the Rhine and the territories of the Treviri, to those of the Nervii, being upward of fifty miles in length. Others, however, make the extent much longer. If it covered the whole intervening space between the countries of the Treviri and Nervii, it would greatly exceed fifty miles. The original Gallic name would seem to have been *Ar Denn*, i. e., "the profound" or "deep" (forest). *Ar* is the article, while *Denn* in the Kymric, *Don* in the Bas-Breton, and *Domhainn* in Gaelic, denote respectively, "profound," "thick." B. 5, c. 3.—B. 6, c. 29.—*Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois*, vol ii., p. 41.

ARECOMĬCI. *Vid.* Volcæ.

ARMORĬCA, or Aremorica, a Celtic term, applied in strictness to all parts of Gaul lying along the ocean. In Cæsar, however, the appellation is confined merely to the tract of country which corresponds to *Normandy* and *Brittany*. The name is derived from the Celtic, *Ar Moer*, i. e., *Am Mur*, "on the sea." B. 2, c. 34.—B. 3, c. 7, 9, 17, 29.—B. 7, c. 4.—*Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois*, vol i., p. 39.

B.

united their forces) by the Romans. (B. 1, c. 5, 25.) The Boii appear to have passed at a very early period into Germany, and to have settled along the Danube. A part of them afterward penetrated into what was called, from them, Bohemia (Boierheim, i. e., residence of the Boii), and another part moved in a western direction, and united with the Helvetii, as already stated. The Boii who settled in Boierheim or Bohemia were afterward expelled by the Marcomanni, and retired into other seats, called, in like manner, Boiaria, corrupted into Bayaria, and now *Bavaria*. (*Mannert*, *Geogr.* vol. ii., p. 180. Compare vol. iii., p. 478, *seq.*)

Brannovīces. *Vid.* Aulerci.

Bratuspantīum, a town of the Bellovaci, the site of which is placed by D'Anville at *Gratepenche*, a village between *Breteuil* and *Montdidier*. B. 2, c. 13.

Britannĭa, the island of *Great Britain*. Little was known to the Romans of this island until the invasion of Cæsar. This commander endeavoured, although ineffectually, to reduce it. After a long interval, Ostorius, in the reign of Claudius, subjugated the southern part; and Agricola, subsequently, in the reign of Domitian, extended the Roman dominion to the Frith of Forth and Clyde. The whole force of the empire, although exerted to the utmost under Severus, could not, however, reduce to subjection the hardy natives of the highlands Britain continued a Roman province until A.D. 426, when the troops were in a great measure withdrawn, to assist Valentinian III. against the Huns, and never returned. The Britons had become so enervated under the Roman yoke, as to be unable to repel the incursions of the inhabitants of the north. They invoked, therefore, the aid of the Saxons, by whom they were themselves subjugated, and compelled at last to take refuge among the mountains of Wales.

C.

Cabillōnum, a town of the Aedui, on the Arar, now *Châlons*, on the *Saône*. It appears to have been a place of great trade, and many Roman merchants were settled there. B. 7, c. 42, 90.

Cadurci, a people in the lower part of Gaul, to the west of the Ruteni and Arverni. Their capital was Divona, afterward Cadurci, now *Cahors*. B. 7, c. 4, 64, 75.

Cæræsi, a people of Gallia Belgica, between the Treviri and the river Mosa, or *Meuse*, who, with the Condrūsi, Eburōnes, and Pæmāni, went under the general appellation of Germans. D'Anville finds a trace of their name in the little river *Chiers*, between *Mouson* and *Sedan*. B. 2, c. 4.

Calētes, a people of Gallica Celtica. They are mentioned by Cæsar along with the Osismii, Rhedōnes, Ambibāri, &c., and are therefore thought to have occupied part of the modern Brittany (*Bretagne*). B 7, c. 75

Cantābri, a warlike people of Spain, inhabiting the northern part, along the shores of the Sinus Cantabricus, or *Bay of Biscay*. Their country answered to the modern *Biscay* and part of *Asturias*. B. 3, c. 26.

Cantium, a part of England, now *Kent*. Compare the German *Kante*, "a corner."

Carcāso, now *Carcasonne*, a city of the Volcæ Tectosages, on the Roman province. It was situate on the river Atax, or *Aude*, and lay inland in a western direction from Narbo Martius or *Narbonne*. B. 3, c. 20. Ptolemy writes the name Καρκασῶ, while Pliny and others give Carcasso.

Carnūtes, a nation of Gaul, between the Sequana and Liger, and to the west of the Parisii, Senones, and Aureliani. Although occupying a very extensive tract of country, they were nevertheless clients of the Remi. Their territory was the principal seat of the Druids, who held here their courts for the administration of justice, on which account it was regarded as a kind of centre for Gaul. B. 2, c. 35.—B. 5, c. 25, 29, 54, &c.

Cassi, a people of Britain, whose territory, according to Cambden, answered to the modern *hundred of Caishow*. B. 5, c. 21.

Caturĭges, a Gallic tribe dwelling among the Cottian Alps. Their chief town was Caturigomagus, now *Chorges*. B. 1, c. 10. Consult Lemaire, *Ind. Geogr. ad Cæs. Op.* p. 228, *seq.*

Cebenna Mons, a chain of mountains, now called the *Cevennes*, commencing in the country of the Volcæ Tectosages, and running on through the territories of the Ruteni, Gabali, and Helvii. It unites finally with the chain of Jura, which comes in from the northeast. B. 7, c. 8, 56.

Celtae, the most powerful and indigenous of the three great nations which occupied Gaul. (*Vid.* Gallia.) It is commonly supposed, that they called themselves *Gail* or *Gael*, out of which appellation the Greeks formed their Κέλται, and the Romans *Galli*. Some, however, deduce the name from the Gaelic "*ceilt*," an inhabitant of the forest. (*Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. i., p. 29.)

Cenimagni, a people of Britain, whose chief town was Venta, now *Caster*, near *Norwich* They were the same with the Iceni, though on Horsely's map of Britain they are made to occupy merely the southern part of the territory of that people. B. 5, c. 21.

Cenomanni, one of the tribes of the Aulerci. *Vid.* Aulerci.

Centrōnes, a Gallic nation, dwelling among the Graian Alps, to the north of the Caturiges. Their territory answered, according to D'Anville, to the modern *Tarentaise*. The village of *Centron* still marks the site of their chief city. B. 1, c. 10.

Ceutrōnes, a people of Gallia Belgica, clients of the Nervii, whose chief city was Ceutro, now *Courtray*. B. 5, c. 39.

Cherusci, a people of Germany, between the Weser and the Elbe, southeast of the Chauci. Under the conduct of Arminius, they defeated and slew three Roman legions commanded by Varus, in the Saltus Teutobergiensis, or *Bishopric* of *Paderborn*. This event happened in the reign of Augustus, A.D. 10. They were afterward defeated by Germanicus. B. 6, c. 9.

Cimbri, a German nation, who, in conjunction with the Teutones, invaded Italy with a numerous army, or horde, and were defeated by Marius and Catulus. Their original seats are thought to have been the Cimbric Chersonese, or modern *Jutland*. B. 1, c. 33.—B. 2. c. 29, &c.

Cisalpīna Gallia, or Gaul this side of the Alps, so called with reference to Rome, and forming, in fact, the northern part of Italy. It extended from the foot of the Alps to the rivers Rubicon and Macris. *Vid.* Gallia.

Cocosātes, a people of Aquitania, lying along the coast of the Sinus

Elusātes, a people of Aquitania, to the northwest of the Volcæ Tectosages. Their chief city was Elusa, now *Euse*. In more modern days, the seat of government was transferred to Ausci, now *Auch*, the town of Elusa or Euse having been sacked by the Normans. B. 3, c. 27.

Essŭi, a people of Gaul, supposed to have been the same with the Saii, and lying to the north of the Diablintes and Cenomani. Their chief city was Saii, now *Seez*, on the river Olina or *Orne*. B. 4, c. 24.

Esubii, a people in the Alpes Maritimæ, north of the Edenates. They are sometimes called Esubiani. The river *Ubaye* runs through what was formerly their territory. B. 3, c. 7.

G.

Gabăli, a people of Aquitania, below the Arverni, whose clients they were, and between the Ruteni and Vellauni. Their chief city was Anderitum, afterward Gabali, now *Mende*.

Gallia, ancient Gaul, bounded on the west by the Atlantic, and on the north by the Rhenus or *Rhine*, on the east by the Rhenus and Alps, and on the south by the Pyrenæi Montes and Sinus Gallicus, or *Gulf of Lyons*. The greatest breadth was 600 English miles, but much diminished towards each extremity, and its length was from 480 to 620 miles. It was, therefore, more extensive than modern France before the revolution. Gaul was divided, in Cæsar's time, between the Celtæ, Belgæ, and Aquitani, the former occupying the central parts, the Belgæ the northern near the Rhenus, and the Aquitani the southern near Spain. Besides these there was what the Romans called their Province (*Provincia*) in the southern part of the country, on either side of the Rhodanus. *Vid.* Provincia. Augustus, however, holding a general assembly of the states of Gaul, B.C. 27, made a new division of the country, in which he showed more attention to equality in the extent of provinces, than to any distinction of the several people that inhabited them. Thus the Aquitani, who were before limited to the Garonne, were made to communicate their name to a province which encroached upon the Celtæ, as far as the mouth of the Loire, and that which the Celtæ had contiguous to the Rhine was taken into the limits of a province called *Belgica*. *Lugdunum* (Lyons), a colony founded after the death of Julius Cæsar, and before the triumvirate, gave the name of *Lugdunensis* to what remained of Celtic Gaul; while the Roman province took that of *Narbonensis*, from the city of Narbo, now Narbonne, on the lower coast. Out of these four great divisions were formed in a later age seventeen provinces.

Garītes, a people of Aquitania, between the Elusates and Ausci, in part of *Gascony*, or the more modern department *du Gers*. B. 3, c. 27.

Garumna, now the *Garonne*, a river of Gaul, rising in the valley of *Arran*, among the Pyrenees, and falling into the Oceanus Cantabricus, or *Bay of Biscay*. Its length is about two hundred and fifty miles. After its junction with the *Dordogne* (Duranius) below *Bordeaux* (Burdigala), it assumes the name of *Gironde*. The Garonne is navigable to Tolosa or *Toulouse*, and communicates with the Mediterranean by means of the canal of Louis the Fourteenth. B. 1, c. 1.

Garumni, a Gallic tribe, near the head waters of the Garumna, and

north of the Convenæ, in the modern department *de la Haute-Garonne* B. 3, c. 27.

Geidūni, or, according to D'Anville, Gorduni, a people of Belgic Gaul, on the seacoast, above the Morini. B. 5, c. 39.

Genăbum, the chief city of the Aureliani, called subsequently after the name of that people, and now *Orleans*. It was situate on the Liger or *Loire*, which ran through it.

Genēva, a town at the western extremity of the Lacus Lemānus or *Lake of Geneva*, and on the southern bank of the Rhodanus or *Rhone*. The modern name is *Geneva;* or *Genff*, as the Germans call it. B. 1, c. 6, 7.

Gergovĭa, the capital of the Arverni, a place remarkable for its strength, and the only Gallic city the siege of which Cæsar was compelled to raise. It was situate in the immediate vicinity of the spot where now stands the modern *Clermont*, or ancient Augustonometum. It is incorrect, however, to make Gergovia identical with the latter place. Consult *Le Maire, Ind. Geogr. ad Cæs. Op.* p. 266, *seq.*

Gergovia (*Boiorum*), a town of the Boii, supposed to be the same with the modern *Moulins*, in the *Bourbonnais*. B. 7, c. 9. The MSS. vary as to the form of the name, some giving *Gortona*, others *Gorgobina.*

Germāni, a general name among the Romans for the nations dwelling beyond the Rhine. The Tungri first assumed this appellation, on crossing that river. It was afterward applied to the other Germanic tribes, as they successively appeared in Gaul, until, at last, it became a name for all the natives of Germany. The appellation is derived from *wer*, "war," and *man*, "a man," denoting brave or warlike men; and the initial *G* takes the place of *W*, the latter not occurring in the Roman alphabet.

Germania, a large country of Europe, bounded on the south by the Danube, on the east by the Vistula, on the north by the Sinus Codanus or *Baltic Sea*, and on the west by the German Ocean. The inhabitants were called *Germani* by the Romans, but their true name was *Teutònes* B. 6, c. 21, *seq.*

Gordūni, more correctly Geiduni, which see.

Graiocĕli, or Garoceli, a Gallic tribe, between the Caturiges and Centrones, and the farthest nation of Hither Gaul, being just on the frontiers of Transalpine Gaul. Their chief town was Ocelum, now *Usseau*, in *Piedmont*. B. 1, c. 10.

Grudii, a Belgic tribe, clients of the Nervii, whose territory lay between the Scaldis (*Scheldt*) and Ocean. Traces of their name remain in the modern *land van Groede* (district of Groede) above *l'Ecluse*, to the north. B. 5, c. 39.

H.

Harūdes, a German tribe, in the vicinity of the Marcomanni, between the Rhine and the head waters of the Danube. Their territory was in the quarter where are now the cities of *Rothweil* and *Frustemberg.*

Helvetii, a Gallic tribe, whose country was bounded on the north by the Rhenus (*Rhine*) and Lacus Brigantinus (*Lake of Constance*), which separated it from Vindelicia and Rhætia; on the south by the Rhodanus (*Rhone*) and Lacus Lemanus (*Lake of Geneva*), which divided it from the Roman province; on the east by a branch of the Rhætian

Alps, and on the west by Mount Jura. Their territory, therefore, was of less extent than modern *Switzerland*. B. 1, c. 2, 3, *seq.*

Hercynĭa (*Silva*), a very extensive forest of Germany, the breadth of which, according to Cæsar, was nine days' journey, while its length exceeded sixty. It extended from the territories of the Helvetii, Nemetes, and Rauraci, along the Danube to the country of the Daci and Anartes. Then, turning to the north, it spread over many large tracts of land, and is said to have contained many animals unknown in other countries, of which Cæsar describes two or three kinds. But few vestiges of this ancient forest remain in modern times, and these include the Black *Forest*, which separates Alsace from Suabia; the *Steyger* in Franconia; the *Spissard* on the Mayn; the *Thuringer* in Thuringia *Hessewald* in the Duchy of Cleves; the *Bohemerwald* which encompasses Bohemia, and was in the middle ages called Hercynia Silva; and the *Hartz* Forest in Lunenberg. The name Hercynia is supposed to come from the German word *hartz*, "resin," which still remains in the name of the present *Hartz* Forest. B. 6, c. 24.

Hibernĭa, *Ireland*, a large island in the Mare Atlanticum (*Atlantic Ocean*). It is washed on the east by Oceanus Virginius (*St. George's Channel*), which separates it from Britannia; on the north by Mare Hibernicum (*Irish Sea*), and on all other parts by the Atlantic. Cæsar's account of this island is extremely brief, consisting of very little more than the mention of its name and the circumstance of its lying to the west of Britain. The appellation *Hibernia* appears to have been pronounced by those from whom the Romans received it, as if written Ἰουερνία, whence Ierne, another ancient name for the island, would seem to have been formed. The modern name *Erin* is regarded by some as the primitive Erse root.

Hispania, a country of Europe, in the southwestern part of that continent, and forming a kind of peninsula. The name is supposed to be derived from the Phœnician *saphan*, "a rabbit," the early Phœnician colonists having found vast numbers of those animals there. Hence, on a medal of Hadrian, Spain is represented by the figure of a female, with a rabbit at her side. The whole peninsula was divided by the Romans into Hither and Farther Spain, or *Citerior* and *Ulterior*. The former was also called *Tarraconensis*, from *Tarraco*, its capital, the modern Tarragona, and extended from the foot of the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Durius, now *Douero*, on the Atlantic shore, comprehending all the north of Spain, together with the south as far as a line drawn below Carthago Nova or *Carthagena*, and continued in an oblique direction to Salamantica or *Salamanca*. Farther Spain was divided into two provinces, Bætica and Lusitania. The former was situate between the Anas or *Guadiana*, and Tarraconensis; while Lusitania corresponded in a great degree, though not entirely, to modern Portugal being less in extent from north to south, but stretching farther inland to the east.

I.

Illyricum, a country bordering on the Adriatic, opposite Italy. The name of Illyrians, however, appears to have been common to the numerous tribes, which were anciently in possession of the countries situate to the west of Macedonia, and which extended along the coast of the

Adriatic, from the confines of Istria and Italy to the borders of Epirus Still farther north, and more inland, we find them occupying the great valleys of the *Sauve* and *Drave*, which were only terminated by the junction of those streams with the Danube. This large tract of country, under the Roman emperors, constituted the provinces of Illyricum and Pannonia. B. 2, c. 35.—B. 3, c. 7.—B. 5, c. 1, &c.

INSULA BATAVORUM. *Vid.* Batavorum Insula.

ITALIA, *Italy*, a large and well-known country of Europe. It was bounded on the south by the Mediterranean; on the southwest by the Mare Inferum or Tyrrhenum, also a part of the Mediterranean; on the north by the Alps; and on the northeast by the Mare Adriaticum, called also Mare Superum, and now *Gulf of Venice.* The main divisions of this peninsula, in the time of Cæsar, were Cisalpine Gaul in the north, extending to the rivers Rubicon and Macris; Magna Græcia in the south, comprising the provinces of Campania, Apulia, Messapia, Lucania, and Bruttiorum Ager; and Italia Propria, between Magna Græcia and Cisalpine Gaul. Augustus extended the name of Italy to the foot of the Alps.

ITIUS PORTUS, a harbour in the country of the Morini in Gaul, answering, according to D'Anville, to the modern *Vitsand* or *Vissant.* Cæsar set out from this place when he sailed the second time for Britain.

J.

JURA, MONS, a chain of mountains, extending from the Rhodanus or *Rhone*, to the Rhenus or *Rhine*, and separating Helvetia from the country of the Sequani. The name is said to be in Celtic, *Jou-rag*, and to signify, "the domain of God." The most elevated parts of the chain are the *Dole*, 5082 feet above the level of the sea; *Mont Tendre*, 5170; and the *Reculet* (the summit of the Thoiry), 5196. B. 1, c. 2, 6, 8.

L.

LATOBRĬGI, a people of whom little certain is known. They appear to have been neighbours of the Helvetii, Rauraci, and Tulingi, and occupied, most probably, what corresponds to the modern *Klettgau.*

LEMĀNIS PORTUS, now *Lymne*, a harbour of Britain, a little below Dubris or *Dover*, where Cæsar is thought to have landed on his first expedition to that island. B. 4, c. 23.

LEMĀNUS LACUS, now the *Lake of Geneva*, a beautiful lake between the territories of the Helvetii and Allobroges. It is of a crescent form, the concave side being uppermost, and forty-five miles long. Its greatest breadth is about twelve miles. The Rhone traverses this lake throughout its whole length. B. 1, c. 2, 8.—B. 3, c. 1.

LEMŌNUM, the chief city of the Pictŏnes or Pictāvi, now *Poitiers.*

LEMOVĪCES, a Gallic tribe between the Garumna and Liger, and west of the Arverni. Their capital was Augustorĭtum, afterward Lemovices, now *Limoges*, in the department *de la Haute Vienne.* A nation likewise called Lemovices, are mentioned by Cæsar (7, 75) as forming part of the *gentes Armoricæ.* Either, therefore, there was more than one tribe of this name in Gaul, or for *Lemovices* in the passage just quoted we must read *Leonices.*

LEPONTII, a Gallic tribe, dwelling near the sources of the Rhone among the Lepontine Alps. The Lepontine Alps separated Italy from the Helvetii, and the Lepontii inhabited that part of them which lies between the *Great St. Bernard* and *St. Gothard*. B. 4, c. 9.

LEUCI, a nation of Belgic Gaul, north of the Lingones and Sequani, and separated from the Rhine by the Tribocci and Rauraci. Their country answered to the present departments of *La Meuse* and *La Meurthe*. B. 1, c. 40.

LEVĂCI, a nation of Belgic Gaul, on the river Scaldis, and northwest of the Nervii, lying between them and the Grudii. Their territory now forms part of *Louvaine*. B. 5, c. 39.

LEXOVII, a nation of Celtic Gaul, on the coast, below the mouth of the Sequana. Their capital was Noviomagus, afterward called Lexovii, now *Lizieux*. B. 3, c. 9, 17.—B. 7, c. 75.

LIGER (*-ĕris*), or Ligeris (*-is*), now the *Loire*, the largest river in Gaul. It rises in Mount Cebenna, now *Cevennes*, and for the one half of its course runs directly north, then turns to the west, and falls into the Atlantic between the territories of the Pictones and Namnetes. The Liger receives numerous tributaries, the most remarkable of which are the Elaver or *Allier*, Carus or *Cher*, Andria or *Indre*, and Vincenna or *Vienne*. B. 4, c. 9.—B. 7, c. 55, &c.

LINGŎNES, a people of Celtic Gaul, north of the Aedui, and having the Sequana on the east and Senones on the west. The rivers Mosa, Sequăna, and Matrŏna arose in their territories. Their chief city was Andomadunum, aferward Lingones, now *Langres*. B. 1, c. 26, 40.—B. 4, c. 10, &c.

LUTETIA, the capital of the Parisii, on an island in the Sequana, now *Paris*. The city began to increase in importance under the first French kings, and was extended to the two banks of the river, the island being connected with them by bridges. B. 6, c. 3.—B. 7, c. 57, 58.

M.

MAGETOBRĬA, a city of Gaul, near which Ariovistus defeated the combined forces of the Gauls. It is supposed to correspond to the modern *Moigte de Broie*, near the village of *Pontailler*. Consult Explanatory Notes, page 27, note 8.

MANDUBĬI, a tribe of Celtic Gaul, clients of the Aedui, and situate in the northern part of their territory, on the borders of the Lingones. Their chief city was Alesia, now *Alise*. Their territory answers to that part of the former Duchy of Burgundy once called *l'Auxois*, now the department *de la Côte d'or*. B. 7, c. 68, 71, 78.

MARCOMANNI, a nation of Germany, in the southeastern part of the country. Their territories were bounded on the west by the Rhine, on the south by the Danube, and on the north by the Mænus, or *Meyn*. In the time of Augustus they removed from this quarter, in order to escape the Roman yoke, and wrested from the Boii the country which had been called from them Boierheim (or Bohemium), now Bohemia. (*Vid.* Boii.) The name Marcomanni denotes "border men." B. 1, c. 51.

MATISCO, one of the more important cities of the Aedui, and a place of considerable trade. According to the Notitia R. I. it was famed for its manufacture of arrows. It is now *Mâcon*, in the department *de Saône-et-Loire*. B. 7, c. 90.

MATRŎNA, the *Marne*, a river of Gaul, which formed part of the ancient boundary between Gallia Belgica and Celtica. It rose in the territory of the Lingones, near Andomadunum or *Langres*, and emptied into the Sequana or *Seine*, a little above Lutetia or *Paris*. Its course is about ninety-two leagues. B 1, c. 1

MEDIOMATRĪCI, a people of Belgic Gaul, between the Treviri to the north, and the Leuci to the south. Their chief town was Divodurum, afterward Mediomatrices, now *Metz*. They were regarded as one of the most powerful of the Belgic tribes. Their territory answers now to what is called *le pays Messin*. B. 4, c. 10.—B. 7, c. 75.

MELDI, a Gallic tribe, northeast of the Parisii. Their chief town answers to the modern *Meaux*. B. 5, c. 5.

MELODŪNUM, a town of the Senones, now *Autun*, on an island in the Sequana or *Seine*, in a southeastern direction from Paris. B. 7, c. 58, 60.

MENAPĬI, a nation of Belgic Gaul, in the vicinity of the lower Rhine, and occupying, according to Cæsar, possessions on both sides of that river. The Toxandri were their neighbours to the south. Their fortress, called Castellum Menapiorum, answers to the modern *Kessel*, on the *Meuse*. B. 2, c. 4.—B. 3, c. 9.—B. 4, c. 4, 22, &c.

METIOSĒDUM, a town a short distance above Lutetia or *Paris*, and answering to the modern *Josay*. Consult note 5, page 171. B. 7, c. 61.

MONA. There were two islands of this name. One was between Britain and Hibernia, and is now the *Isle of Man*. Of this Cæsar speaks (B. 5, c. 13). The other is mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* 14, 29.—*Vit. Agric.* 14), and corresponds to the modern *Anglesey*. This latter island was remarkable as being one of the principal seats of the Druids.

MORĬNI, a tribe of Belgic Gaul, whose country lay along the coast, opposite Cantium or *Kent*. Their chief city was Teruanna, now *Thérouenne*, and their territory answered to the modern *Boulonnais* (department *du Pas-de-Calais*), to part of the county of Artois (department *du Nord*), and a portion of *Flanders* along the sea. B. 2, c. 4.—B. 3, c. 9, &c.

MOSA, the *Meuse* or *Maese*, a river of Gaul, rising among the Lingones, a little to the west of Mount Vogesus, and falling into the Vahalis or *Waal*. Its course is about 160 leagues. B. 4, c. 10.

N.

NAMNĒTES, or Nannetes, a people of Celtic Gaul, on the northern bank of the Liger, near its mouth. Their chief city was Condivicnum, afterward Namnetes, now *Nantes*, in the department *de la Loire Inferieure*. B. 3, c. 9.

NANTUĀTES, a Gallic tribe, whose territory lay south of the Lacus Lemanus or *Lake of Geneva*, in that part of the Alps now called *Chablais* and *le bas de la Vallée*. B. 3, c. 1, 7.—B. 4, c. 10.

NARBO, now *Narbonne*, the capital of the Roman province, in the territory of the Volcæ Tectosages, near the seacoast, and on the river Atax or *Aude*. It became, by means of this stream, a seaport and place of great trade. Narbo was one of the oldest cities of the land, and had an extensive commerce long before the Romans established themselves in this quarter. Its favourable situation caused that people to send a colo-

ny to the place, and, as a Roman colony, it took the name of Narbo Martius, or, in other words, Martius was added to the previous appellation. It subsequently became the capital of the entire province, which took from it the name of Narbonensis. B. 3, c. 20.—B. 7, c. 7.—B. 8, c. 46.

Nemĕtes, a German tribe, along the western bank of the Rhine, between the Vangiones to the north and the Tribocci to the south. Their territory corresponds to part of the *Grand Duchy of Baden.* Their principal city was Noviomagus or *Spires.* B. 1, c. 51.

Nervii, a powerful and warlike people, in Belgic Gaul, whose territory lay to the northeast of that of the Atrebates. The river Scaldis or *Scheldt* passed through a part of their country. The valour of the Nervii is fully attested by the account which Cæsar gives of them. They were of German origin. Their chief city was Bagacum, now *Bavay*, which appears to have fallen about the end of the fourth century, and to have been supplanted by Cameracum, now *Cambray*, and Turnacum, now *Tournay.* B. 2, c. 4, 17, 28, 29.—B. 5, c. 24, &c.

Nitiobrĭges, a Gallic tribe, southwest of the Cadurci. Their territory lay on either side of the Garumna or *Garonne*, corresponding to the modern *Agennois*, in the department *de Lot et de Garonne*, and their chief town was Aginnum, now *Agen.* B. 7, c. 7, 31, 46, 75.

Noreīa, a city of Noricum, the capital of the Taurisci, near the modern village of *Neumarkt*, in the province of *Stiria.* B. 1, c. 5. (*Mannert*, *Geogr.* vol. iii., p. 646.)

Norĭcum, an extensive country, bounded on the north by the Danube, on the west by the Oenus or *Inn*, on the south by Italy, and on the east by Pannonia. It corresponded, therefore, to *Salzburg*, *Carinthia*, and parts of *Austria* and *Stiria.* It was famous for its mines of iron. Noricum was first conquered by the Romans in the reign of Augustus Tiberius led the expedition. B. 1, c. 5.

Noviodūnum. There were three cities of this name in Gaul. I. Noviodunum Aeduorum, a city of the Aedui, on the banks of the Liger, now *Nevers.* (B. 7, c. 55.) II. Noviodunum Suessiŏnum, a city of the Suessiŏnes, now *Soisons.* (B. 2, c. 12.) III. Noviodunum Bituriġum, a city of the Bituriges, now *Neuvy-sur-Baranjon.* (B. 7, c. 12.)

O.

Ocĕlum, a city among the Cottian Alps, now *Usseau*, in *Piedmont* B. 1, c. 10.

Octodūrus, the chief city of the Veragri, among the Pennine Alps now *Martigni*, in the *Valais.* B. 3, c. 1.

Orcynĭa, a name given by the Greek writers to the Hercynian forest

Osismĭi, a people of Gallic Celtica, in the westernmost extremity of the country, forming one of the Gentes Armoricæ. Their territory corresponds to a part of modern *Brittany*, and their chief city was Vorganium, afterward Osismii, now *Korbez.* In their country was Brivates Portus, now *Brest.* B. 2, c. 34.—B. 3, c. 9, &c.

P.

Padus, or *Po*, the largest river in Italy, anciently called also Eridanus. It rises in Mons Vesulus, now *Monte Viso*, near the sources of

the Druencia or *Durance*, runs in an easterly direction for more than 500 miles, and discharges its waters into the Adriatic, about thirty miles south of Portus Venetus, the modern *Venice*. B. 5, c. 24.

PÆMĀNI, a people of Belgic Gaul, about whom all other writers except Cæsar are silent. Their territory lay on the eastern side of the river Mosa or *Meuse*, and corresponds to a part of the modern district of *Liege*. B. 2, c. 4.

PARISĬI, a Gallic tribe, north of the Carnutes and Senones. Their chief city was Lutetia, afterward Parisii, now *Paris*. B. 6, c. 3.—B. 7, c. 4, &c.

PETROCORĬI, a Gallic tribe, east of the mouth of the Garumna. Their chief city was Vesuna, afterward Petrocorii, now *Perigeux*, the capital of *Perigord*. B. 7, c. 75.

PICTŎNES, a Gallic tribe, below the mouth and along the southern bank of the Liger or *Loire*. Their chief city was Limonum, afterward Pictones, now *Poitiers*, in the department *de la Vienne*. B. 2, c. 2.

PIRUSTÆ, a people of Dalmatia, in Illyricum, on the confines of Pannonia. They appear to be the same with the *Pyræi* of Pliny. (*H. N* 3, 22.)

PLEUMOXĬI, a people of Belgic Gaul, northeast of the Atrebates, and whose territory lay in the vicinity of Turnacum or *Tournay*. B. 5, c 39.

PROVINCIA ROMANA, the first Roman province formed in Gaul. It extended from the Pyrenees to the Alps along the coast, and was bounded on the east by the Alps, on the west by the chain of Mount Cebenna, now *Cevennes*, and on the north, where it narrowed off, by the Ambani, Sequani, and Helvetii. This tract of country was at first called simply *Provincia*, afterward *Gallia Braccata*, from the *braccæ* worn by the inhabitants, and finally *Gallia Narbonensis*. The *braccæ* were a species of striped under garment covering the thigh. Celtic Gaul, for distinction sake from *Gallia Braccata*, was sometimes called *Gallia Comata*, from the long hair worn by its inhabitants. The more modern *Provence* corresponded to only a part of the ancient Provincia. The following departments answer to the latter in its full extent: the departments *des Pyrénées orientales*, *de l'Arriège*, *de l'Aude*, *de la Haute Garonne*, *du Tarn*, *de l'Herault*, *du Gard*, *de Vaucluse*, *des Bouches du Rhône*, *du Var*, *des Basses Alpes*, *des Hautes Alpes*, *de la Drôme*, *de l'Isère*, *de l'Ain*.

PYRENÆI MONTES, a well-known range of mountains, separating Gallia from Hispania. The whole chain is about 294 miles in length. The name is derived from the Celtic *Pyren* or *Pyrn*, "a high mountain," from which may also be deduced the name of Mount *Brenner* in the *Tyrol*.

R.

RAURĂCI, a Gallic tribe, above the Helvetii, and between the Sequani and the Rhine. Their chief town was Raurăcum, afterward called Augusta Rauracorum, and now *Augst*, a small village near *Basle*. B. 1 c 5, 29.—B. 5, c. 75.—B. 6, c. 25.

REMI, a powerful nation of Gallia Belgica, to the southwest of the Treviri. Their chief town was Durocortorum, afterward Remi, now *Rheims*. B. 2, c. 3.—B. 5, c. 54, &c.

RHENUS, a celebrated river of Europe, rising in the Lepontine Alps,

a little to the east of Mount *St. Gothard*, in the country of the *Grisons*. It passes, in its course, through Lacus Brigantinus or the *Lake of Constance*, and afterward through Lacus Acronius or the *Lake of Zell*, and continues to run nearly west until it reaches Basilia or *Basle*. Here it takes a northern direction, and becomes the boundary between Gallia and Germania, and afterward between the latter and Belgium. At *Schenk* or *Schenken Schans*, the Rhenus sends off its left-hand branch, the Vahalis or *Waal*, which flows west, and joins the Mosa or *Meuse*. After parting with the Vahalis, the Rhenus flows on a few miles farther to the north, and then divides into two streams, of which the one to the right hand had the name of Flevo, or Flevus, or Flevum, now the *Yssal*, and the other that of Helium, now the *Lech*. The latter joins the Mosa above the spot where now stands *Rotterdam*. The *Yssal* was originally unconnected with the Rhine, but was joined to it by the canal of Drusus Before it reached the sea, it traversed a small lake called Flevo, which, by the increase of waters it received through the *Yssal* from the Rhine, became in time expanded, and now forms the *Zuyder Zee*. The whole course of the Rhine is 900 miles, of which 630 are navigable, from *Basle* to the sea. B. 4, c. 10, 16, 17.—B. 6, c. 9, &c.

Rhodănus, now the *Rhone*, a large and rapid river of Europe, rising among the Lepontine Alps, not more than two leagues south of the sources of the Rhine. It passes through the Lake Lemanus, now Lake of *Geneva*, and, after flowing with a very swift current in a southern direction, empties into the Sinus Gallicus or *Gulf of Lyons*. Its whole course is about 400 miles.

Rutēni, a people of Gaul, to the northwest of the Volcæ Arecomici, and occupying the district now called *Le Rouergue*. Their capital was Segodunum, afterward denominated Ruteni, and now *Rhodez*. Part of the Ruteni were in the Roman province, and part without in Celtic Gaul. The capital of the provincial Ruteni was, strictly speaking, *Albiga*, now *Albi*. B. 1, c. 45.—B. 7, c. 7, &c.

S.

Sabis, now the *Sambre*, a river of Belgic Gaul, rising among the Nervii, and joining the Mosa in the territory of the Aduatici. B. 1, c. 45.—B. 7, c. 7, 64, 75.

Samarobrīva, a city of Gallica Belgica, in the territory of the Ambiani, and on the southern bank of the river Samara or *Somme*. It was afterward called Ambianum, and is now *Amiens*. B. 5, c. 24, 45, 51.

Santŏnes, a people of Gallia Celtica, whose territory lay between the Pictones on the north, and the mouth of the Garumna on the south. Their chief town was Mediolanum, afterward called Santones, now *Saintes*. B. 1, c. 10, 11.—B. 3, c. 11.

Scaldis, now the *Scheldt* or *Escaut*, a river of Belgic Gaul, rising about fifteen miles south of Camaracum, now *Cambray*, and falling into the German sea near the modern island of *Walcheren*. Its whole course does not exceed 120 miles. B. 6, c. 33.

Sedūni, a nation of Gaul, to the southeast of the Lacus Lemanus, and occupying the upper part of the Vallis Pennina or *Valais*. Their chief town was Civitas Sedunorum, now *Sion*. B. 3, c. 1, 2.

Sedusii, a German tribe, on the western bank of the upper Rhine, near the Tribocci, Vangiones, and Nemetes. B. 1, c. 51.

SEGNI, a people of Gallica Belgica, in the vicinity of the Condrusi The modern *Ciney* or *Chiney* is thought to indicate the site of their ancient capital. B. 6, c. 32.

SEGONTIĂCI, a people of Britain, the situation of whose territory is not exactly known. Horsely places them in the northern part of the territory of the Belgæ, below the Atrebatii. Some suppose them to have been a colony from Saguntum in Spain ; but this is extremely visionary. B. 5, c. 21.

SEGUSIĀNI, a people of Gallia Celtica, to the south of the Aedui, and in whose territory lay the city of Lugdunum, now *Lyons*. D'Anville makes Lugdunum to have been a place of Roman origin (*Geogr. Anc.* vol. i., p. 66). Others, however, with more probability, regard it as having been at first one of the towns of the Segusiani. The chief town of this Gallic tribe was Forum Segusianorum, now *Feurs*. B. 1, c. 10.

SENŎNES, a powerful and warlike nation of Gallia Celtica, to the northwest of the Aedui. In the time of Cæsar, however, they had lost portion of their former strength and influence, and were a kind of lients to the Aedui, though they had still many other tribes in clientship to themselves. Their chief city was Agendicum, afterward called *Senones*, now *Sens*. B. 5, c. 54.—B. 6, c. 3.

SEQUĀNA, a river of Gaul, rising in the extreme northern part of the territory of the Aedui, and, after a course of about 250 miles, falling into the Oceanus Britannicus or *English Channel*. B. 1, c. 1, &c.

SEQUĀNI, a people of Gallia Celtica, not of Belgica as Ptolemy states. Their country was bounded on the east by Mount Jura, which separated it from the Helvetii ; on the north by Mount Vosegus ; on the west by the country of the Aedui and Lingones ; and on the south by the Ambiani and Allobroges. The Sequani are well known in the history of Gaul, as having called in the aid of Ariovistus against their victorious rivals the Aedui. After the defeat of the latter by the German leader, the Sequani themselves felt severely the power of the conqueror. Cæsar's arrival in Gaul, however, put a stop to this state of things, and the Aedui regained, through his means, their former ascendency. The chief town of the Sequani was Vesontio, now *Besançon*. B. 1, c. 9, &c.

SESUVII, one of the Armoric states in Gaul. Their particular situation is unknown. *Vid.* Armorica.

SIBUSĀTES, a people of Aquitania, the situation of whose territory is not exactly agreed upon. Some make it to have extended along the river Atur or *Adour*, not far from the borders of Hispania, and think that the town of *Sabusse*, between *Dax* and *Bayonne*, marks the site of their ancient capital. Others, however, assign them a position a little below the Bituriges Vivisci, near what is called at the present day *Tête de Buch*, in the department *de la Gironde*. The former of these opinions is the more probable. B. 3, c. 27.

SIGAMBRI, a German nation, in Cæsar's time dwelling near the Rhine, but whose earlier settlements would appear to have been farther inland. They crossed the Rhine, when intelligence was brought them that the territory of the Eburones was given up to plunder, and came very near surprising the camp of Q. Cicero. B. 6, c. 25, &c.

SOTIĀTES, a people of Aquitania, lying below the Nitrobriges, and along the lower banks of the Garumna or *Garonne*. Their chief town was Sotiatum, now *Sos*. B. 3, c. 20.

SUESSIŌNES a people of Gallia Belgica lying to the southwest of the

Remi. Their capital, in Cæsar's time, was Noviodunum, afterward called Augusta Suessionum, and also Suessones, now *Soissons*. We have given the penult of the name as short; it is found, however, in Greek with both quantities; Σουεσσῶνες and Σουεσσίονες. B. 2, c. 1, &c.

Suēvi, a powerful nation of Germany, consisting of many tribes, and inhabiting the eastern section of the country, from the Danube to the Sinus Codanus or *Baltic*. Traces of the ancient name still remain in that of the modern *Swabia*. B. 4, c. 1.

T.

Taměsis, the *Thames*. Cæsar is supposed to have crossed this river at *Coway Stakes*, seven or eight miles above *Kingston*. Horsely, however, thinks that he forded it near that town. B. 5, c. 11.

Tarbelli, a people of Aquitania, lying along the Atlantic coast, below the Cocosates, and extending to the Pyrenees. Their chief city was Aquæ Augustæ, now *Acqs* or *Dax*. B. 3, c. 27.

Tarusātes, a people of Aquitania, east of the Tarbelli, and north of the Aquitani. The modern town of *Tursa*, or *Teursan*, retains traces of the ancient name. B. 3, c. 27.

Tectosăges. *Vid.* Volcæ.

Tenchthěri, a German nation, who, in conjunction with the Usipetes, crossed the Rhine and drove out the Menapii from the settlements occupied by the latter. They were defeated by Cæsar, and the remainder of their force was compelled to seek protection among the Sigambri B. 4, c. 1, &c.

Teutŏnes. *Vid.* Cimbri.

Tolōsa, a city of Aquitania, in the territory of the Tolosates, now *Toulouse*. The situation of the place, on the northern bank of the Garumna, was very favourable for trade, and under the Romans it became the centre of the traffic which was carried on between the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts of this part of Gaul. At a later period, Tolosa became the capital of the Visigoths. B. 3, c. 20, &c.

Trevĭri, a nation of Gallia Belgica, northeast of the Remi, and between the Mosa and the Rhenus. Their chief city was Augusta Trevirorum, now *Treves*. B. 1, c. 37, &c.

Tribocci, a people of German origin, who crossed the Rhine, and, according to D'Anville, established themselves between this river and Mons Vosegus. Their capital was not Argentoratum (*Strasbourg*), though this city was within their territory, but Brocomagus, now *Brumt*. B. 1, c. 51, &c.

Trinobantes, a nation of Britain, inhabiting what are now the counties of *Essex* and *Middlesex*. B. 5, c. 20.

Tulingi, a German tribe, whose territories lay to the north of the Helvetii, and on the other side of the Rhine. The modern *Stuhlingen* marks the site of their ancient capital. B. 1, c. 5, &c.

Turōnes, a powerful nation of Gallia Celtica, whose territory lay to the northeast of the Pictones, and along the banks of the Liger or *Loire*. Their capital was Cæsarodunum, afterward called Turones, now *Tours* B 2, c. 35.

U.

V.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL INDEX.

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A.

Actuariæ (scil. *naves*), ships contrived for lightness and expedition, and having but one bank of oars on each side, or, at farthest, two. They were of various kinds, and called by various names, such as *celoces*, *lembi*, *phaseli*, &c. The most remarkable, however, were the *naves Liburnæ*, a kind of light galley used by the Liburnians, a people of Dalmatia. To ships of this kind Augustus was in a great measure indebted for his victory at Actium.

Aestīva (scil. *castra*), a summer encampment, as opposed to *Hiberna* (scil. *castra*) or winter-quarters. They were sometimes styled *Aestivalia*.

Aetas Militaris, the period during which every Roman citizen was compelled to perform military duty, unless otherwise exempted. It began with the seventeenth year, and terminated at the close of the forty-fifth. (*Aul. Gell.* 10, 28.)

Agger, the military name for the mound erected in besieging places. It was composed of earth, wood, and hurdles, and stone, and was gradually advanced towards the town, always increasing in height until it equalled or overtopped the walls. On it were erected towers of several stories, from which darts and stones were discharged against the defenders of the place by means of engines.

Ala, the wing of an army. *Alæ*, in the plural, is frequently applied to the allied forces, both cavalry and infantry, as distinguished from the cavalry and infantry of the legions.

Alarii, a name applied to the allied cavalry and infantry, from their fighting on the wings (*in alis*). *Vid.* Alæ.

Amentum, a leathern strap, or thong, used for hurling a javelin, and fastened to the middle. Occasionally the javelin was drawn back by means of it, after having been hurled against the foe, but this was only in close quarters.

Antesignāni, a name given to the soldiers who fought before the standards, or in the first line, as those who were stationed behind the standards were called *Postsignani* or *Subsignani*.

Aquĭla, the eagle, or main standard of the Roman legion, was a representation of that bird in silver or gold, more commonly the former, and holding a thunderbolt in its claws, with the figure of a small chapel above the wings, that were extended as if in flight.

Aries, or battering-ram, one of the most formidable of the Roman machines of war. It was a long beam, like the mast of a ship, and armed at one end with iron in the form of a ram's head, whence it had its name It was suspended by the middle with ropes or chains, fast-

ened to a beam that lay across two posts; and, hanging thus equally balanced, it was by a hundred men, more or less (who were frequently changed), violently thrust forward, drawn back, and again pushed forward, until, by repeated blows, it had shaken and battered down the wall with its iron head.

AUXILIA, the troops sent by foreign kings and states. They usually received both pay and clothing from the republic, although they sometimes were supported by those who sent them.

B.

BALISTA, a species of military engine for discharging darts, arrows, and stones. They were of different sizes, and consequently produced more or less effect. Some were used in battles, and might be called field-pieces; others were employed in sieges, which was the use most commonly made of them. There was another kind of engine, used for similar purposes, and called a *catapulta.* The balistæ, however, must have been the heavier of the two, and the more difficult to carry, because there was always a greater number of catapultæ in the ancient armies. According to some, the balistæ discharged heavy stones and ponderous javelins, but the catapultæ lighter missiles. Some of the balistæ threw stones of three hundred weight upward of a hundred and twenty-five paces. The stones from the balistæ, according to Josephus, beat down battlements, and broke the angles of towers, nor was there any phalanx so deep, but one of these missiles could sweep a whole file of it from one end to the other. Folard, in his commentary on Polybius, says, their force was very nearly equal to that of our artillery.

BUCCĬNA, a wind-instrument, similar to our horn, and commonly used by the Romans when changing the watches. Hence it is sometimes used for the watch itself; as, *ad tertiam buccinam*, for *ad tertiam vigiliam*

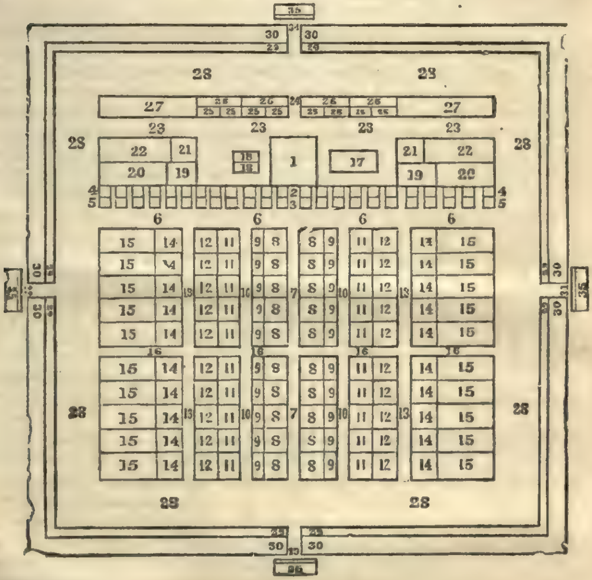
C.

CALENDÆ, the name given by the Romans to the first day of the month. It is more commonly written *Kalendæ*, which see.

CALŌNES, the servants or attendants of the soldiers. According to Festus, they derived their name from the circumstance of their carrying wooden sticks or clubs, "*Calones militum servi dicti, quod ligneas clavas gerebant, nam Græci ligna κάλα vocant.*" These "*ligneæ clavæ*" would appear, however, from a remark of Servius (*ad Virg. Æn.* 6, 1), to have been the same with the *valli* or stakes, which the Roman soldiers usually bore, as a part of their ordinary load, but which the *calones* carried when their masters were advancing to battle. The *calones* were occasionally found to make good fighting men, when matters had come to extremities. (*Pitisc. Lex. Ant.* s. v. p. 331, vol. i.)

CASTRA, a camp. The wood-cut which faces the next page will give a good idea of its shape and divisions. The discipline of the Romans was chiefly conspicuous in their marches and encampments. They never passed a night, even in the longest marches, without pitching a camp, and fortifying it with a rampart and ditch. The form of the Roman camp was square, and was always of the same figure. In later ages, however, they sometimes, in imitation of the Greeks, made it circular or adapted

ROMAN CONSULAR CAMP ACCORDING TO POLYBIUS



it to the nature of the ground. It was surrounded by a ditch, usually nine feet deep and twelve feet broad, and by a rampart or *vallum*, composed of the earth dug from the ditch, and having sharp stakes stuck into it. The camp had four gates, one on each side. They were called *porta* PRÆTORIA, next the enemy; DECUMANA, opposite to the former; *porta* PRINCIPALIS DEXTRA, on the right side of the camp, at one end of the main street called PRINCIPIA; and PRINCIPALIS SINISTRA, on the left side, at the other end. The camp was divided into two parts, called the upper and lower, by the main street just mentioned. In the lower part the troops were disposed in the following order. The cavalry were in the middle; on both sides of them were the *triarii*, *principes*, and *hastati*, or the third, second, and first Roman ranks; and next to these, on both sides, were the cavalry and foot of the allies, who were always posted in separate places, lest they should form any plots by being united The *velites* commonly occupied the empty space between the ramparts and tents, which was 200 feet broad. The tents were covered with leather or skins, extended by means of ropes. In each tent were usually ten soldiers, with their *decanus* or petty officer who commanded them. The different divisions of the troops were separated by intervals called VIÆ. Of these there were five longwise, i. e., running from the *decuman* towards the *prætorian* side; and three across, one in the lower part of the camp, called *quintana*, and two in the upper, namely, the *principia*, and another between the *prætorium* and the prætorian gate. The following illustration of the accompanying wood-cut will render our meaning clearer.

1. Ground on which stood the *Prætorium*, or general's tent, with a sufficient space around for the tents of his suite.

2. Ground behind the tents of the *Tribunes*, for their horses, baggage, &c.

3. Ground on which the tents of the *Tribunes* were pitched.

4. Ground behind the tents of the *Præfects of the Allies*, for their horses, baggage, &c.

5. Ground on which the tents of the *Præfects of the Allies* were pitched.

6. A cross street, one hundred feet wide, called *Principia*. (*Vid.* PRINCIPIA.)

7. A cross street, fifty feet wide, on both sides of which were the tents of the *Roman horse*

8. The *Horse* of two Roman legions, in ten turmæ or troops each.

9. The *Triarii* of two Roman legions (*Vid.* TRIARII), in ten maniples each, facing on two different streets.

10. Two streets, each fifty feet wide, between the *Triarii* and *Principes* of two legions.

11. The *Principes* of two Roman legions (*Vid.* PRINCIPES), in ten maniples each.

12. The *Hastati* of two Roman legions (*Vid.* HASTATI), in ten maniples each.

13. Two streets, each fifty feet wide, between the *Hastati* of the two Roman legions and the Horse of the Allies.

14. The *Horse of the Allies*, wanting the *Extraordinarii* (*Vid.* No. 25), and placed in two different parts of the camp. The forces of the allies, both cavalry and infantry, were always separated in this manner, to prevent plotting, as we have already remarked.

15. The *Infantry of the Allies*, wanting the Extraordinarii, and, like the horse, placed in two different parts of the camp.

16. The *Quintana* (scil. *via*), a street fifty feet wide, running across the camp, between the fifth and sixth maniples of each line. Hence, as it comes after the fifth maniple, reckoned from the *Principia*, it received the name of *Quintana*.

17. The *Quæstorium*, or Quæstor's tent.

18. The tents of the *Legati*. The space in front of these and the *Quæstorium* was called the *Forum*, where things were sold, &c.

19. *Evocati Equites*, or Veteran Horse. (*Vid.* Evocati.)

20. *Evocati Pedites*, or Veteran Foot.

21. *Ablecti Equites* (*Vid.* No. 25), or Horse of the Consular life guards

22. *Ablecti Pedites*, or Foot of the Consular life-guards.

23. A cross street one hundred feet wide.

24. A street fifty feet wide.

25. *Extraordinarii Equites*. A third part of the allied horse, and a fifth part of the allied foot, were selected, and posted near the consul under the name of *Extraordinarii*, and one troop of horse, and maniple of foot, called Ablecti, or *Selecti*, to serve as his life-guard.

26. *Extraordinarii Pedites*.

27. Quarters for strangers coming to the camp.

28. A space two hundred feet broad, between the outermost tents and the rampart.

29. Rampart, or *Vallum*.

30. Ditch, usually nine feet deep and twelve feet broad.

31. *Porta Principalis Dextra*.

32. *Porta Principalis Sinistra*.

33. *Porta Decumana* (i. e., *Decimana*), so called because all the *tens* of the maniples end here.

34. *Porta Prætoria*.

35. A traverse breastwork, with a ditch, opposite to, and protecting, each of the gates.

Catapulta, a military engine for discharging stones, arrows, and other missiles. *Vid.* Balista.

Centurio, the commander of a century, or body of troops, which consisted, when full, of 100 men, but was generally under this amount. There were two centurions in each maniple, called by the same name, but distinguished by the title *prior*, "former," and *posterior*, "latter," because the one was chosen and ranked before the other. The centurion of the first century of the first maniple of the *triarii* was called *centurio primi pili*, or *primopilus*, or *primus pilus*. He presided over all the other centurions, and had the charge of the eagle, or chief standard of the legion, whereby he obtained both profit and dignity, being ranked among the *equites*. He had also a place in the council of war, with the consul and tribunes. There were altogether sixty centurions in a legion, and, consequently, there was a wide field for promotion, from being the lowest centurion of the tenth maniple of the *hastati*, to the rank of *primipilus*.

Clypĕus, a round shield of inferior size to the *scutum*. The latter was of an oblong shape, four feet long and two feet and a half broad, made of wood joined together with little plates of iron, and the whole

covered with a bull's hide. The *scutum* had also an iron boss (*umbo*) jutting out in the middle, which the *clypeus* wanted.

Cohors, a division of the Roman legion, of which it contained ten. When the legion was full, i. e., 6000 men, each cohort contained, of course, 600; but, generally speaking, the number was below this. Each legion then was divided into ten cohorts, each cohort into three maniples, and each maniple into two centuries.—*Cohors Prætoria*, Vid Prætoria.

Consul, the official title of the two chief magistrates of the Roman state. In the latter years of the republic, they were elected at the end of July or beginning of August, and were installed into office on the first day of January. None could be elected to this office under forty-three years of age, but this regulation was often disregarded.

D.

Decurio, a commander of horse. Each *turma*, or troop of thirty horse, had three *decuriones*, or commanders of ten, but he who was first elected commanded the troop, and was called *dux turmæ*. Each *decurio* had an *optio* or deputy under him.

Delectus, a levy of soldiers. A day was previously appointed, on which all those who were of the military age (from seventeen to forty-six) were ordered to be present at the capitol. On the day fixed, the consuls, seated in their curule chairs, held a levy, by the assistance of the military or legionary tribunes, unless hindered by the tribunes of the commons. It was determined by lot in what order the tribes should be called. The consuls ordered such as they pleased to be cited out of each tribe, and every one was obliged to answer to his name under a severe penalty. They were careful to choose those first, who had what were thought lucky names, as *Valerius*, *Salvius*, *Statorius*, &c. The names were written down on tables; hence *scribere milites*, to enlist, to levy or raise soldiers.

E.

Equĭtes. There were usually 300 cavalry joined to each legion, called *justus equitatus*, or *ala*. They were divided into ten *turmæ*, or troops of thirty each, and each *turma* into three *decuriæ*, or bodies of ten men.

Evŏcāti, veteran soldiers, who had served out their time, but were induced again to enlist, or, in other words, were *invited* so to do. They were exempted from all the drudgery of military service, such as procuring wood, water, forage, standing guard, &c.

Excubiæ. These were watches either by day or by night. On the other hand, *vigiliæ* denoted only watches by night, of which there were four, each three hours long.

Exercĭtus. A consular army consisted of two Roman legions with the due number of cavalry, and two legions of the allies together with the allied cavalry; making, in all, 20,000 men; in the time of Polybius, however, 18,600.

F.

Funditōres, slingers obtained from the Balearic Islands, Achaia, Crete, Arabia, &c. The best were the Balearians, or inhabitants of Ma-

jorca and Minorca who were trained up in this exercise from early boyhood. The slings of the *funditores* discharged their stones with so much force, that neither buckler nor headpiece could sometimes resist their impetuosity. Instead of stones, the slings were sometimes charged with leaden balls like our bullets, which they carried to a much greater distance than stones.

G.

Galĕa, a helmet. This defensive piece of armour was of brass or iron and came down to the shoulders, but left the face uncovered. Hence, the command of Cæsar at the battle of Pharsalia, which in a great measure determined the fortune of the day: *Faciem feri miles*, "Soldier, strike the face." Pompey's cavalry, being chiefly composed of young men of rank, were as much afraid of having their visages disfigured as of death.

Gladĭus, a sword. The Roman sword was short, straight, heavy, cut and thrust, and worn on the *right* side, so as not to interfere, in drawing, with the shield. The long sword of the cavalry, which was also curved, was worn on the left.

Gradus, the military pace. This the soldiers were trained with great care to observe, and were, therefore, when encamped, led out thrice a month, sometimes ten, sometimes twenty miles, as the general felt inclined. They usually marched at the rate of twenty miles in five hours; sometimes, with a quickened pace, twenty-four miles in that time.

H.

Hastāti, the name given to the first rank of the Roman legion. *Vid.* Legio.

Hiberna, winter-quarters. The winter-quarters of the Romans were strongly fortified, and furnished, particularly under the emperors, with every accommodation like a city, as storehouses (*armaria*), workshops (*fabricæ*), an infirmary (*valetudinarium*), &c. Hence from them many towns in Europe are supposed to have had their origin; in England particularly, those whose names end in *cester* or *chester*.

I.

Idus, the Ides of the month, falling in March, May, July, and October on the fifteenth; and in the other months on the thirteenth. *Vid.* Kalendæ.

Impedimenta. Baggage. The heavier baggage of the Roman armies, such as the tents, mills, &c., were carried on beasts of burden, for wagons were rarely used as being more cumbersome. Everything else formed part of the load of the Roman soldier himself, which amounted to sixty pounds weight, exclusive of his armour. Under this load they commonly marched twenty miles a day, sometimes more. The articles borne in this way by the private soldier were as follows: provisions for fifteen days, sometimes more, usually corn, as being lighter, sometimes dressed food, utensils, a saw, a basket, a mattock, an axe, a reaper's hook and leathern thong, a chain, a pot, &c., stakes, usually three or four, sometimes twelve.

Jugum, a yoke. Two pieces of wood were set upright, and another

was placed across them at the top, so that the whole figure resembled that of the Greek capital Π. Sometimes spears were employed instead of pieces of wood. Under this species of frame the conquered army were compelled to pass, after having previously laid down their arms.

Jumenta (*Sarcinaria*), beasts of burden, employed for carrying the heavier baggage. *Vid.* Impedimenta.

Justus Equitatus, the complement of Roman cavalry attached to a legion, amounting to 300 in number, but not including the allied horse.

Juvenes. Men were called *Juvenes* among the Romans, especially the poets, as long as they were able to assist the state, or, in other words, from seventeen to forty-six, which were the limits of the military age

K.

Kalendæ. The name given to the first day of the Roman month, and derived from the old Latin verb *kalo, –are*, "to call" (compare the Greek καλέω, –ῶ), because a priest then *called* out to the people that it was new moon. The other divisions were the *nones* and *ides*. The *nones* were so termed, because, counting inclusively, there were *nine* days between them and the *ides*; and these last derived their name from the circumstance of their nearly *dividing* the month (from the old verb *iduo, –are*, "to divide"). In March, May, July, and October, the nones fell on the seventh, and the ides on the fifteenth. In the other months the nones fell on the fifth, and the ides on the thirteenth. The Romans, in marking the days of the month, counted backward. Thus, they called the last day of December *pridie kalendas*, or *pridie kalendarum Januarii*; marked briefly *prid. kal. Jan.*; and the day before that, or the thirtieth of December, *tertio kal. Jan.*; for it must be borne in mind, that, in reckoning, they always included both the day *to* which, and the one *from* which, they counted, and therefore, in the case just cited, did not say *secundo*, but *tertio*. The following Calendar will make the whole subject clearer.

A TABLE OF THE KALENDS, NONES, AND IDES.

Days of the Month.	April, June, September, and November.	January, August, and December.	March, May, July, and October.	February.
1	Kalendæ.	Kalendæ.	Kalendæ.	Kalendæ
2	IV.	IV.	VI.	IV.
3	III.	III.	V.	III.
4	Prid. Non.	Prid. Non.	IV.	Prid. Non.
5	Nonæ.	Nonæ.	III.	Nonæ.
6	VIII.	VIII.	Prid. Non.	VIII.
7	VII.	VII.	Nonæ.	VII.
8	VI.	VI.	VIII.	VI.
9	V.	V.	VII.	V.
10	IV.	IV.	VI.	IV.
11	III.	III.	V.	III.
12	Prid. Id.	Prid. Id.	IV.	Prid. Id.
13	Idus.	Idus.	III.	Idus.
14	XVIII.	XIX.	Prid Id.	XVI.
15	XVII.	XVIII.	Idus.	XV.
16	XVI.	XVII.	XVII.	XIV.
17	XV.	XVI.	XVI.	XIII.
18	XIV.	XV.	XV.	XII.
19	XIII.	XIV.	XIV.	XI.
20	XII.	XIII.	XIII.	X.
21	XI.	XII.	XII.	IX.
22	X.	XI.	XI.	VIII
23	IX.	X.	X.	VII.
24	VIII.	IX.	IX.	VI.
25	VII.	VIII.	VIII.	V.
26	VI.	VII.	VII.	IV.
27	V.	VI.	VI.	III.
28	IV.	V.	V.	Prid. Kal.
29	III.	IV.	IV.	Martii.
30	Prid. Kal.	III.	III.	
31	Mens. seq.	Prid. Kal.	Prid. Kal.	
		Mens. seq.	Mens. seq.	

In leap-year, both the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth days of February were marked *sexto Kalendas Martii*, or *Martias*, and hence this year is called *Bissextilis*, because the *sixth* day before the Kalends of March was reckoned *twice*. The student will observe that in such expressions as *sexto Kalendas* there is an ellipsis of *die ante*.

L.

Lectisternium. *Vid.* Supplicatio.

Legatus, a lieutenant-general. The consul appointed these *legati*, and their number depended on the importance of the war. They must not be confounded, however, with the *legati Cæsaris*. These last were

governors appointed by the emperors over those provinces that were placed under the immediate superintendence of the monarch.

Legio, a legion. The number of men differed at different times The earliest legion, as established by Romulus, is said to have con tained 3000 men, with a complement of 300 horse. In the time of M Valerius Publicola, we find the numbers of the legion increased to 4000 men, but the amount of cavalry still the same. During the war with Hannibal, 1000 infantry and 100 cavalry were added, so that the legion then amounted to 5000 infantry and 400 horse. This change, however, was not by any means a fixed one, since, according to Polybius, the number frequently returned to 4000. Not long after, however, the quota rose to 6200, since we find Scipio carrying over into Africa legions con taining 6200 infantry and 300 cavalry. In the time of the emperors, the complement appears to have been 6100 infantry. Cæsar's legions, however, during the Gallic war, would appear to have been comparatively small, since we are informed, in one part of the Commentaries (5, 49), that in two legions there were scarcely 7000 men. In the composition of a legion, there were 10 cohorts, 30 maniples, 60 centuries. In other words, 2 centuries made a maniple, 3 maniples a cohort, 10 cohorts a legion. If the century had contained 100 men, as its name indicated, the whole number in a legion would have been 6000 men; but a century often contained less than 100. The different kinds of infantry which made up the legion were three, the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*. The *hastati* were so called, because they first fought with long spears, which were afterward laid aside as inconvenient. They consisted of young men, in the flower of life, and formed the first line in battle. The *principes* were men of middle age, in the vigour of life, and occupied the second line. Anciently they seem to have been posted first, whence their name. The *triarii* were old soldiers of approved valour, who formed the third line, whence their name. They were also called *Pilani*, from the *pilum* or javelin which they used; and the *hastati* and *principes*, who stood before them, *Antepilani*. In the descriptions of Cæsar's battles, however, there is no mention made of the soldiers being divided into *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*, but only of a certain number of legions and cohorts, which Cæsar generally drew up in three lines.

Lituus, a clarion, bent a little at the end, like an augur's staff. It was used for the cavalry. The *tuba*, on the other hand, was straight, and employed by the infantry. The *cornu* or horn was bent almost round. The *buccina* was commonly used for changing the watches.

Lorīca. I. A coat of mail, generally made of leather, covered with plates of iron, in the form of scales, or iron rings twisted within one another like chains. II. A battlement, or defence of towers and walls, constructed either of stone or hurdles.

M.

Manipulus. *Vid.* Cohors and Legio.

Militaris Aetas. *Vid.* Aetas *Militaris*.

Muscŭlus, a species of moveable penthouse. It was a small machine, on wheels, shaped like an arched sort of wagon, and was sent in advance of the large towers, that also moved on wheels, to level the way for them, fill up the enemy's ditch if necessary, clear away rubbish, remove pali sades, and make a solid road to the very foot of the walls. The Roman

believed that a close alliance subsisted between the whale (*balæna*) and a smaller species of the same tribe, called *musculus*, and that, when the former became blind, from the enormous weight of its eyelids dropping over and closing up the organ, the latter swam before and guided it from all shallows which might prove injurious to it. Hence this machine was called *musculus*, as it explored and smoothed the way for the larger engines.

N.

Naves Longæ, vessels of war, so called because they were of a longer shape than vessels of burden. The ships of war were impelled chiefly by oars, the ships of burden by sails. The vessels of war were variously named from their rows or banks of oars. Those which had two rows or tiers of oars were called *birēmes*; three, *triremes*; four *quadriremes*; five, *quinquiremes*. The Romans scarcely had any ships of more than five banks of oars, and, therefore, those of six or seven banks are called by a Greek name, *hexēres*, *heptēres*. Great difficulty has always existed among the moderns as to the mode in which the oars were arranged and the rowers sat. The most plausible opinion is that of Howell, a recent writer on "the War Galleys of the Ancients." According to him, the arrangement of the oars in a bireme, trireme, and quinquireme were as follows:

Bireme.	*Trireme.*	*Quinquireme.*
oo	ooo	ooooo
oo	ooo	ooooo
oo	ooo	ooooo
oo	ooo	ooooo

The rowers are all thus placed midships, on stages or rows of benches one above the other, and ample room is left for an elevated deck for combat at the poop and prow.

Naves Onerariæ, vessels of burden. These were broader and rounder than the *naves longæ*, or vessels of war. The latter were known by a helmet at the masthead, whereas the ships of burden had a basket suspended there, as their sign, whence they are sometimes called *corbitæ*.

Nonæ. *Vid.* Kalendæ.

O.

Ocreæ, greaves for the legs, to protect the bone in front, sometimes worn only on the right leg, as the left was guarded by the shield. They were commonly made of a species of tin or bronze, for the sake of lightness.

Ordines. *Vid.* Legio.

P.

Paludamentum, the military robe or cloak of the Roman commander, of a scarlet colour, bordered with purple, sometimes worn also by the chief officers. The signal for battle was often given by elevating the paludamentum upon a spear above the prætorium or general's tent

Q.

R.

S.

army. It was an open robe drawn over the other clothes, and fastened with a clasp. When there was a war in Italy all the citizens put on he sagum.

Scorpiones, a species of military engine, which resembled gigantic cross-bows, and threw weighty javelins, large beams of wood headed with iron, and heavy stones. The most powerful of these machines consisted of two distinct beams, inserted each into an upright coil of ropes, tightly twisted in such a way that the ends of the arms could not be drawn towards each other without increasing the tension of he ropes, so as to produce a most violent recoil.

Scutum. *Vid.* Clypeus.

Strigæ, the rows of tents between the different *viæ*. *Vid.* Castra.

Supplicatio, a thanksgiving. When a general had obtained a signal victory, a thanksgiving was decreed by the senate to be made in all the temples, and what was called a *Lectisternium* then took place. *Couches* were *spread* for the gods, as if about to feast, and their images were taken down from their pedestals, and placed upon these couches around the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes.

T

Tentoria. The Roman tents were covered with leather or skins, extended by means of ropes. Hence, *sub pellibus hiemare*, "to winter in tents."

Testudo. I. A penthouse moving upon wheels, under which the battering-ram was sometimes brought near to the ramparts, and beneath which it was worked. The name arose from the circumstance of the ram's thrusting its head out, and drawing it in again, as a tortoise from its shell. II. A. body of soldiers with their shields locked over their heads, and those of the outer files protecting their sides. Sometimes this form was assumed when troops were attacked on all sides. More commonly, however, it was employed for the purpose of approaching the enemy's ramparts, and scaling them. The name *testudo*, in this case, is derived from the resemblance which the locked shields bore to the shell or covering of the tortoise.

Triarii, the name given to the Roman veterans, from their occupying the third rank. *Vid.* Legio.

Tribuni (*militum*), military tribunes, of whom there were six in each legion, who commanded under the consul, each in his turn, usually month about. In battle a tribune seems to have had charge of ten centuries or about 1000 men.

Triremes, vessels of war, with three banks of oars. *Vid.* Naves

Turres towers used in the Roman military works. There were two kinds, the moveable and fixed. The fixed towers were erected on the *agger* or mound, and were raised sufficiently high, by means of several stories, so as to command the enemy's ramparts. From them were discharged showers of darts, stones, and other missiles, by means of various engines, such as *balistæ*, *catapultæ*, *scorpiones*, &c. They were also raised along the Roman lines of circumvallation ; and at the siege of Alesia Cæsar is supposed to have erected 1561. II. The moveable towers were pushed forward and brought back on wheels, fixed below, on the inside of the planks. To prevent them from being set on fire by the enemy, they were covered with raw hides and pieces of coarse cloth,

termed *centones*. They were of an immense bulk, sometimes forty or fifty feet square, and higher than the walls or even the towers of the city. Whenever they could be brought up to the walls, a place was seldom able to stand one long.

V.

VALLUM, the ramparts of a Roman encampment, composed of the earth dug out from the ditch, and having sharp stakes stuck into it to keep it together. *Vid.* CASTRA.

VELĬTES, light-armed troops. They were equipped with bows, slings, seven javelins or spears with slender points like arrows, so that, when thrown, they bent, and could not easily be returned by the enemy; a Spanish sword, having both edge and point; a round buckler (*parma*) about three feet in diameter, made of wood and covered with leather; and a helmet or casque for the head, generally made of the skin of some wild beast. When the army was drawn up in order of battle, the velites were placed in the spaces or intervals between the maniples, or else on the wings.

VIGILIÆ. *Vid.* EXCUBIÆ.

VINEÆ, sheds or mantlets, constructed of wood and hurdles, and covered with earth, or raw hides, or any other material that could not easily be set on fire. They were pushed forward by wheels below. Under them the besiegers either worked the ram or tried to undermine the walls

THE END